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# *An American History for the Upper Grades . . . . .*

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*Drawings by James Daugherty*

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U. S. A.

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# Preface . . . . .

The title of this textbook—*U. S. A.*—has both historical and contemporary significance. The record of the Second Continental Congress reveals that the symbol “U. S. A.” was officially used as a government label before the words “United States” were so used. By congressional action in the summer of 1776, the public inspector was authorized to brand each cask of approved gunpowder with the letters “U. S. A.” Meanwhile, several weeks earlier, the Declaration of Independence had sanctioned the first official use of the term “United States of America.” Today that term takes on fresh meaning, as we consider anew our relationships with other Americans and our responsibilities in the Western Hemisphere. Too long have we thought of ourselves as simply the United States. We are, in emphatic fact, the *United States of America*.

The young people of junior high school age will, a decade hence, be a considerable force, numerically and spiritually, in determining the attitude of this nation toward both domestic and world problems. For quite obvious reasons training for that responsible role must not be left wholly to the senior high school. Instruction in the social studies in grades seven and eight—especially in the history of our country—should, therefore, be gauged more carefully to the needs of the age which we are approaching.

This textbook in the history of the U. S. A. is written to meet the needs of the postwar junior high school generations. This end is sought through a studied effort to reach three major goals: (1) a presentation both interesting and meaningful to young people, who have a right to expect that history can be both; (2) an understanding of our country’s development—political, economic, social, and cultural—as a basis of justifiable hope for the future; and (3) an orientation that recognizes the far-reaching effects of the Second World War, the place of this nation among her neighbors in this hemisphere and throughout the world, and our obligations to face the realities of peace.

To achieve the first goal of making this volume interesting and meaningful to young people, several devices have been employed. The content has been organized in ten comprehensive units. As every teacher knows, the march of time at an ever-increasing tempo adds constantly to the stuff of which history courses of study and textbooks are made. To strike a reasonable balance between orthodox details and the new is a major problem. The increasing popularity of unitary history as a means of organizing historical events into manageable teaching materials needs no emphasis here. Nor has a more logical organization been devised as a basis for omitting materials—a necessary process if both interest and meaning are to be maintained.

Certain phases of our history have been either omitted or minimized. No attempt, for example, is made to discuss tariff, monetary, or banking history, or the details of political reconstruction in the 1860's and 1870's. Some other aspects are de-emphasized. Presidential elections, military details in contrast to general strategy, and the slavery controversy, for instance, are curtailed. Although the indiscriminate use of dates has been avoided, special effort has been made to develop a time sense both in the content and in the educational equipment. In the content one device has been to relate happenings to key events, such as the American Revolution or the War Between the States. In the educational equipment of each chapter one section is devoted to "red-letter" years, and the activities of each unit provide for time lines or similar time-sense exercises.

Several unique features are introduced to create reading interest and to motivate learning. The first is the introductory incident for each chapter—an episode which is not only interesting in itself but which usually is sufficiently comprehensive to orient the entire chapter. A second important interest-creating feature is the unit biography. For each unit a 1,000-word biography of a character representative of the times is included as an integral part of the story. These ten men and women, through their lives and activities, should be an inspiration to all, for diverse types of leaders are presented. In the third place, the human interest approach is taken whenever circumstances permit. Fourth, special effort has been made to keep the presentation simple in structure, vocabulary, and educational equipment, without sacrificing worthwhile and meaningful history. Not only is the educational equipment planned to offer interesting and constructive activities conducive to the learning process, but it is designed to emphasize the unitary concept. The Bookshelf in Appendix V is representative of every conceivable taste and interest. Finally, the animated maps, graphs, and charts, the unit drawings, and other illustrations have been specially designed or selected with interest and essential meaning constantly in mind. As one example of this effort, attention is directed to the two-page spread introducing each unit. These were drawn by James Daugherty, whose accomplishments as an illustrator and writer of children's books won him the Newbery Medal in 1939. To introduce this distinguished contemporary illustrator and his work to the readers of this textbook is a contribution second only to Mr. Daugherty's delightful interpretations of our history.

The second major goal of this book is to develop an understanding of our country's growth in all of its important aspects. A glance at the table of contents will indicate that this has been done, with proper regard for balance. Although the democratic theme has been fully presented with special reference to practical politics historically developed, this has not been done at the expense of our economic, social, and cultural growth. Nor, as is pointed out below, has it sacrificed a necessary treatment of our foreign relations. A broad survey of the colonial period is, however, re-



tained for four reasons. First, increasingly the senior high school either omits or greatly de-emphasizes the period. Second, because of this fact upper grade United States history can profitably assume the responsibility and thus establish one important means of differentiation between the two levels of instruction. Third, the significance of our democratic origins increases in a world of competitive ideologies. Finally, our colonial beginnings merit emphasis as the basis for a way of life. Throughout this volume the past is related to the present, and a justifiable hope for the future is either implicit or explicit.

The third general goal of this history is to help young people better to understand the place of the U. S. A. among her neighbors, with special reference to the postwar years. This goal is approached in several ways. First, there is greater emphasis upon Latin America and Canada than has yet characterized United States history textbooks. Nor is this interest in our "near" neighbors confined to our foreign relations. The colonial history of our neighbors is studied as a foundation for differing ways of living; their subsequent political and economic developments are presented as far as practicable. Our foreign relations have carried us into every quarter of the globe, including the Far East. Such relations must not be ignored at the junior high school level. If our young people are to have intelligent attitudes in the postwar period, they must know that historically we evolved from isolation to world awareness. They must know that machinery for world peace is not new, and that our participation in world affairs is likewise not a new departure. In brief, it is vitally important that they see the Second World War and our place among our world neighbors in historical perspective. For only thus can all of us recognize our national obligations in the postwar world and face the realities of peace.

Many of the chapters of this book were used experimentally in mimeographed form in the grammar and junior high schools of several school systems in 1943-44. The book as a whole has materially benefited from the criticisms received, and the authors gratefully acknowledge the helpful suggestions made by Miss Ruth E. Funk, Edward Devotion School, Brookline, Massachusetts; Miss Mary C. Howley, Central Junior High School, New Britain, Connecticut; and Mr. Neil C. Robinson, Parker Junior High School, Reading, Massachusetts. In this connection we also wish to acknowledge the special interest and co-operation of Dr. Elbridge C. Grover, Superintendent of Schools in Reading.

Certain parts of the manuscript were kindly read by persons especially competent to pass upon accuracy and interpretation. We are indebted to Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., of Wisconsin, for his helpful criticisms on the biographical treatment of his father; to Mr. Richard M. Perdew, Senior High School, Bronxville, New York (formerly of the Division of Inter-American Affairs of the Office of Education, Washington, D. C.), for constructive reading of Latin-American content; and to Mr. Theodore

F. M. Newton, Educational Supervisor, Canadian Wartime Information Board, for valuable comments on the Canadian portions.

We wish to thank Mr. John A. Lomax for his kind permission to reprint the chorus of "Git Along, Little Dogies" from his *Cowboy Songs* published by The Macmillan Company; the University of Minnesota Press for verses from "Goodbye, My Party, Goodbye"; The Macmillan Company for brief excerpts from Hart, *Contemporaries*, Volume II, and from Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, Volume II; and Harcourt, Brace & Company for excerpts from the Lincoln Steffens letter to Theodore Roosevelt, from *The Letters of Lincoln Steffens*, copyright 1938, by Harcourt, Brace & Company, Inc.

The intelligent and enthusiastic co-operation of Miss Mary Allen Hood, Miss Irene Allemano, and Mr. Frank E. Tudor has produced animated charts and maps in keeping with the spirit of the text. We thank them for their interest as well as for their craftsmanship. Acknowledgment is also gratefully made of the courteous services rendered by the librarian and staff of the Brookline Public Library. Especially do we wish to recognize the assistance of Miss Dorothea K. Wetherell, whose invaluable bibliographic recommendations will benefit countless young people. Finally, we acknowledge the helpful assistance and constant encouragement of Ethel W. Faulkner, Helen R. Kepner, and Margaret H. Pitkin.

H. U. F.

T. K.

V. E. P.

U. S. A.





# Unit One

## *The Peoples of Europe Open Up the New World*

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1. An Awakening Old World Discovers a Strange New World
  2. Settlers Follow in the Path of Explorers
  3. Europeans Establish Different Ways of Living in the Americas
- 

Just as the people of the world have learned in our own day to use the air, so Europeans in the 1400's learned to use the ocean. Searching for better routes to the Far East, bold explorers sailed around Africa. On the same search Columbus discovered America. Other explorers soon followed, opening new ocean highways to all parts of the world.

These ocean highways gave Europe a chance to spread out in all directions. They made possible an active trade with every corner of the world. They also allowed the peoples of Europe to expand into the newly discovered lands.

In America the settlers established a New Spain, a New France, a New Netherland and a New England. The colonies of Spain and England proved the most successful. Today the Spanish language, religion and way of life remain in most of Central and South America. English settlers spread their language and way of life over most of North America.







# Chapter 1. *An Awakening Old World Discovers a Strange New World . . . . .*

*Washington, Moscow, London, Chungking—only a few hours apart! Leaders of the United Nations during the Second World War flew easily from capital to capital to confer with one another. Lengthy trips were made in a few hours with safety and comfort. So small is the world today that there are no two places more than 60 hours apart.*

*Have you ever read about the first voyage around the world 400 years ago? Here is how one member of Magellan's expedition describes that part of it from South America to the Philippine Islands.*

*"Wednesday, the 28th of November, 1520, we came forth out of the strait and entered into the Pacific Sea, where we remained three months and twenty days without taking in provisions. We ate only old biscuit reduced to powder, and full of grubs and stinking from the dirt of rats, and we drank water that was yellow and stinking. We also ate the ox-hides which were under the main-yard. They were very hard on account of the sun, rain and wind. We left them for four or five days in the sea, and then we put them a little on the fire, and so ate them. . . . But this misfortune was the worst: the upper and lower gums of most of our men grew so much that they could not eat, and in this way so many suffered that nineteen died.*

*"During those three months and twenty days we went in an open sea, while we ran 4000 leagues in the Pacific Sea. This was well named Pacific, for during the same time we met with no storm, and we saw no land except two small uninhabited islands, in which we found only birds and trees. . . . And if our Lord and His Mother had not aided us in giving us good weather we should all have died of hunger in this very vast sea. And I think that never man will undertake to perform such a voyage" [again].*

*Magellan's companion was wrong. Others have followed on the sea and in the air. Today it seems easy, but Magellan's voyage was one of the greatest feats of navigation and discovery in world history.*

## *Europeans Venture Forth into the Unknown . . . . .*

Europe stirs to a new interest in learning. Great events in history, such as the discovery of America, do not just happen. Other events make them possible. Columbus and Magellan, for example, could hardly have sailed the unknown seas without a compass to guide them. This valuable instrument was invented by the Chinese at least 500 years before Magellan set out on his famous voyage around the world. Magellan also used another valuable instrument, an astrolabe. This helped tell him how far north or south he might be. The astrolabe was the result of a thousand years of widening knowledge of mathematics and the position of the stars.

As we look back over history, we find that the development of mankind has been a long and painful process. About 6,000 years ago people living along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean first learned to use metals, build houses, and express themselves in a crude form of writing. Gradually over hundreds of years these people added to their knowledge until it reached its highest development among the ancient Greeks and Romans. Conquering Roman armies spread much of this knowledge into Britain, France and Germany.

Finally Rome was conquered by the tribes from the north. Much of the splendid knowledge of Greece and Rome was lost. It was a period which historians have called the "Middle Ages." It was a time when

there was little interest in science or literature and but little exchange of goods or ideas among the peoples of Europe.

After 1100 Europe very slowly began to regain some of the knowledge that had been lost. Kings and knights of western Europe set out on Crusades or expeditions to rescue the region of Palestine from the Turks. The people on these expeditions returned with a knowledge of a higher civilization. Trade between Europe and the countries in the eastern Mediterranean sprang up again. As a result Europe enjoyed new products from the East. Knowledge and ideas began to spread.

One part of Roman life which was not lost during the Middle Ages was the Christian church. Whatever knowledge remained of ancient times was largely in the hands of the monks of the Catholic church. Few others could read or write. As Europe stirred with new interest in learning, the monks dug out old Roman and Greek manuscripts and copied them. Universities were founded to study ancient knowledge. In the middle of the 1400's printing was invented, which was one of the great events in world history. Even before Columbus discovered America, educated Europeans were again giving serious thought to the problems of religion, government and science. A new age was born.

**Europe's interest in the Far Eastern trade leads to a search for better routes.** During the best days of the Roman Empire trade had been ac-

tive in the seacoast cities of the Mediterranean. This trade had declined during the Middle Ages. The Crusades, however, brought Europe again into touch with the outside world. As one expedition after another made its way to Palestine, Europeans discovered new ways of living, different foods and new and finer goods.

They also discovered that people of the eastern Mediterranean were importing from unknown regions still farther to the east many highly desirable things. As the news of these products got back to western Europe, the demand for them increased. Old trade routes with the East were opened again and the flow of oriental or eastern goods to European markets expanded.

More than anything else, perhaps, Europe wanted the spices of the East. Pepper from India; cloves, cinnamon, and nutmegs from the East Indies ("Spice Islands"); and sugar from Arabia helped to make eatable the coarse food of the Middle Ages. So desirable was pepper that it was considered a fitting gift from one king to another. From Asia also came drugs useful for healing, as well as dyes, such as indigo, necessary in cloth making.

Besides new products, Europe obtained others of better workmanship, material and design than anything made in Europe. These included glass, knives, dishes, and a great variety of woven goods. Rich shawls, tapestries, and rugs, which adorned the castles of the wealthy nobles, were also in great demand. By the end of the Middle Ages Europe brought from the East some of

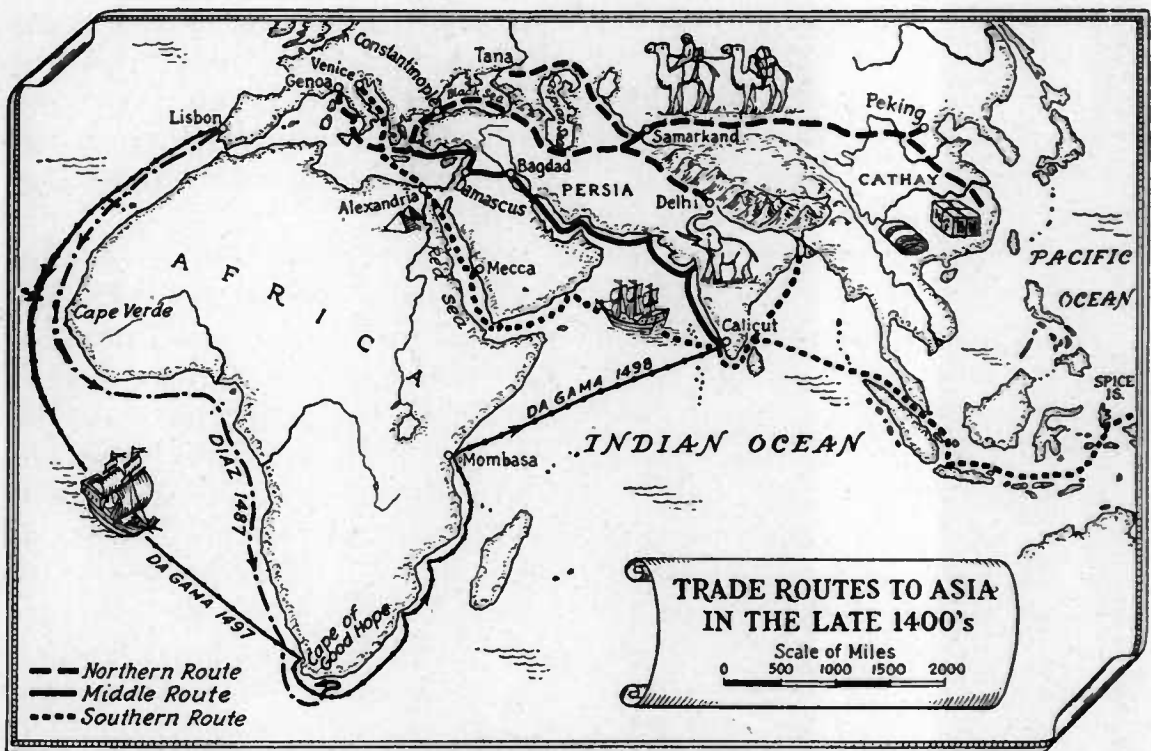
her necessities and many of her luxuries.

If you look at the map (see page 9), you will see the routes by which these goods reached Europe. The northern routes followed long overland trails from China. Spices from the East Indies went to India and then found their way to the Mediterranean ports either by the Red Sea or the Tigris and Euphrates valleys. From the ports on the eastern Mediterranean traders carried them to Venice, Genoa, and other Italian ports. Then they were distributed to western and northern Europe.

These routes were not only long but they were expensive. Many of the products had to be carried hundreds of miles overland by camels or horses. The merchants were in constant danger of robbery and often had to pay bribes to petty chieftains. What made the difficulties even greater was the fact that in exchange for Eastern products Europe could offer only woolen goods, iron, copper and precious metals. Except for the precious metals these goods were bulky. All were heavy and not suited to long distance overland transportation. Europe badly needed new and cheaper routes to the East.

**Portuguese navigators lead in the search for new trade routes.** The search for better and cheaper routes to the Far East was the most important influence in the explorations of the 1400's. But it was not the only reason that sent explorers along the African coast or westward to America. Some were interested in





fame and glory. Others were eager to carry the Christian religion to the natives of Africa and America. All were in search of gold and riches. Then, too, the kings and merchants of western Europe desired to break the control of Italian merchants over the oriental trade.

Of all the countries in western Europe, Portugal was the one best situated to start Europe on a career of exploration and conquest. Her merchants had developed a sea trade in wine, fruit, and vegetable oils with the natives to the north. Portugal was located on the southwestern tip of Europe where she looked south along the western coast of Africa and westward across the Atlantic.

Fortunately Portugal produced an able and powerful man who devoted a long life to promoting exploration. Prince Henry, "the Navigator," was the son of one Portu-

guese king and the brother of another, and he had the wealth and power to carry on his work. On the southwestern point of Portugal he established a school for navigators and map-makers.

From here Prince Henry sent one expedition after another to explore the African coast and the islands of the nearby ocean. Two of his captains rediscovered and colonized the Madeira and the Azores Islands. By the time Prince Henry died his sea captains had sailed down the African coast beyond Cape Verde almost to the equator (see the map above).

After Prince Henry's death other captains kept pushing south. Finally Bartholomew Diaz (Dee'-ahs) reached the tip of Africa. Diaz accurately called it the Cape of Storms, but the Portuguese king renamed it the Cape of Good Hope. A few years later Vasco da Gama

sailed around the Cape and up the eastern coast of Africa. In 1498 he reached India after many hardships and adventures. Other navigators followed and soon Portugal had a string of trading ports and colonies stretching from Europe to the Spice Islands.

Like the old routes to the Far East, the new one was also long. But it was easier and cheaper. Merchants dealing in oriental goods soon deserted the trading cities of Italy for the bustling harbor of Lisbon, Portugal. The center of the world's trade shifted from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. The great trading cities of the future were to be those that looked out on the Atlantic Ocean. The great European nations of the future were to be those that could make use of the new ocean routes and explore unknown lands.

*The Great Exploration Gets Under Way . . . . .*

**Under the Spanish flag Columbus takes up the search for new routes.** While Portuguese navigators were seeking a new route to India by sailing around the coast of Africa, another experienced sea captain believed that a shorter way to India could be found by sailing due west. Unlike millions of ignorant people of his time, Christopher Columbus was sure that the world was round. He had watched eclipses of the moon and he had often sailed by the stars. Columbus was a serious student of navigation and he knew

that learned men as far back as the ancient Greeks believed that the world was round. If this was so, and if the Indies were east of Europe, why not reach them by sailing westward?

Like most men who accomplish great deeds, Columbus's early life was one of long and hard preparation. Born in the Italian seaport town of Genoa, he went to sea at the age of 14. Soon he found his way to Portugal, the nation most interested in navigation and voyages to faraway lands. During his early years he sailed to the British Isles and probably as far west as Iceland. There he may have heard of the Norse voyages to Greenland hundreds of years earlier. He also sailed south along the coast of Africa and lived for some time on the island of Madeira. Throughout this period he spent much time in the study of geography, mathematics and navigation, and became an expert map-maker.

As the years went by Columbus became more and more certain that he could reach the Indies by sailing west. This became the one overpowering ambition of his life. To make such an expedition he needed financial help. He sought aid from the rulers of Portugal, France and England, but without success. At the Spanish Court he spent six years trying to interest the king and queen.

Ferdinand and Isabella, however, were too occupied in the affairs of Spain to give much attention. They did refer his plan to two committees, both of which turned it down. Disappointed and discouraged, Co-



Columbus when he landed on Watling Island in the Bahamas raised the flag of Spain and took possession of the new land in behalf of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. The date of his landing, October 12, is now celebrated as Columbus Day. (Culver Service)

lumbus decided to leave Spain. He had already started for France, when the queen suddenly decided to help him and sent a messenger to call him back.

Having finally made up her mind, the queen and her friends raised the necessary money (around \$14,000). Columbus was given the title "Admiral of the Ocean Seas," and made governor of any new lands discovered. He was also granted one-tenth of "all the pearls, precious stones, gold, silver, spices and other merchandise" he might find.

**Columbus discovers a New World.** At Palos, Columbus prepared three little ships—one of which was only 60 tons—and enlisted 100 men. Al-

though many of his sailors grew frightened as they sailed day after day on an unknown ocean, the Admiral kept his fleet on the westward course. The long search finally ended on the night of October 11, when Columbus believed he saw in the distance a light "like a little wax candle rising and falling." The next morning—October 12, 1492—the fleet found itself in sight of one of the Bahamas in the West Indies (see map, page 16).

Certain that he had found one of the outlying islands of the Indies, Columbus sailed around for several months before returning to Spain. At this time he discovered Cuba, Española (Es-pah-nyo'-la, present Haiti and Santo Domingo) and

other islands of the West Indies. The great admiral made three more voyages to the New World during which time he skirted the coast of Central America and the northern coast of South America. The object of these expeditions, as on his first voyage, was to find a new route to the Indies. Until the day of his death Columbus believed he had discovered the fringes of the continent of Asia.

Although Columbus discovered the New World, it was named after an Italian merchant and explorer, Americus Vesputius (Ves-pyu'-shus). This man, who was a great advertiser, made several voyages to the New World, and wrote many letters regarding the land he claimed to have discovered. One of these fell into the hands of a German professor of geography in a French university who was preparing a new edition of an old geography. He labeled the coast of South America "Amerike." Later map-makers followed his example until finally the two new continents were called America.

Like the people who now inhabit America, the name of the new continents springs from many nations. It comes from an Italian navigator, sailing under the flag of Portugal and was put on the map by a German geographer in a French university. It became the name of a new land, parts of which were claimed at one time or another by many European nations.

**Cortés, the Spaniard, conquers Mexico.** It took almost 100 years after the discovery of Columbus for

Spain to explore and conquer the vast colonial empire which reached from California to Cape Horn. When we remember the small number of Spaniards and the large amount of territory, this was an amazing accomplishment. It is a story of small bands of Spanish soldiers, moving into one unknown region after another, to conquer bands of Indians who far outnumbered them. After defeating the Indians, they established Spanish rule, forced the natives to accept Christianity, and gradually introduced other elements of Spanish civilization.

Of all the conquerors none added more to the Spanish empire than Cortés, and no one faced more difficult or unusual conditions. Hernando Cortés (Air-nahn'-doh Kortacé), a son of one of the lesser Spanish nobles, came to America as a young man in search of fame and fortune. He took part in the conquest of Cuba where he won a military reputation. When in the early 1500's the governor of Cuba organized an expedition to conquer the mainland, he placed it under the command of Cortés.

Cortés was, indeed, a born military leader. Of good build, he was skillful with weapons both on horseback and on foot. Moreover, he had a mind quick to take in the details of a new situation, and able to make decisions and act on them. He was shrewd, confident of the future, and had rare powers to persuade other men. Above all, as one of his companions wrote, "he had what is most important of all, courage and spirit."



After **Hernando Cortés** conquered Mexico he ruled as governor for a number of years, exploring the country and sending expeditions to conquer nearby regions. He was then in high favor with his king, who granted him a coat of arms (upper left hand corner) and loaded him with honors. Later Cortés fell into disfavor and died almost forgotten. This picture shows him at the height of his power dressed in the armor of the time. (Pan American Union)



**CORTÉS ENTERS MEXICO.** The expedition under Cortés consisted of 11 vessels, between 400 and 500 soldiers, 14 cannon and a small band of horsemen. This was a tiny army to conquer an Indian nation of hundreds of thousands of people. But Cortés started out with certain advantages. The Indians had never seen horses or firearms and were completely terrorized when they saw them. Moreover, the Spaniards fought in heavy armor which largely protected them from the spears and arrows of the Indian warriors.

Beyond all else, the Aztec (As-tek') Indians, who lived in Mexico, were confused by their own religion. A story had come down of a great hero, a god with a beard and a white face, who had once ruled over them and taught them many useful things. For some unknown reason he had departed eastward, but had promised that sometime either he or his descendants would return to rule over them. Could Cortés be the white god who was returning? Montezuma (Mon-tay-zoo'-mah), king of the Aztecs, and his priests were uncertain whether to receive Cortés or oppose him.

The Spaniards landed in 1519, at a point where Vera Cruz now stands (see map, page 16). Immediately Cortés sent greetings to Montezuma, asking permission to visit him. The Indian king returned the greetings and sent rich presents including an engraved gold plate "as large as a carriage wheel." But he failed to invite the Spanish leader to meet him. Cortés sent a second messenger demanding an interview. More presents from the Aztec king,

but this time an absolute refusal and a demand that Cortés leave the country.

Cortés now determined to march inland and conquer the country. When some of his followers opposed, he destroyed all his ships but one. Retreat was impossible, and his men had to follow him whether they liked it or not.

The next move of Cortés was to win over the nearby tribes. He learned that they were restless under the control of the Aztecs and resented the heavy taxes which they had to pay. The Spanish leader played upon their unrest. He presented himself as their friend and invited them to aid him in conquering the hated Montezuma. This method of divide and conquer was an old game which many an invader has played.

**THE SPANIARDS CAPTURE MEXICO CITY.** Having won over some of the nearby Indians, Cortés began the 250-mile march up through the mountains to the high plateau of Central Mexico. On his way he was forced to fight the rough tribe of Tlascalans (Tlahs-kah'-lahns). He defeated them and they then joined him as allies. Montezuma had hoped to halt Cortés, but failed. He then about-faced and invited the Spanish army to his capital. They entered the city and were quartered in luxurious buildings.

In the days of the Aztecs the City of Mexico was a large and splendid city, equal, said Cortés, to anything in Spain. But it was a dangerous place for a handful of foreign conquerors to be in. It was built on two islands in a large lake, cut by many



canals and connected with the surrounding country by highways. Firm leadership and quick action might easily have defeated the Spaniards.

Unfortunately for the Indians, it was Cortés and not Montezuma who had these qualities. When Cortés realized the danger he was in, he boldly went to the palace of Montezuma and took the Aztec king prisoner. He then removed the king to his own quarters where he kept him as a hostage.

Cortés remained in the City of Mexico for six months. Then he learned that the governor of Cuba had sent a new expedition to capture his army and put an end to his operations. Leaving part of his force in the city, Cortés set out for Vera Cruz. There he overcame the new invaders and persuaded them to join forces with him.

While Cortés was absent from the city, his commanding officer had so outraged the Indians that they rose in revolt. Cortés rescued his troops and attempted to pacify the Indians, but it was too late. They turned on the Spaniards and drove them from the city with terrible loss.

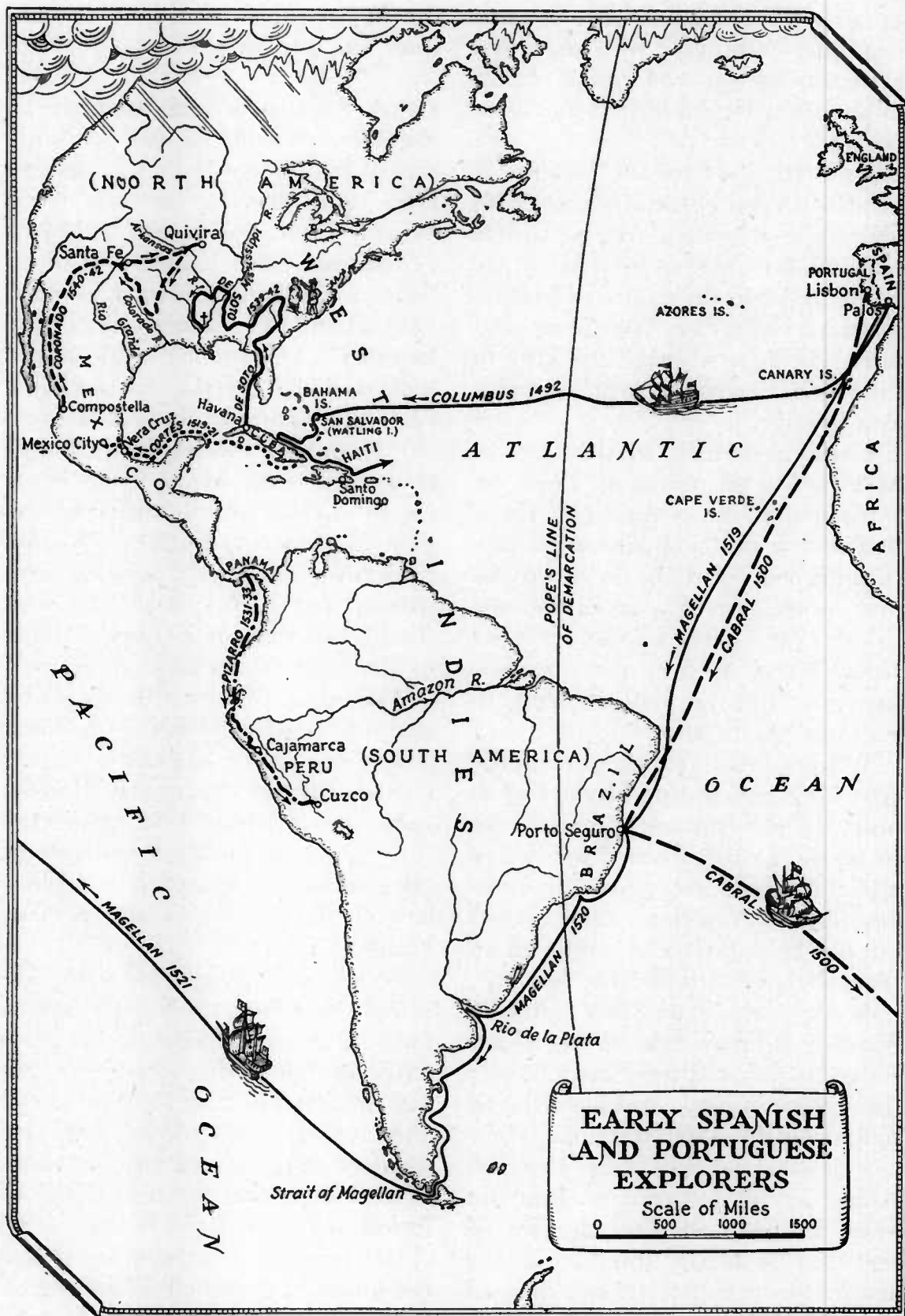
Seven days later the battered Spanish soldiers had to fight another battle. With the aid of their Tlascalcan allies, however, they fought off the Aztec warriors. Then Cortés sat down to besiege the city. Aided by reinforcements from the West Indies, and after months of fighting, he finally fought his way again into the city. In two years a handful of Spaniards had overcome the strongest and richest Indian nation in the New World. In Mexico

the Spaniard learned how to conquer the Indian.

**Other Spaniards seek treasure in the New World.** Cortés was only one of many Spaniards who sought fame and fortune in the New World. From Cuba and Española expedition after expedition went forth seeking new lands. Balboa with a band of explorers crossed the Isthmus of Panama (1513) and looked down on the Pacific. Ten years after Cortés conquered Mexico, Francisco Pizarro (Frahns-see'-ko Pee-sah'-roh) set out from Panama to explore and conquer the region of Peru. As in Mexico, good leadership and hard fighting won success and riches, and the Inca (Een'-kah) Indians became subject to Spain (see map, page 16).

The same year that Balboa first saw the Pacific, Ponce de Leon (Pohn'-say day Lay-ohn') sailed northward and discovered Florida. Later he returned and unsuccessfully tried to found a settlement. He was the first Spaniard to explore any of the region of the present United States.

Ponce de Leon was soon followed, however, by many others. One of these, Hernando de Soto (Air-nahn'-doh dee Soh'-toh), set out in search of new Indians to rob and new empires to conquer. Instead of rich nations such as those of the Aztecs and the Incas, de Soto found only primitive Indians. The chief result of the expedition was the knowledge gained of the region bordering on the Gulf of Mexico and the discovery of the Mississippi (see map, page 16).



De Soto died during the expedition. His followers tried to reach Mexico by marching overland through what is now Arkansas and Texas, but failed. Returning to the Mississippi, they sailed down the river and finally reached a Mexican coast town. After almost four years of exploration in an unknown country and constant warfare with the Indians, about half of the original band of 600 were still alive. No greater proof could be found of the remarkable strength, persistence, and courage of these early Spanish explorers.

Rumors reached the Spanish in Mexico of rich cities to the north. Finally Coronado with a well-equipped expedition set out to find them. But the fabled Seven Cities of Cibola turned out to be only the pueblos of the Zuñi (Zoo'-nyee) Indians. Coronado's expedition is famous chiefly as the first white exploration of what is now New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Kansas. By the middle 1500's the Spaniards had explored many areas in the southern region of what is now the United States. That region remained part of the Spanish Empire until Mexico won her independence.

In the meantime a Spanish expedition, headed by a Portuguese, Ferdinand Magellan, worked its way around the tip of South America. After terrible sufferings, some of which we described at the beginning of the chapter, they made the long voyage across the Pacific. They discovered the Philippine Islands, where Magellan was killed in a battle with the natives. Of the five vessels with which the expedi-

tion started, one finally completed the voyage to Europe. It was the first trip around the world (1519-22), and for the first time Europeans gained some knowledge of the size of the earth. It also proved beyond doubt that America was not part of Asia.

**The Portuguese take possession of Brazil.** After Columbus discovered America, the Pope believed that he could prevent confusion and conflict by allotting to Spain and Portugal their share in the newly found lands. Acting as an umpire, he drew a line on the globe north and south giving Portugal lands east of the line and Spain all of the lands west (see map, page 16). The two nations approved this arrangement by signing a treaty. Neither the line nor the treaty, however, solved the conflicting claims of the two nations.

A few years later a famous Portuguese explorer, Pedro Alvares Cabral (Pay'-droh Ahl-vahr'-es Kah-brahl'), while on a trip to India, steered westward and touched the shores of Brazil. He sent a ship to Portugal reporting to the king that new lands had been claimed in his name. Since the Pope's line cut across the present country of Brazil, Cabral's discovery added weight to Portugal's claim to these lands.

In the years that followed neither France nor Spain paid much attention to the Pope's line. Both attempted to trespass and settle on Portugal's lands in Brazil. In the three-cornered conflict, however, Portugal finally won out. The roots of Brazil, therefore, go back to Portugal rather than to Spain.

## *The Business of Exploration Continues over Many Years*

**The French also take an interest in the New World.** The other nations of western Europe did not intend that Spain and Portugal should reap all the benefits of the newly discovered lands. France, England and other countries also sent expeditions of discovery. Later all of them attempted to found colonies.

The first Frenchmen to see the New World were probably fishermen who by 1500 were casting their nets off the coast of Newfoundland and drying their catch on nearby islands. Not until 1524 did the king send Verrazano to seek a new route to the Indies. He was followed by Jacques Cartier (Zhak' Kahrt-yay'), who on one of his three voyages discovered the St. Lawrence River (see map, page 20).

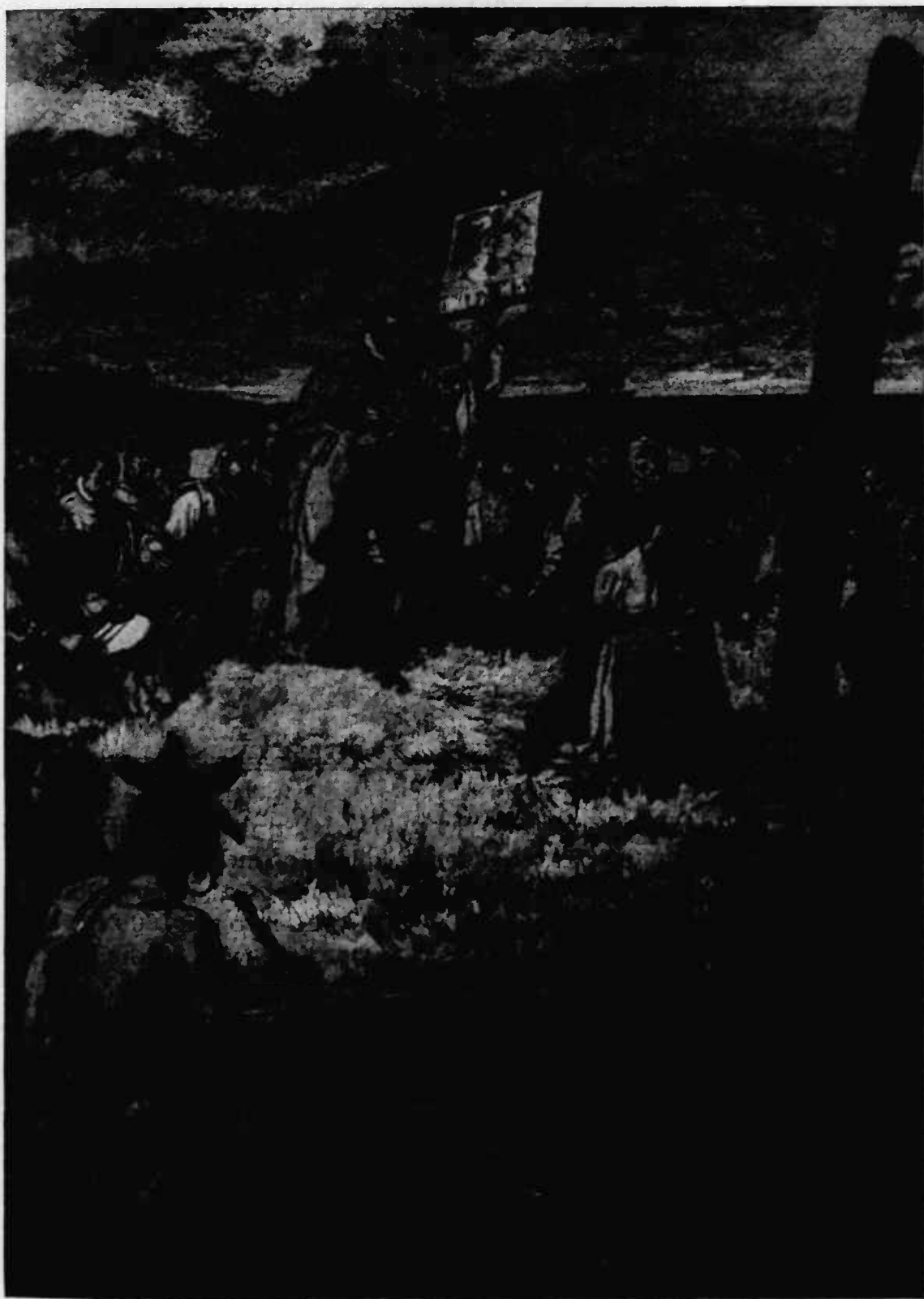
Other Frenchmen followed to fish and trade in furs, but no permanent settlement was made for many years after Cartier. It was Samuel de Champlain who really founded the French empire in America. He built forts and planted settlements in Nova Scotia in 1604 and four years later founded Quebec. Champlain spent years in exploring the St. Lawrence westward, pushing northwest along the Ottawa River and south as far as Lake Champlain (see map, page 20).

After Champlain a host of able French explorers pushed up the St. Lawrence from Quebec toward the Great Lakes, then southward into the Mississippi Valley. They took possession of the land for France

and carried the Christian religion to the far distant interior. In 1673 Louis Joliet (Zhol-yay'), a fur trader, and Father Marquette (Mahr-ke't'), a Jesuit priest, voyaged down the Mississippi to the mouth of the Arkansas. A few years later La Salle and his band floated down the Father of Waters to the mouth and took possession of the valley in the name of France.

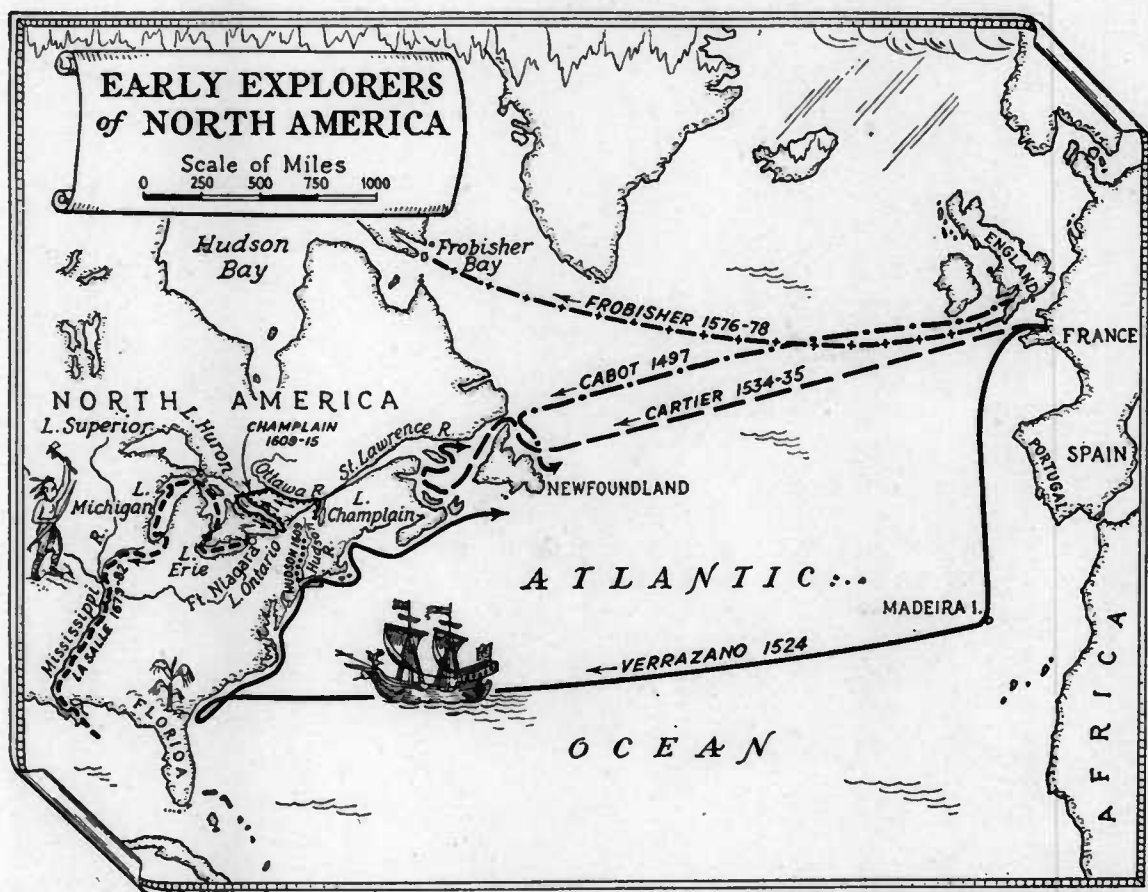
La Salle was followed by others who founded the first French settlement on the Gulf of Mexico where Biloxi, Mississippi now stands. Another great explorer, Cadillac, established a post at the important point of Detroit. Thus the French early laid claim to a great empire in America. This empire spread from Nova Scotia on the east, westward along the St. Lawrence to the Great Lakes, and south down the Mississippi Valley to the Gulf of Mexico.

**The British seek a northern route to the Orient.** Partly because of her geographical position in the north of Europe, England was particularly interested in reaching the Far East by a northern route. In 1497 the English king directed John Cabot, an Italian sea captain living in England, to go in search of undiscovered lands. Cabot explored the coast of Nova Scotia, Newfoundland or Labrador, but, of course, failed to find Asia. The only result of his voyage was to give England a claim to North America by right of discovery. Cabot's reward for this famous voyage was a gift of a mere £10 (\$50.00) from the king (see map, page 20).



Jacques Cartier, sent by the king of France to search for a passage to the Far East, explored the northeastern coast of North America. He landed on Cape Gaspé near the mouth of the St. Lawrence and, as shown above, in this picture by Howard Pyle, took possession of the land in the name of the French king. Cartier made at least two more exploring voyages to America. On one of them he sailed up the St. Lawrence as far as Montreal. (*Harper's Magazine*)





England at the time of Cabot was too poor to promote exploration actively. It was more than 50 years later before she again took up search for new routes to the East. By this time it was known that America was not Asia, and the problem was to find a way through or around the continent by what was then usually described as a "Northwest Passage."

One of England's bravest seamen, Martin Frobisher, made three voyages in search of such a passage. He discovered Baffin's Land and might have gone farther but for the discovery of ore which was believed to contain gold and which side-tracked his efforts. A few years later John Davis led several expeditions in the path of Frobisher. He sailed

into Davis Strait and Baffin's Bay, but failed to find a route through the network of seas, inlets, and bays.

Until well into the 1600's explorers and settlers were on the lookout either for a Northwest Passage or an all-sea route around the north. It was on one of these exploring expeditions that Henry Hudson discovered the bay that bears his name. Finally, explorers realized that no water passage through the continent existed and they became convinced that an Arctic route was impossible. Not until modern times did new explorers try again. Roald Amundsen (1903-06) at last achieved success. He was the first to sail from the Atlantic to the Pacific on a route north of the continent of North America.

**Bold men still explore unknown lands.** Amundsen's discovery of the Northwest Passage 400 years after Cabot was an explorer's feat. Under favorable conditions a skilled navigator might do it, but the route is useless for trade. It may, however, become important in furnishing weather bases for polar air routes. Like the work of other explorers, Amundsen's voyage nevertheless added something to world knowledge. It also made clear that even after 400 years there are still areas in America that are practically unknown. These areas are not only on the Arctic or Antarctic fringes of the continents. There are also jungles and mountains in the interior of South America which white men have never entered.

Exploration continues today, but not so crudely as in the early times. Today explorers are primarily scientists. They go on expeditions to study all information which they can obtain about the soil, the vegetable and animal life in sea and on land, the climate and weather con-

ditions. Men like William Beebe explore under the seas; others go up 70,000 feet to explore air currents and sun rays. Scientists are constantly tapping the earth to uncover new sources of materials.

Explorations like the Byrd Antarctic expeditions are often helped by aerial navigation. Pilots and aerial photographers sometimes go ahead and make photographic maps of the country. They can easily fly over areas otherwise difficult for men to explore. When the expedition is under way, airplanes are also useful in keeping explorers in close contact with their base.

Since the days of Prince Henry, courageous and skillful sailors from Portugal, Spain and the other nations of western Europe have sailed the unknown seas. They have opened new routes to the Far East, made known the African continent and discovered the two Americas. From da Gama and Columbus to Amundsen and Byrd, they have surveyed the paths of the unknown to lay the foundations of America.

## WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

Can you use each of these words or terms in a sentence? Show that you understand the meaning or importance of each.

- |                |                     |                      |
|----------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Middle Ages | 3. Spice Islands    | 5. "Pope's Line"     |
| 2. Crusades    | 4. Aztecs and Incas | 6. Northwest Passage |

## WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?

- 1492:** What day of this year is today a holiday in 37 of our states, several Latin-American republics, and in some Spanish and Italian cities? Why?
- 1497:** Why should this date be included in a discovery time line?
- 1519:** Tell why this is a most important year in Spanish-Mexican events.
- 1519-22:** This date should be known to all the world. Why?
- 1604:** What event and French explorer can you tie to this date?



**CAN YOU FIND THE ANSWERS TO THESE?**

1. What European group played a very important part in awakening Europe from the sleep of the Middle Ages (p. 7)?
2. Why did Europe need new and better routes to the East (p. 8)?
3. Portugal led Europe in search for new routes to the East. Why was Portugal the leader (p. 9)?
4. Why was the New World called America and not Columbia (p. 12)?
5. Cortés had certain qualities of leadership which made him a great explorer and conqueror. What were these qualities (pp. 12-15)?
6. What was the "divide and conquer" method used by Cortés to defeat Montezuma (p. 14)?
7. In addition to Cortés, name four Spanish explorers and the regions each explored (pp. 15-17).
8. Why was Magellan's trip around the world important (p. 17)?
9. Name the three most important French explorers. What region did each explore (p. 18)?
10. Why was John Cabot's voyage worth more than a reward of \$50.00 (p. 18)?
11. How does exploration today differ from that of early times (p. 21)?
12. *Summary Question:* Spain, Portugal, France, and England each tried to get a good part of the "Strange New World." Where was the most important claim established by each?

## Chapter 2. *Settlers Follow in the Path of Explorers . . . .*

SIR THOMAS SMITH: *Gentlemen, His Majesty, King James, has granted us a charter to trade and settle in America. Two companies have been formed under this Virginia charter and you have all bought shares. As Treasurer of the Virginia Company I have called you together to discuss how we shall go about this project. The meeting is now open.*

FIRST SHAREHOLDER: *This company is interested chiefly in profits. We are eager to find gold and precious stones. We want to discover a route through the continent to the Far East, if there is one. We also desire to trade with the natives for furs and any valuable things which they have.*

SECOND SHAREHOLDER: *That is true, but some of us are also interested in converting the natives to Christianity.*

THIRD SHAREHOLDER: *And while this is being done we must establish a great English colony in the New World to oppose Spain and increase English power.*

SIR THOMAS SMITH: *Yes, this is what we want to do. How shall it be done?*

FIRST SHAREHOLDER: *We must begin by planting a settlement. This will be a center from which we can explore and trade. It will take much money and skillful planning. We will have to send tools and weapons, and food to keep the settlers alive until they can support themselves.*

SECOND SHAREHOLDER: *How can we get men willing to endure the hardships and risk their lives in a strange land?*

THIRD SHAREHOLDER: *We must advertise throughout England. Let us show young men how they may find adventure and win glory and wealth. We will have to hire poor men to work for the company. But we can promise them land after a certain number of years. Let us urge upon all, particularly on the grounds of patriotism, the need of planting an English colony in America. I think we can get enough volunteers.*

SIR THOMAS SMITH: *I will follow your instructions. We will organize an expedition, call for volunteers and found a settlement in Virginia. I hope this will mean profits for all and glory for England.*

*The Desire of European Nations for Wealth and Power Leads to Rivalry in Settlement . . . . .*

European powers seek to increase their strength through the wealth of new lands. Portuguese explorers opened up the new routes to India and the Spice Islands; Spanish explorers discovered America. As a result, these nations reaped the first profits from the new discoveries. Portugal set up trading posts not only along the coasts of Africa, but also in the rich and thickly settled lands of the Far East. Some of these regions she still controls after 400 years. The profits from this trade made Portugal for a brief period a great and important nation.

Unlike the Portuguese discoveries, those of Spain were in lands that were thinly populated. Moreover, the Indians of the Americas, except for those in Mexico and Peru, lived in an extremely primitive way. For the time being they had little to offer Spain by way of trade. Before commerce could develop, Spain must send over settlers to establish farms, ranches and mines.

In the meantime, however, Spain obtained quick wealth from her American colonies. Cortés and Pizarro found rich stores of gold and silver in Mexico and Peru, which the Indians had mined over a long period. When Pizarro captured the Inca king, he demanded and obtained for his ransom a room full of gold. After the Indians had been conquered, the Spaniards with In-

dian labor continued to work the old mines and open up new ones. During the 150 years after the conquest Spain imported from America 18,000 tons of silver (present value about \$200,000,000) and 200 tons of gold (\$170,000,000). This was great wealth for those years.

Discoveries of new lands and the planting of colonies overseas greatly increased the commerce in many of the products of the East so prized in Europe. They also introduced Europe to new products. America contributed corn, the potato, and other foods. Tea was brought from China and cocoa from America. Coffee, already known to Europeans, now became a leading drink. As West Indian plantations were established, sugar became important in the European diet. New medicines, such as quinine from Peru, reached Europe, as well as tobacco and many other products.

When the other nations of western Europe saw the vast wealth flowing into Portugal and Spain, they naturally wanted a share. England, France, and Holland all turned their energies to the task of exploring and planting colonies in the New World. This, in turn, led to wars between the rival nations for control of sea routes, commerce, and colonies. These wars were made more bitter by religious rivalry. Shortly after America was discovered the Catholic church split, and northern Europe adopted various forms of the Protestant religion. Now each nation fought to spread its own type of Christianity in the new lands as well as to gain wealth and power.

The common man comes to America to find better opportunities. We have just explained why the nations of western Europe were eager to share in the trade with the East and in the wealth of the newly discovered lands. Why were the ordinary man and woman interested in America? What was there that turned their eyes to the New World? What could America offer them?

Above all, America offered a better way of life. In Europe many were persecuted or mistreated for their religious beliefs or political activity. Millions lived in extreme poverty and could see no hope for the future. In America they might find freedom to worship as they pleased, take part in the political life and improve their standard of living.

When the Catholic church split in the early 1500's, the governments in northern Europe established new churches. Northern Germany, for example, founded the Lutheran church; England, the Episcopal church; and Scotland, the Presbyterian church. When the government decided on the form of the nation's religion, everyone in the country was expected to follow it. Those who did not were persecuted in many ways. Sometimes they were thrown into jail or even put to death.

Thousands came to America to escape such treatment. Maryland was founded in part as a refuge for persecuted Catholics. William Penn in a similar way founded Pennsylvania for his fellow Quakers. To Pennsylvania also came many small

German religious groups from the Rhine Valley, who did not agree with the official state church. The Pilgrims and Puritans came to Massachusetts to escape from the persecution of the English state church.

Opposition to the government was crushed as quickly as opposition to the state church. Discontent with the state religion and with the government quite often went hand in hand. If religious persecution was to end, the government had to be changed. In any event, the state tried to stamp out either type of opposition with downright cruelty. One must either submit or get out of the land.

More important than either religious or political persecution was the desire for greater opportunities. In Europe there seemed to be little future for the common man. Unemployment was widespread, particularly in England. As the manufacture of wool became the chief industry of England, great landowners turned their farms into sheep pastures. As a result, the little tenant farmers lost their land. Men without work roamed the highways looking for jobs that did not exist.

In America the situation was quite different. Here there was land without limit, and a great demand for labor. Men who could never hope to own a farm or earn a decent living in Europe could obtain land in America for little or nothing. In the New World were forests to be cleared, crops to be planted, houses to be built, and all kinds of work to be done. No wonder thousands came to America in search of a better life and a happier future.

## *The Spanish and Portuguese Make the First Settlements in the Western Hemisphere*

**The Spanish move from the West Indies to Old Mexico.** The first settlements founded by the Spaniards in America were on the island of Española. From there they spread out to Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Cuba and the smaller islands of the West Indies. As they conquered these islands the Spaniards learned how to subdue the Indians. Here they first established the Spanish way of life in America. The West Indies became a nursery for Spanish civilization in the New World (see map, page 27).

Even before the Spaniards had completely occupied the West Indies, their explorers were sailing along the coast of North America as far north as Labrador and south to the tip of Cape Horn. After Balboa discovered the Pacific, expeditions explored the west coast of Central America and South America.

Settlers followed quickly on the heels of the explorers. Soon bands of soldiers were sent out to conquer the natives and plant Spanish towns along the coast of the mainland. The Spaniards early recognized the importance of controlling the narrow isthmus at Panama. There they founded the city of Panama in the early 1500's, the oldest Spanish city on the American mainland. At the same time, as we have already noted, Cortés founded Vera Cruz and set out on his march to Mexico City.

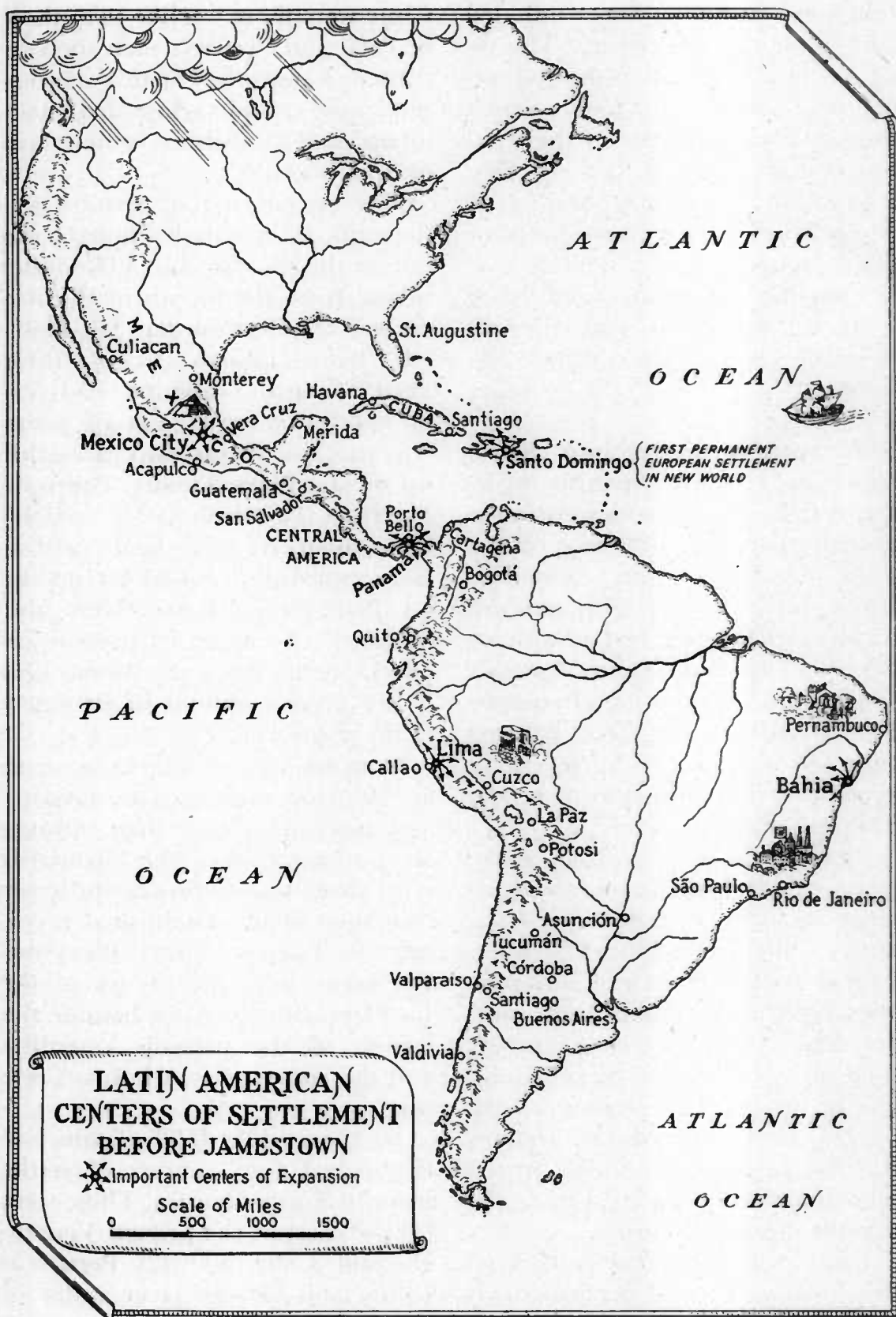
After Mexico City was captured the Spaniards had two central points on the mainland from which expeditions set out and settlements were planted. From the Isthmus of Panama they moved into Central America to occupy the present countries of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala. From Mexico City they spread into all parts of Mexico (see map, page 27).

Three main desires spurred on the Spanish conquerors: (1) to obtain treasure; (2) to convert the Indians to Christianity; and (3) to establish a Spanish empire in America. In at least three regions—Mexico, Central America, and Peru—they found vast stores of precious metals. There the Indians had developed a way of living far beyond that in other parts of America. They had learned how to construct roads, build cities, manufacture useful articles, and mine gold and silver. Great riches rewarded the early conquerors.

Every Spanish conqueror was a crusader for the cross as well as a soldier of the king. Added strength was given to this feeling in Mexico where the Indians worshipped idols and offered up human sacrifices. Thousands of young men were brutally killed in the temples each year to gain the favor of the gods.

The conquerors did what they could by force and persuasion to get the Indians to replace their idols with the cross and accept Christianity. Missionaries accompanied or immediately followed the soldiers. In the end the Indians accepted the new faith, although many Indian





religious customs were mingled with those of Christianity. The religious note of the Spanish conquerors can be seen in the names which they gave to hundreds of their cities. One example is Los Angeles, first called Nuestra Señora Reina de los Angeles (Our Lady Queen of the Angels).

That the conquerors established a Spanish empire in America will be made clear as we continue the story.

**The Spanish move into South America.** The first Spanish settlements in South America were made near the Isthmus of Panama on the coast of what is now Colombia. These, however, were tiny and unimportant. The first real advance of the Spaniards into South America was in Peru. In the 1530's Francisco Pizarro sailed south from Panama with 180 men and 30 horses on an expedition which proved to be the conquest of Peru.

Pizarro landed on the coast, marched his band inland, and arranged a conference with the Inca, as they called their king. When the Inca arrived, Pizarro took him prisoner by treachery and later murdered him. The Spanish conqueror then set up a puppet emperor and finally subdued the Indians. Like Cortés, he terrorized the Indians with his cannon and horses. In the meantime he founded Lima, the present capital of Peru.

Even before he had conquered the Indians, Pizarro persuaded his ablest lieutenant to march south to explore and conquer the region of the present Chile. The Indians in

Chile were more warlike than those of Peru and Pizarro's men soon returned. Later other Spaniards completed the conquest, founded settlements, and established a new area of Spanish rule.

The next center of Spanish settlements, interestingly enough, was not on the seacoast, but 1,000 miles inland from the mouth of the Rio de la Plata (Ree'-oh day lah Plah'-tah). Before Pizarro had set out for Peru, Spanish captains had explored the eastern coast of South America and at least two had sailed up the La Plata. Finally, Pedro de Mendoza (Pay'-droh day Main-doh'-sah) embarked from Spain with a large expedition, sailed far up the La Plata and Paraná rivers and founded Asuncion (Ah-soon-see-ohn'), on the Paraguay River. This is the present capital of Paraguay (Pahr-ah-gweye).

A prosperous settlement grew up at Asuncion supported by farming and ranching rather than mining. In the meantime, the Spaniards tried three times unsuccessfully before they finally established a colony at Buenos Aires (Bway'-nos Eye'-race), near the mouth of the La Plata. Buenos Aires became the capital of the present Argentina and the largest city in Latin America.

By the middle 1500's Spain had established four centers of settlement in South America. These were (1) the coast of the present Venezuela and Colombia; (2) Peru; (3) Chile; and (4) the river valley of the La Plata. From these regions, settlements spread in many directions until Spain controlled all Lat-



in America except Brazil (see map, page 27).

**The Spanish also push northward from the West Indies and Mexico.** In the last chapter we told how Ponce de Leon and Hernando de Soto had landed in Florida and how de Soto had explored the region on the Gulf coast westward beyond the Mississippi. We also told how Coronado, setting out from Mexico had marched northward through the present Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas. For more than 200 years similar expeditions set out from Mexico to explore the southwestern part of the United States.

Settlers followed the explorers. In 1565 a Spanish expedition founded St. Augustine on the east coast of Florida, the first permanent white settlement in the present United States. For almost 100 years after Cortés had conquered Mexico, the Spaniards were too busy settling Mexico to occupy the country farther north. Finally in the early 1600's an expedition entered the present New Mexico with a definite intention of settling. Santa Fe was founded at that time. In the years that followed, soldiers and missionaries planted settlements in New Mexico, Arizona and Texas.

Just 250 years after Cortés landed at Vera Cruz, Spain finally took up the task of occupying upper California. Their first town, San Diego, was founded in the 1760's. Pushing northward they established a fort and mission at San Francisco in 1776, the year that the English colonies on the Atlantic declared their independence from Great Britain.

The year that Yorktown was fought, they founded Los Angeles (1781).

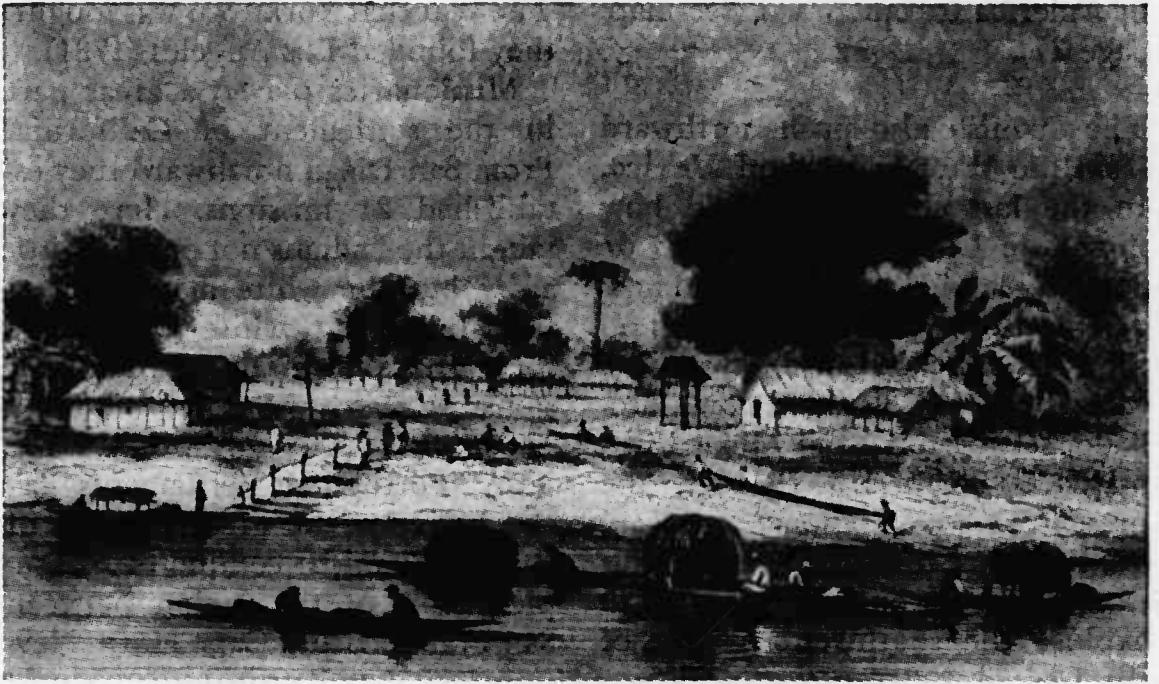
Missionaries played a great part in the settlement of California. From San Diego northward they established 21 missions. Here they taught the Indians not only Christianity but the white man's way of life. Important white settlements grew up around most of these missions.

**Tiny Portuguese settlements lay the basis for the great country of Brazil.** Spanish conquerors occupied most of the region between San Francisco and Cape Horn. Nevertheless, Brazil, the largest single country in Latin America, was colonized by Portugal. Today its 44,000,000 people speak Portuguese rather than Spanish.

Portugal claimed Brazil by right of discovery and because it lay east of the line drawn by the Pope to separate the possessions of Spain and Portugal. The king of Portugal, however, was mainly interested in his trade and possessions in the East Indies. Moreover, he had little wealth or military force to conquer and settle Brazil.

The king, therefore, shifted the responsibility as far as he could to his wealthy nobles. He granted them vast areas of land with large powers to rule on condition that they settle and develop the country. This was known as the system of colonization by *captaincies*. Later the king set up a central government under royal officials to supervise the various captaincies.

Under this system the rule of Portugal was established. The first cen-



A typical colonial village on the banks of the Amazon in Brazil. At the left is a wayside cross; at the right a tiny bell structure to call the Indians and Negro slaves to work on weekdays and to worship on Sundays. The long narrow boats carried the products of the region to market. (Culver Service)

ters of settlement were at Bahia (Bah-ee'-ah), at Rio de Janeiro (Ree'-oh day Zhah-nay'-roh) farther down the coast, and at São Paulo (Sah'-ong Pow'-lah). From these centers Brazilian control was pushed inland in all directions (see map, page 27). During the years that followed Portugal and the settlers in Brazil had to fight off both French and Dutch intruders. When the crowns of Spain and Portugal were joined in the late 1500's, Brazil was ruled by Spain. Finally Portugal won her freedom from Spain, and Brazil remained a Portuguese colony until she declared her own independence from Portugal.

Unlike the early Spanish settlers who were chiefly interested in mining and the early French who were mainly interested in the fur trade, the Portuguese turned their ener-

gies to agriculture. In the warmer regions they developed sugar cane and cotton plantations. Most of the sugar used in Europe in the 1600's came from Brazil. In the cooler regions toward the south great cattle ranches appeared. From the beginning the settlers exported many products of the forest, such as dye-woods, herbs for medicine, and timber of various kinds. In later years gold, diamonds, and other precious stones were found, but mining was of little importance compared to agriculture.

To obtain labor the Portuguese attempted to enslave the Indians, but in the long run they were unsuccessful. The Indians fought back and escaped into the forests. When captured they proved to be poor workmen. Moreover, the Catholic missionaries, who played an impor-

cant part in colonization, opposed the practice. Plantation owners then turned to importing Negro slaves.

As a result, Brazil imported more Negroes than any other part of Latin America. In the settled regions there were often many more Negroes than either whites or Indians. Later Brazil freed her slaves and officially granted Negroes racial equality. There has been much mixture among the three races—whites, Indians and Negroes.

### *The French Center Their Settlements in the St. Lawrence Valley and the West Indies*

Canada is opened to settlement by the French. In the last chapter we mentioned briefly how Cartier, Champlain, La Salle, and other great French explorers prepared the way for settlers and traders. Difficult and dangerous as exploration was, the planting of settlements proved to be even harder. During the 1500's the French made several attempts which completely failed. Efforts were made to found colonies in Brazil and in Florida. The former was destroyed by the Portuguese and the latter by the Spanish. Expeditions into the St. Lawrence Valley wintered three times at Quebec but failed at that time to plant a permanent settlement.

After 50 years efforts were resumed. This time the direction was taken by private individuals or trading companies to whom the French

king granted the sole privilege of trading in America. Through their efforts Quebec was finally established in 1608. By the middle 1600's Port Royal (now Annapolis) in Nova Scotia, and Montreal were also founded.

These three towns remained the center of New France as long as the French held Canada. From there the French gradually spread out and new settlements were planted along the St. Lawrence and the little rivers which ran into it. But the growth of population was small. When Count Frontenac, the greatest of the governors of New France, died about 1700, there were probably not more than 15,000 Frenchmen in all Canada. This was 90 years after the first permanent French settlement was founded.

The French push up the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi Valley. Despite the small population, the French showed great ability to extend their control over a vast territory. This was due to a number of reasons. First of all, the main interest of the French was the fur trade. If they were to win and keep this trade, they must push westward into the regions of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley. This was particularly true because the English were also eager to obtain furs. The English had made friends with the Iroquois (ear'-oh-kwoi) along the Mohawk River and hoped to obtain furs from them and their Indian allies.

Frontenac and later French governors understood this situation well. They encouraged La Salle,



La Salle takes possession of the Mississippi in behalf of the king of France, while Indians look on. Among his brave band of explorers was a Jesuit priest who represented the church at the famous ceremony. Compare LaSalle's costume with those of Columbus and Cortés in the last chapter. (Courtesy of the Singer Sewing Machine Company)

Joliet, and other great pathfinders to search the wilderness for the easiest routes and the best places for settlements. But these men were interested in more than furs. They dreamed of a great French empire in America, an empire that would hem in the English along the sea-coast and hold back the Spaniards to the south. Wherever they went, they took possession of the land in the name of France and raised the flag of the French king.

The spread of French power inland was also aided by the missionary priests, particularly those of the Jesuit order. These men accompanied the explorers and remained

behind to convert the Indians. Often they went alone and ahead of the explorers to live and work with the natives. These men suffered the bitterest hardships; many were killed by the Indians. They did, however, discover and explore many parts of New France.

As a result of the work of the explorers, fur traders, missionaries and soldiers, France extended her empire over a wide area. Forts and trading posts were set up along the upper St. Lawrence and at important points on all of the five Great Lakes. Such posts were to be found as far west as the upper Mississippi in the present state of Wisconsin.



Farther south there were posts on the Illinois River and along the Mississippi at St. Louis and New Orleans (see map, page 38).

Although French rule extended over this wide area, there were few Frenchmen in it. When France lost her great empire to England in 1763 there were not more than 70,000 Frenchmen in New France. Most of them were in the St. Lawrence Valley. Only a handful of fur traders and soldiers lived in the widely scattered forts and trading posts. Farmers and other settlers were few. The English colonies at this time had almost 2,500,000 people. This is one reason why France lost her American empire.

In the meantime the French establish themselves in the West Indies. When France in the early 1600's stirred to a new interest in empire building, she turned also to the rich tropical islands of the West Indies. In the West Indies her colonies might raise tobacco, sugar cane, tropical fruits, and other products desired in France. Moreover, she might use her possessions in the West Indies as stepping stones to further colonization in America.

With this in mind, the king encouraged various trading companies, similar to the English Virginia Company, to plant colonies. The first French settlement in the West Indies was founded in 1625 at St. Christopher, a little island southeast of the Virgin Islands. Years later the English captured St. Christopher, but the French were more successful at Guadeloupe (Gwah-de-loop') and Martinique

(Mahr-tee-neek'). These islands also changed hands in wars that followed, but France recovered them and still holds them.

In some ways France was more successful in the West Indies than in Canada. Within 25 years after her first colony was founded, the French flag floated over 14 islands. The French population of these islands in the 1600's was twice that of Canada. In the end France lost Canada but kept some of her possessions in the West Indies.

### *The English Settle from Newfoundland to the West Indies*

A great English business company establishes a going settlement in Virginia. Like the French, English adventurers attempted to plant colonies in America in the 1500's, but failed. During these years Sir Humphrey Gilbert tried unsuccessfully to establish a settlement in Newfoundland and Sir Walter Raleigh in Virginia. Newfoundland has been called the "senior colony" of England in America, but, as we shall see, the first permanent English settlement was in Virginia.

Although Raleigh spent a large private fortune in his Virginia enterprise, it was not enough. The founding of Jamestown, Virginia, came through the efforts of a great business company. Jamestown did not just happen. It was the result, as we pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, of careful business planning and management, and the spending of much money.





Early settlers at Jamestown suffered many misfortunes during the early years. This picture shows that there were too many soldiers and "gentlemen" who sat around and loafed while the few servants did the work. Even the laborers are not pushing themselves too hard. (Culver Service)

In 1606 the English king granted a charter to the Virginia Company, a concern in which many wealthy people bought shares. He granted to it large areas of land on the Atlantic coast with exclusive right to colonize them and with many trading privileges. On its part the company had the responsibility of planting colonies and defending them from the enemies of England.

After a weary voyage of four months, three ships with 104 men came to anchor in the James River. There they founded the settlement of Jamestown (1607). The early years of the new colony are a story of suffering and misfortune. Supplies from England were poor and insufficient, and the settlers did not know how to provide for themselves. They suffered from misman-

agement within the colony and Indian attacks from without. Three-fourths of the first two expeditions died of disease and starvation (see map, page 38).

Finally the colonists learned how to grow food and defend themselves from the Indians. The rule of the company improved. The settlers discovered in tobacco a prosperous crop which could be exported to England. All these helped the colony to survive. The Virginia Company lost heavily in settling Virginia. Nevertheless, its place in history is important. It laid the foundations of an English world empire and of the American nation.

**Pilgrims and Puritans seek religious liberty in Massachusetts.** Virginia was founded by a great com-



**"Pilgrims Going to Church"** hardly needed the arms shown in this picture. Other settlers on the frontier often did. Actually the Pilgrims established friendly relations with the nearby Indians and got along well with them. Chief Massasoit and other friendly Indians often helped the Plymouth settlers. (Culver Service)

mercial company interested in profits. Plymouth, the next permanent English settlement, was established by a small religious group in search of freedom of worship and a chance to earn a decent living. The Pilgrims were Englishmen who disliked the form of worship of the English state church. Persecuted at home, they fled to Holland.

Life in a foreign country was hard and the Pilgrims preferred to bring up their children in English ways. Many of them decided to leave Holland and to move to America. The Virginia Company granted permission to settle on their lands, and London merchants provided the funds. Setting out in 1620, the little band of 102 men, women, and children sighted land in November near Provincetown, Cape Cod. After exploring the

coast, they picked Plymouth as the place of settlement. Here they found a fine harbor, a brook with good water, and much cleared land. The region was uninhabited, for the Indians had been destroyed in a recent plague.

Driven out of their course by storms, the Pilgrims found they were outside of the bounds of the Virginia Company. Before they landed, therefore, the men drew up a simple agreement (the Mayflower Compact) by which each pledged himself to obey the will of the majority. As in other settlements, the early years of Plymouth were hard. Over half the little company died during the first winter but not a single person returned to England in the spring. Under their determined leaders, William Brewster and William Bradford, the tiny colony

slowly grew. When the land around Plymouth was taken up, small groups moved north and south to settle other towns.

While the Pilgrims were struggling to keep their foothold in Plymouth, another group, called Puritans, was preparing to come to America. The Pilgrims and the Puritans were alike in that both groups were dissatisfied with the church in England. They differed chiefly in policy. The Pilgrims preferred to separate from the English state church while the Puritans preferred to stay in the church and reform or "purify" it.

Unlike the Pilgrims, many of the Puritans were wealthy and powerful men. They obtained from the king a charter with a grant of land covering the present region of Massachusetts. The charter also granted them rights of self-government. Under this charter the Puritans organized the Massachusetts Bay Company.

The Puritans were not interested in using the Massachusetts Bay Company as a trading company. They planned it as a means to set up in America a Puritan colony. Accordingly an expedition of over 800 set out in 1630 under the leadership of John Winthrop and founded the city of Boston. Others quickly followed and new villages sprang up in eastern Massachusetts. Within ten years at least 15,000 Englishmen had come to the new colony.

**Later the English fill in the gaps from Maine to Georgia.** The Puritans who owned the Massachusetts

Bay Company planned to keep the government in the control of the shareholders and the religious life under control of the Puritans. It happened, however, that at least four-fifths of the newcomers were not Puritans. Moreover, many Puritans began to question the ideas of their own religious leaders. Soon there was discontent, and many from Massachusetts left that colony in search of greater political or religious freedom or in search of better land.

One of the rebels was Roger Williams. Before a Puritan judge could banish him to England, he fled southward and founded a settlement at Providence, Rhode Island. Another group under Thomas Hooker marched westward to settle Hartford and other towns on the lower Connecticut River. From Connecticut as a base English settlers pushed north into Vermont, west into New York, and crossed Long Island Sound to settle Long Island. Settlers from Massachusetts also moved into New Hampshire.

In the meantime, the Calvert family under a grant from the English king had founded settlements in Maryland as a home for persecuted Catholics. By this time the English had learned the methods of settlement. Wealthy individuals like the Calverts could now do what before only great commercial companies had been able to manage. Colonists could now settle without the hardships suffered at Jamestown and Plymouth. Although Maryland grew slowly at first, it developed finally into a strong colony.



**William Penn** treated the Indians with fairness and justice. His wisdom in doing this freed his colony from the danger of Indian attack in its early years. This painting of Penn making a treaty with the Indians shows a good likeness of Penn, but otherwise probably bears little resemblance to the actual scene. (Culver Service)

In 1664 the English king granted to his brother, the Duke of York, the land between the Connecticut and the Delaware rivers. Before the Duke of York could take possession, however, he had to drive out the Dutch, who had settled New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island and New Netherland on the Hudson. This he did and New York came under the English Crown. Englishmen now moved into New York and New Jersey.

A few years later (1681) the English king granted Pennsylvania to William Penn. Penn was a Quaker who wanted to set up in America a refuge for his persecuted fellow Quakers. Unlike the Puritans, he believed in religious liberty and invited the persecuted of all lands to come to his new colony. Soon there was a steady stream from England, Germany, and Ireland. The

“holy experiment,” as Penn called it, prospered from the start.

The Carolinas were granted to eight English nobles. The northern part was settled largely by Virginia frontiersmen, the southern by immigrants from England, France, and the West Indies. Georgia, the last of the 13 English colonies, was founded in 1733 under the leadership of James Oglethorpe. Oglethorpe hoped that it would be a land where English debtors and others might start a new life. The king thought of it as an outpost of defense against the Spaniards in Florida.

**Like the Spanish and the French the English now settle in the West Indies.** Before Jamestown was five years old England established her first West Indian colony on the Bermuda Islands. It prospered from



# ENGLISH COLONIES AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

- English Colonies in 1760
- Settled Areas





the start and grew rapidly. In the 50 years that followed, England planted settlements and extended her power over St. Christopher, Antigua (An-tee'-gwah), Barbados (Bah-r-bay'-dohs), Jamaica, and other islands.

During the 30 years following the founding of Jamestown, as many

Englishmen went to the West Indies as to the mainland colonies. Their chief activity was raising tobacco and sugar on large plantations for the English market. England also prized these settlements as outposts from which to attack Spain. Today she owns more of the West Indies than any other power.

### WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

Here are some key words and terms of this chapter. Show that you know them by using each in a sentence. Also give an example of each.

- |                          |                  |                      |
|--------------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| 1. religious persecution | 3. "captaincies" | 5. Mayflower Compact |
| 2. political persecution | 4. charter       | 6. "holy experiment" |

### WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?

- 1565: Why is this an important year in early Spanish history as well as in our own past?
- 1607: This is a date that should appear on every colonial time line. Why?
- 1608: To the French in America this is a red-letter year because it marks the founding of a city which is still very much French. What is it?
- 1620: This is the year in which an English colony was founded in which the settlers could enjoy religious freedom. What was the colony?
- 1630: In this year another type of religious settlement was made. What city was the center of this colony?

### CAN YOU FIND THE ANSWERS TO THESE?

1. Name three advantages which might come to a nation making discoveries and settlements in the New World (p. 24).
2. What could the ordinary man and woman gain by seeking a new home in the Americas? Name three such gains (p. 25).
3. What were the three main reasons which urged on the Spaniards to conquest and settlement in the Americas (p. 26)?
4. Name four centers of Spanish settlement established in South America by the middle 1500's (p. 28).
5. Why do parts of our present Southwest have towns and cities with Spanish names (p. 29)?
6. How did the early Portuguese settlers in Brazil differ from the early Spanish and French settlers in the Americas (pp. 30-31)?
7. Why was it that the French—always small in numbers—were able to conquer and claim so much land in North America (pp. 31-32)?
8. Why were the French more successful in the West Indies than in Canada (p. 33)?
9. Why is the founding of Jamestown of great importance? Why were its first years uncertain ones (p. 34)?

10. How did the Pilgrims and Puritans differ? What colony did each settle (pp. 35–36)?
11. Name three other important colonies founded along the Atlantic seacoast, giving the names of the founders (pp. 36–37).
12. *Summary Question:* Using the two maps in this chapter (see pp. 27 and 38), prepare to answer this question. How do the maps show that there was rivalry in settlement among the English, French, Spanish and Portuguese?

## Chapter 3. *Europeans Establish Different Ways of Living in the Americas . . . . .*

*In the late 1600's a group of German immigrants bought 15,000 acres of land near Philadelphia from William Penn. Before the main body came they sent over as their agent Francis Daniel Pastorius to prepare the way. Pastorius was a well-educated man and immediately wrote a description of Pennsylvania to aid immigrants who would follow.*

*Describing his voyage he wrote: "My company consisted of many sorts of people. There was a doctor of medicine with his wife and eight children, a French captain, a Low Dutch cake-baker, an apothecary [druggist], a glass-blower, a mason, a smith, a wheelwright, a cabinet maker, a cooper [barrel maker], a hat-maker, a cobbler [shoe-maker], a tailor, a gardener, farmers, seamstresses, etc., in all about eighty persons besides the crew. They were not only different in respect to age (for our oldest woman was sixty years of age and the youngest child only twelve weeks) and in respect to their occupations, as I have said, but were also of such different religions and behaviors that I might not unfittingly compare the ship that brought them hither with Noah's Ark. . . . In my household I have those who hold to the Roman [Catholic], to the Lutheran, to the Calvinistic [Presbyterian], to the Anabaptist, to the Anglican church [Episcopalian], and only one Quaker."*

*From this description of a group of immigrants we learn that they followed many different occupations. We also learn that they came from various countries and believed in different types of religion. This one immigrant ship is typical of thousands which came, particularly to North America, for 300 years.*

*This description is also interesting because it helps to explain how America came to be as it is. Our own nation is made up of immigrants and their descendants who came from many lands, followed many different religions and earned their living in all sorts of ways. It was true of the colonial period; it is true today.*

## *Latin America Is a Land of Miners, Ranchers and Farmers . . . . .*

A small number of Spaniards rule over millions of Indians. In proportion to the Indians the number of Spaniards in the New World was always few. Moreover, they enjoyed but little home rule. The governors, judges, and high church officials were appointed by the king and sent from Spain. Even the descendants of the early settlers had little part in the government.

Nevertheless, it was the Spanish settlers who controlled the economic life of New Spain. That is, they owned and directed the mining industry, the ranches, and the great plantations. As the Spaniards conquered the land, they divided it among themselves in great estates, called *encomiendas* (ain-koh-mee-ain'-dahs). Each owner of an *encomienda* was given control over one or more Indian villages. These villages were forced to supply the labor for his estate. Under this system the Indians became little more than slaves.

Spain did not intend that the Indians should be slaves and after many years abolished the *encomienda* system. The great estates, however, remained, and the Indians worked on them as in earlier years. Since the Spaniards had taken away their land, the Indians could earn a living in no other way. Moreover, most of them had fallen into debt to the landowner and they must keep on working to pay it off. Even after the *encomiendas* were wiped

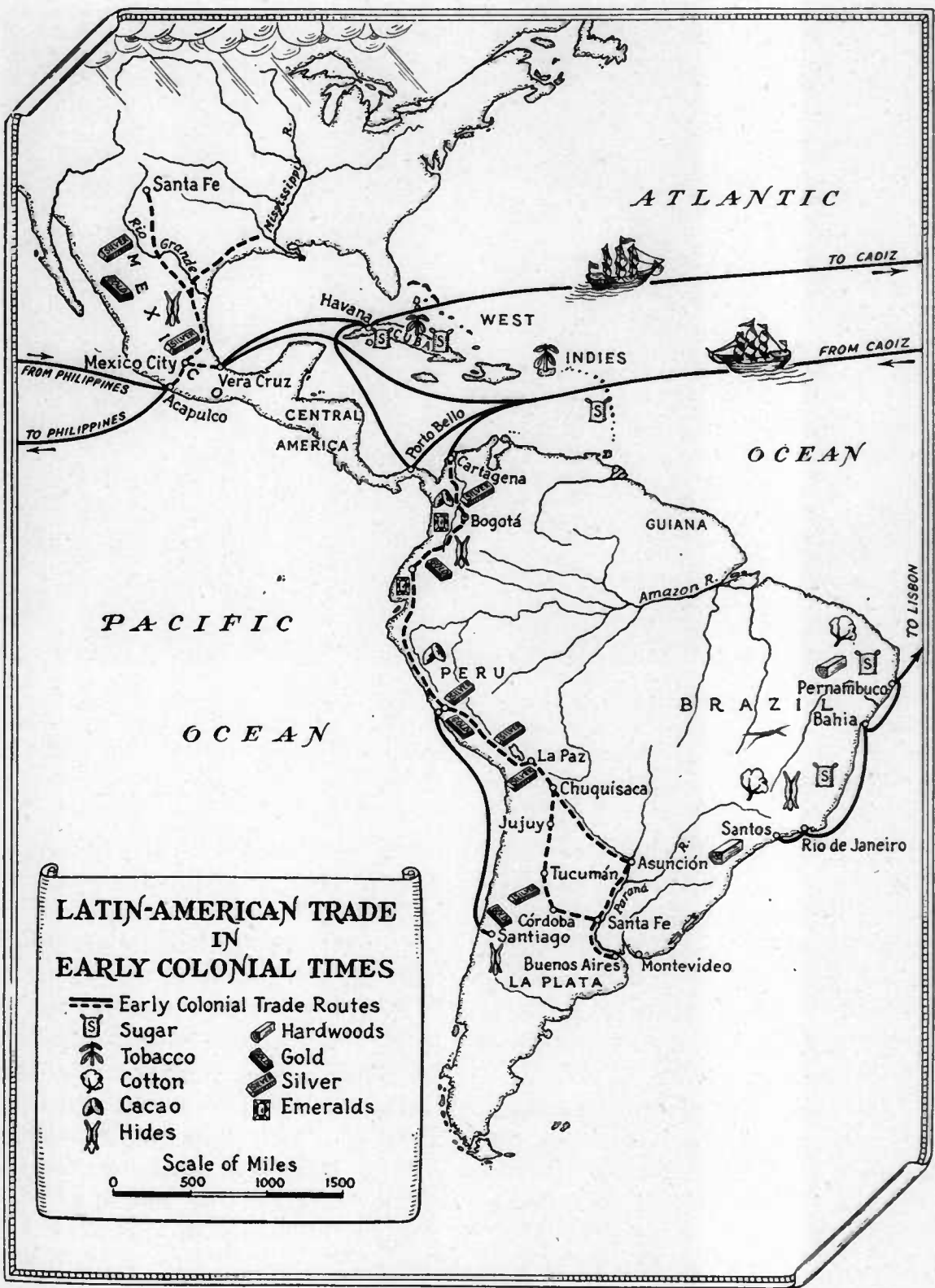
out by law, Spain continued a system of forced labor in the mines. The law required that a proportion of Indians in each village work a certain length of time in the mines.

While Spain encouraged the mining of gold and silver, the great majority of people in Latin America lived by farming and ranching. The value of the agricultural products was much greater than that of the mines (see map, page 43). This happened despite the lack of interest of the home government. Spain, in fact, discouraged any products of agriculture or industry that might compete with those in Spain.

**The church is a great influence in the social life.** From the beginning the church played an important part in the life of Latin America. The soldiers, of course, first conquered the country. But the conquered territory was vast and the Spaniards were few. It was the priests who took the responsibility of converting the Indians and teaching them the ways of the white man.

The priests pushed out beyond the white settlements and set up missions among the Indians. Then they taught the natives the Spanish language, the Christian religion, and how the white man lived. After the missionaries had done their work, other Spaniards came in to take over the land and profit from the country.

The work of the priests was often dangerous and always difficult. The Indians gradually learned the new language, but kept many of the Indian words. They accepted the Catholic religion, but retained many of







**Gold mining in colonial Brazil**, as this picture shows, was done by slaves digging out the gold from rocks and sand washed down from the mountain streams. This method is called "placer mining" and is the same as that used by the California gold miners described in Chapter 12. (Historical Pictures Service)

the customs and ceremonies of their Indian faith. The Indians of Mexico to this day often give their old tribal dances on church holidays, sometimes on the porch of the church. Indian manners and customs have continued, particularly in the remote regions.

A leading part in the promotion of education was taken by the church. More than 50 years before Jamestown was settled two universities had been founded in Latin America—the University of Mexico at Mexico City and the University of San Marcos at Lima. Before the colonial period was over Spanish America boasted of a string of colleges and universities stretching

from Mexico to Chile. Learning was greatly honored in Latin America. Almost all elementary education and most university teaching were in the hands of the church.

Not only was the church supreme in the religious and educational life, but it was also important in the economic life. There were some regions in which it owned four-fifths of the land. On these lands the monks directed the farming. The Indians did most of the work for little or nothing. In return the church supported and protected them. Sometimes the Indians had small plots of their own on which to farm. The monastery was always the center of the community.

Most of Latin America, however, was not owned by the church. The land was largely held by a small ruling class who lived on large estates called in certain countries *haciendas* (ah-see-ain'-dahs). The owner and his family directed the great farm or plantation. The Indians in nearby villages provided the skilled and unskilled labor. The hacienda needed little from the outside; it raised its own food and manufactured its own products. Even here, however, the church through its influence on education and religion had an important place.

**In certain ways the Portuguese differ from the Spanish.** Although the Portuguese colony of Brazil resembled the Spanish colonies in many ways, there were also many differences. The Spaniards quickly forced the Indians into a condition little better than slavery. The Portuguese never succeeded in doing this on a wide scale, and therefore brought in Negro slaves in large numbers.

The population of the Spanish mainland colonies, as a result, was largely made up of whites, *mestizos* (mace-tee'-sos, a mixture of white and Indian), and pure-blooded Indians. In most of the countries of Central and South America the majority of the population, even today, is composed of Indians or mestizos. In Brazil, on the other hand, there is a large population of Negroes and of mixed Negro and white, as well as of Indians. Negroes also inhabit the Caribbean islands and the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. In fact the population of many Caribbean Islands is

almost entirely Negro—descendants of the early slaves.

Another important difference between Brazil and the Spanish colonies was in the government. Portugal permitted more home rule in Brazil and allowed more Brazilians to take part in the government. She did not try to keep the government entirely in the hands of officials sent from Portugal. Because of this the government was less harsh and more fitted to the needs of the colonists than was the case in the Spanish colonies. Laws regarding commerce and trade were less strict.

In the field of education, however, Brazil lagged behind the Spanish colonies. Brazil had no universities in the colonial period and no printing presses until the early 1800's. If Brazilians wanted a university education, they had to return to the mother country.

On the whole, life was more easy-going in Brazil than in the Spanish colonies. Relations with the home country were more satisfactory to the colonists. This explains in part why Brazil remained longer under Portuguese rule than did Spanish America under the rule of Spain.

### *Furs and Sugar Largely Influence French Life . . . . .*

**French ways of living continue in Old Quebec.** Like other Europeans who settled in America, the French expected to set up here a way of life similar to that at home. It was after all the only kind that they knew. Just as in Old France, we



"Talon Visiting a Settler's Home," a painting by Batchelor, shows one of the many activities of Jean Baptiste Talon, one of the great seigneurs of New France. As an important public official, he not only encouraged settlers on his own estate, but also built ships, began trade with the West Indies, and sent exploring expeditions to Hudson Bay and elsewhere in search of copper and iron. (Public Archives of Canada)

find in New France a government in which the people had little influence. The governor, who was the king's representative, ruled with absolute power. As in France, the church was close to the government and had great influence. All colonists were expected to follow the Catholic religion.

In Old France most of the people were small farmers. The little farms were grouped around the house of the lord and the farmers paid rent to him for the use of the land either in products from the farm or in labor. The French government expected to establish the same system in New France. They granted large blocks of land to *seigneurs* (sen-

yurs), who were to persuade the immigrants to settle on their lands.

Many of these big estates were set up and many immigrants settled on them. At least three-fourths of the French in Canada became farmers. The life of the seigneur and his farmers, however, was different from that of France. First of all, the dues or rents were much smaller. The farms were not grouped around the seigneur's house, as in France, but stretched in long lines along the rivers and lakes. This was because there were few roads in Canada. People traveled by water and had to be near the routes of transportation.

Although three-fourths of the set-

tlers were farmers, the most important business of New France was in collecting and exporting furs. The great profits were in furs and the fur trade. A goodly number of the population were off in the woods seeking adventure and wealth. "There is not a family of any account," wrote one governor to the king, "but has sons, brothers, uncles and nephews among these *coureurs-de-bois*" (koo-rur' duh bwah, runners of the woods).

These men spent most of their lives in the forests. Some lived with the Indians and married into their tribes. They trapped furs themselves and bought furs from Indians. All acted as contact men to direct the fur trade to the French rather than to the Dutch or English.

Once a year they led the Indians with their stock of furs to a big gathering at Montreal. Here there were a great council fire and speeches by the governor and the chiefs. Then the trading began. The Indians exchanged their furs for firearms, knives, blankets, kettles, trinkets, and many other things. And, of course, there was feasting and plenty of strong drink, mixed with the more serious business. Fur trading was the big business of New France.

**The French adapt themselves to life on tropical islands.** The French in Canada adapted themselves well to the cold climate and to the fur trade. They were equally successful in the warm regions of the West Indies. Like their English and Spanish neighbors in nearby islands, they laid out large plantations. On

these they raised sugar, tobacco, ginger, and other tropical products with the labor of Negro slaves.

In some ways they excelled the British and the Spaniards. They were more industrious than their Spanish neighbors. They beat the British because they took better care of their plantations. Most English planters returned to England as soon as they had made their fortunes. Hired overseers took care of the estates. The Frenchman stayed on the islands and personally watched over his estate. Before long he could undersell the Spaniards and English in the nearby islands.

### *The English Colonies Are a Land of Small Farmers, Plantation Owners and Shippers . . . . .*

**Plantation life in the South differs from life in the North.** Life for many in the southern mainland colonies was much like that on the British and French West Indies. The settlers in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia found that they, too, could raise crops on large plantations for which there was a market in Europe. Virginia early turned to tobacco. The Carolinas and Georgia later raised rice and indigo, a plant used to make a blue dye.

A colonial plantation differed from a farm in the North in a number of ways. It was much bigger. It raised crops largely for sale and the work was done by hired hands or slaves. The colonial farm, on the



other hand, was small and worked almost entirely by the farmer and his family. Most of the products of the farm were used by the family. Little was sold in the market.

The southern colonies were well fitted for plantations. Land was cheap and enough could be secured for large-scale production. It was also easy to get the crop to market. Virginia and the Carolinas are regions of many rivers and the plantation could be laid out on the banks. Each one had its own wharf and the little ships of the colonial days could easily sail up and load.

The greatest problem of the planter was labor. Since land was cheap, settlers preferred to develop their own farms rather than to work for a plantation owner. The planter finally solved the labor problem in two ways: first, by *indentured servants*; and later, by Negro slaves.

Indentured servants were mainly poor immigrants who wanted to come to America but had no money to pay their passage. The planter paid the expenses and the immigrants signed an indenture or contract agreeing to work for the planter for three or four years. The planter provided food, clothing, and shelter, but paid no wages. At the end of his service the servant usually received 50 acres of land and tools to start farming for himself as a free man.

In the 1700's the planters turned to Negro slaves. They were easier to obtain than indentured servants and seemed to be cheaper in the long run. Negroes were better fitted for hard work in a hot climate. English and Yankee slave dealers

secured the Negroes from the west coast of Africa in exchange for rum, firearms, and other goods. Hundreds of thousands were brought to the colonies in the colonial days.

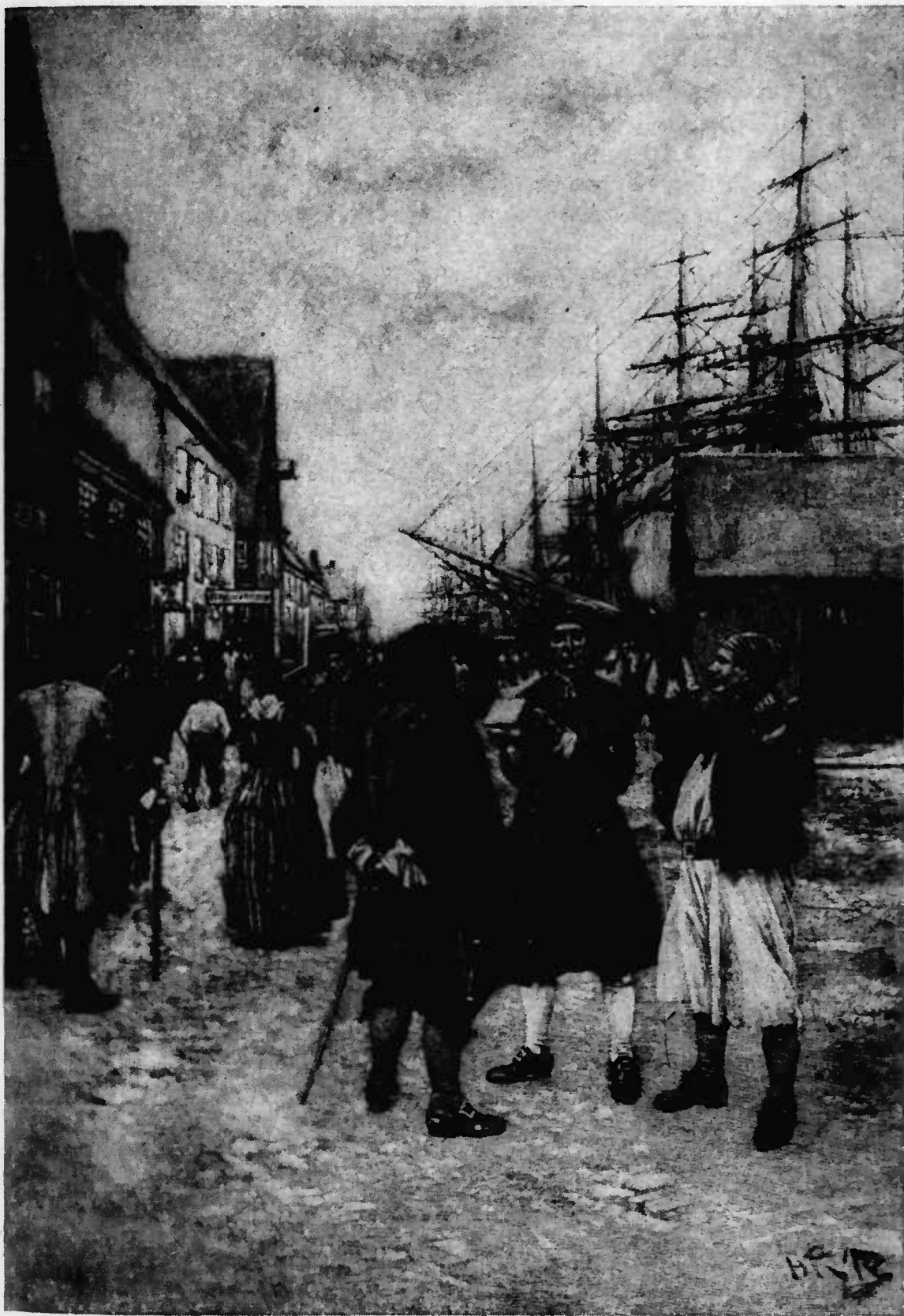
**The South also is a land of small farmers.** Unlike the British West Indies, the mainland colonies were a country of small farmers as well as great planters. This is the main difference between life in the two regions. Nine-tenths of the settlers in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia were small farmers who lived much like the small farmer in the North.

Despite their numbers, the small farmers had little influence. The planters raised the crops that were exported and secured most of the wealth. They controlled the government and made the laws. The large plantation houses were the center of social life. These are the reasons why we think of the colonial South as a land of great planters rather than of little farmers.

**Small-scale farming is the way of life in New England and the Middle Colonies.** The system of large plantations never developed in New England and in the Middle Colonies of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. There were, of course, a few large farms, but most were small. In general, they were about the size that a farmer and his family could operate.

There were many reasons for the small farm in the North. Scarcity of labor was one. The small farmer often lived in comfort, but he rarely made enough money to buy slaves.





**"Along the Water Front in Old New York,"** a picture drawn by the famous illustrator, Howard Pyle, gives a glimpse of commercial life in the late colonial period. The long line of ships shows that New York was already a lively trading center. In the foreground two merchants are discussing business with a sea captain. (*Harper's Weekly*)

The climate and soil were not suitable for raising plantation crops which England desired. England wanted tobacco, rice, and indigo, but not foodstuffs. There was little in the North to encourage plantations.

The first business of the small farmer was to produce enough to support his family. Since roads were poor and there was little commerce inside the country, each farmer must raise most of the things which the family needed. He had little chance to specialize on a single product. After clearing the land, he put in corn, wheat, vegetables, and fruit trees. He raised, in addition, some hogs and a few sheep. From the land and livestock he obtained food, leather, and wool. His own wood lot supplied fuel and building materials.

To a large extent the farmer took care of his own needs. The first needs of life—food, clothing, shelter, and fuel—he secured from his farm. But there were other necessities which the farm did not supply—iron, salt, firearms, and ammunition. The farmer needed money for these as well as for taxes and other expenses.

The farmer could obtain money only by selling some of his products. From the beginning he tried to raise a surplus of corn, wheat, or meat which he could sell to the coast towns, or to foreign markets. He often used the wood on his farm for lumber, or to make shingles and casks. He could sell the lumber and shingles in the foreign market and the casks to the fishermen and rum

dealers. There was always a market for furs, and the frontier farmer usually spent part of his time hunting.

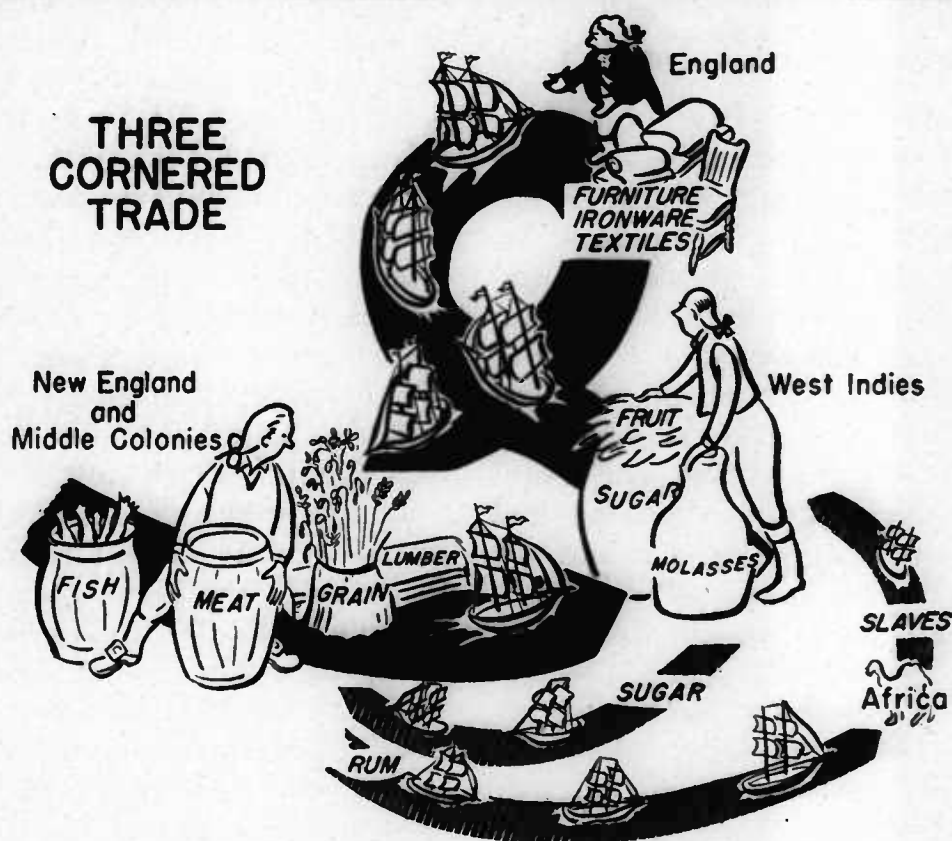
**A lively commerce develops between the English colonies and the Old World.** Since the farm never supplied quite all of the needs of the family, commerce was bound to develop. Moreover, there was a market somewhere for whatever surplus the colonists could produce. It was hard, of course, for inland farmers to get their goods to market because roads were poor. Most of the colonists, fortunately, lived near rivers or the seacoast.

Commerce developed quickly and easily in the South. That region had products which England did not have and was eager to get. These included not only tobacco, rice, and indigo, but also naval stores. Naval stores are products of forests used in shipbuilding—tar, pitch, turpentine, and lumber. The forests were disappearing in England, and she was forced to obtain these products elsewhere. For all of these things England exchanged manufactured goods.

New England and the Middle Colonies found it more difficult to develop a lively commerce. England bought their naval stores and furs, but not their foodstuffs. The chief products of this region were fish, meat, and flour. England was interested in protecting her own fishermen and farmers and barred these products by high import taxes.

The colonists finally solved the problem. They discovered a market

### THREE CORNERED TRADE



for their fish, meat, grain, and lumber in the West Indies and in southern Europe. Gradually a three-cornered trade developed with these regions (see chart, above). The colonists exchanged their fish, meat, grain, and lumber in the West Indies for sugar, molasses, and fruit. Then they carried these products to England and exchanged them for manufactured goods. English manufactured products, such as textiles, ironware, and furniture, were then brought to America.

Trade with southern Europe was much the same. American products were traded for wine and fruit, and the latter exchanged in England for manufactured goods. In this way each region supplied the needs of

another. All gained from this commerce. America profited, particularly, because an active commerce encouraged shipbuilding and supported a merchant marine and a merchant class.

Another three-cornered trade was the transportation and sale of Negro slaves. The chief product of the West Indies was sugar. American merchants, particularly in New England, distilled the sugar into rum. The rum was exchanged for slaves, the slaves brought back to the West Indies and traded to the planters for sugar. Some were also brought to the Southern mainland colonies. The slave trade was profitable, but disgracefully cruel. Its long-term results were only harmful.

## *Europeans Carry to America Different Ideas of How to Live*

The sons and daughters of many countries come to America. Except for the Indians, every person living in the United States is an immigrant or a descendant of immigrants. Most have come from Europe, and the stream of immigration has been flowing to this country for 300 years. The first immigrants were Spaniards who planted tiny settlements in Florida. In later years Spaniards from Mexico pushed northward into Texas, Arizona, New Mexico and California.

In the meantime, the English began to plant settlements along the Atlantic seacoast of the present United States. Almost all of the immigrants into this region in the 1600's were English, except some Dutch in the Hudson Valley and a few Swedes on the Delaware. We do not know how many English came to America during the 1600's. The white population of the mainland colonies of England in 1700, however, numbered about 250,000. This seems like a small number but it was enough to establish in America the English language, English laws, and English customs.

During the 1700's the source of migration changed. Most of the immigrants during these years came, not from England, but from Ireland and Germany. The migration from Ireland was of two kinds. There were the so-called "Scotch-Irish" from northern Ireland, a mixture of English, Scotch, and Irish. From South Ireland came the

Irish. The Germans, later known as the Pennsylvania Dutch, came from the upper Rhine Valley.

There were, of course, immigrants from other countries. We have mentioned the Spanish, Dutch, and Swedes. There were also a few French Huguenots, French Protestants, who came to escape religious persecution. They settled mainly in the Carolinas. A small number of Jews also arrived and settled in the seaport towns.

In the 1600's most of the immigrants went to New England and Virginia. In the 1700's they settled in the Middle Colonies—New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania Dutch have largely stayed where they first settled. The Irish and Scotch-Irish have moved to all sections.

Next to Europe, Africa has given to America more people than any other continent. These were the Negro slaves brought here mainly in the 1700's. Unlike the Europeans, they came here against their will. They numbered at the end of the colonial period one-fifth of the entire population of the 13 British colonies. Our first census of 1790 put the Negro slaves at almost 700,000.

**The colonists carry to America different religious ideas.** Long before the Revolution America was a land of many different people from many different countries. They brought to America from their homelands different ideas and different ways of life. This was particularly true of religion. Since many immigrants came to America to escape religious



persecution, they set up here various kinds of churches.

In Europe each nation had its official state church. All were supposed to follow it and even pay taxes to support it. It was natural that this policy should be followed in America in the early years. In Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia the governments established the Episcopalian form of worship (the state church in England) as the official church. This was also true in southern New York. All were expected to belong to it and to support it.

The colonists in New England were opposed to the state church in England. The Pilgrims and Puritans had come to America to escape from this church. When they reached New England, however, they proved as unwilling as the Episcopalians in England to allow religious liberty. They set up state churches (the Congregational church) in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire. All were supposed to attend this church. Only church members could vote in town or state elections. The union between church and state was complete.

Rhode Island was one exception in New England. Roger Williams, pastor of the Salem church in Massachusetts, had ideas disturbing to the local authorities. He believed that the church and state should be separated. He was convinced that the state should not interfere with the religious life of an individual. Before the authorities could banish him from Massachusetts, he and his followers fled to Rhode Island.

There he bought land from the Indians and established a government. In line with his beliefs, there was no state church in Rhode Island.

In the Middle Colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware no state church was established. It was impractical because there were too many religious sects. The Presbyterians were strong in New Jersey, the Quakers and the German religious groups in Pennsylvania. But no single church was powerful enough to force its will upon the others.

**The idea of religious liberty develops in the English colonies.** Even in the colonies where state churches had been established there were settlers who followed other forms of worship. In fact, there were so many that the government finally had to tolerate them, that is, permit them to remain and follow their own religious faith. By the end of the colonial period there was freedom of worship in all of the colonies.

The story of toleration begins in Maryland. That colony was founded by the Calvert family as a refuge for persecuted Catholics. Almost from the beginning, however, there were more Episcopalians than Catholics. If trouble was to be avoided, there must be freedom of worship. In 1649 the Toleration Act was passed. It provided that all those "professing to believe in Jesus Christ" should not be "molested" in their religion.

William Penn welcomed all to Pennsylvania who acknowledged "one almighty God" to be the "Cre-





At Dame Schools, in unsanitary and distracting surroundings such as these, children of different ages gathered to learn to read. This process was supposedly aided by the bundle of sticks held tightly in the Dame's hand and applied vigorously if students were inattentive or slow to learn. Here the Dame seems to have fallen asleep, allowing some of the children to give attention to a rat. (The Bettmann Archive)

ator, Upholder and Ruler of the World." These laws of Maryland and Pennsylvania provided for religious toleration, not complete religious liberty. Even in these two liberal states only Christians could vote. Maryland had its state church until the Revolution.

Complete religious liberty began in America with Roger Williams. In 1636 he gave to the New World a model for a free state. In Rhode Island there were no religious tests for voting, no taxes to support a state church, no compulsory church attendance. This was religious liberty, not merely toleration.

As the years passed toleration developed. The English government interfered in Massachusetts and ended church membership as a requirement for voting. Finally the American Revolution dealt a death

blow to the idea of a state church. Except in three New England states, the church and state were quickly separated. The great Jefferson himself wrote the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom. Amendment I [86]<sup>1</sup> of the Constitution forbids Congress from passing any law restricting religious liberty.

**The ideal of public education also has its beginnings.** One thing which New England gave to the world was a belief in public education. Many of the early settlers were educated men and they were unwilling that the learning of Europe should disappear in the New World. More

<sup>1</sup> Heavy-faced numerals in brackets refer to the authors' paragraph headings in the Constitution in the Appendix. See the first and sixth footnotes on the first page of the Constitution for further explanations.

than that, the Puritans were anxious that everyone in the new colony should be able to read the Bible.

For these reasons the Massachusetts legislature in 1647 ordered every town with 50 householders to set up a school where children could read and write. It also ordered every town with 100 householders to establish a more advanced school to train youths for the university. Although this law was not always obeyed, it is important in the history of education. It was the first law ever passed providing for free public education. Other colonies in New England, except Rhode Island, passed similar laws.

Outside of New England there were few public schools. Many churches, however, established private schools taught by the minister. Charity pupils were often admitted, but parents who could afford it paid tuition for their children. Wealthy parents generally hired tutors. The tutors were mainly clergymen, for they were most often the best educated persons in the community.

Since most colonial schools were under the control of the church, much attention was given to religious teaching. Beyond that the pupils learned little more than reading, writing, and simple arithmetic. Even this was a great advance for those days. Only the very few who hoped to go to college studied Latin. A few schools, such as the Boston Latin School, prepared for college, but most students preparing for a higher education were trained by private tutors.

The religious influence was also important in founding colonial col-

leges. Even before Massachusetts had started a public school system, the legislature voted money to establish Harvard College. The main purpose was to train ministers. The second American college, William and Mary in Virginia, was founded by an Episcopalian clergyman. The clergy of Connecticut later founded Yale; the Baptists of Rhode Island, Brown; the Presbyterians of New Jersey, Princeton. Dartmouth was started as a missionary school for Indians.

College education in colonial times was limited to the very few. The settlers believed, nevertheless, that their clergy and other leaders should be learned men. Measured by the standards of today, these schools and colleges were not too good. But they marked the beginnings of our great system of education.

### *Summary of the Unit . . .*

Unit One—"An Awakening Old World Discovers a Strange New World"—tells the story of the discovery, exploration, and settlement of North and South America.

1. The story begins in Europe with an awakening interest in Asia and eastern trade. This led to the exploration of the African coast and the discovery of America by Columbus (1492).

2. During the 1500's explorers from many nations sailed along the American coast. Balboa (1513) crossed Panama and discovered the Pacific. Magellan headed an expedi-

tion which first sailed around the world (1519–22). In the meantime Cortés entered Mexico (1519). The English began with the Cabot expedition (1497), and the French with Verrazano and Cartier. The exploration of the two Americas, which started with Columbus, has continued to the present day.

3. After exploration came settlement. In the 1500's the Portuguese occupied Brazil and the Spaniards took over the region between the Rio Grande and Cape Horn.

4. In the 1600's the French settled Canada; and the English founded colonies along the Atlantic seacoast from Maine to the Carolinas. The French founded Quebec (1608); the English planted their

first settlements at Jamestown, Virginia (1607), and at Plymouth, Massachusetts (1620). Settlers came hoping to find in America a better life than in Europe.

5. Each group brought to America the way of life of its home country. The Portuguese, Spanish, and French brought the Catholic religion. The English, Dutch, and Germans carried to the New World the various forms of the Protestant faith. Each brought the government of its homeland. Wherever they went, they earned their living as the climate, soil, and products of the country allowed. America became a land of many languages, many religions, many different kinds of people.

### WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

By using these words in a sentence, show that you understand them. Give an example when possible.

- |                |                            |                          |
|----------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. encomiendas | 5. <i>coureurs-de-bois</i> | 9. Scotch-Irish          |
| 2. hacienda    | 6. indentured servants     | 10. state church         |
| 3. mestizos    | 7. naval stores            | 11. religious toleration |
| 4. seigneurs   | 8. Pennsylvania Dutch      | 12. religious freedom    |

### WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?

- 1636: Why is this a most important year in the struggle for freedom in religion?
- 1647: In the development of free public education this is indeed a red-letter year. Why?
- 1649: In what way may this date be linked with 1636 given above? How is it quite different?

### CAN YOU FIND THE ANSWERS TO THESE?

- How did the Spanish settlers control the way the conquered Indians made a living (p. 42)?
- How did the Catholic priests help the Indians to adjust themselves to the Spanish way of life (pp. 42–44)?
- Name four ways in which Portuguese colonial life differed from the Spanish (p. 45).
- What was the way of life which the French settlers set up in New France (pp. 45–47)?

5. Describe a southern plantation, noting some of the problems of a planter (pp. 47-48).
6. Why did small-scale farming develop in the North rather than plantation farming (pp. 48-50)?
7. Name the most important English colonial products which were exchanged with the mother country or sent elsewhere (pp. 50-51).
8. Using the chart on page 51, explain what is meant by the three-cornered trade.
9. What European countries sent immigrants to what is now the United States in the 1600's and 1700's (p. 52)?
10. To what extent were there state churches in the colonies (p. 53)?
11. How did these colonies or persons lead in the struggle toward freedom in religion: Rhode Island and Roger Williams; Maryland, Pennsylvania and William Penn; Virginia and Thomas Jefferson (pp. 53-54)?
12. Why were the Puritans and other religious groups especially interested in education? How did they use their influence to promote public education (pp. 54-55)?
13. *Summary Question:* Spain, Portugal, France, and England each set up its way of living in the Americas. What were the chief ways in which their colonies differed from one another? In what ways were they alike?

## Activities for Unit One

### CAN YOU MAKE IT?

1. *Table or Chart.* Make a table or chart of the explorers of the New World, who are included in this book. Use these headings: Explorer, Date Exploring, Country Exploring For, Region Explored, Special Events. Group the explorers as Spanish, Portuguese, French and English. List the explorers in time order. If a large chart is made, illustrate with flags of the countries, ships, and the like.
2. *Map.* On an outline map of eastern United States, entitled "The Thirteen Colonies in 1760," show the following: (a) boundaries of each colony and name of each colony; (b) most important settlement in each colony; (c) New England Colonies colored red; (d) Middle Colonies in green; (e) Southern Colonies in yellow; (f) Appalachian Mountains as a barrier to the West; (g) as far as map permits, French and Spanish claims in 1760. Be accurate in boundaries and locations, and neat in printing and coloring. Use the map on page 38 as a good guide.
3. *Cartoon.* Make a cartoon illustrating one or more conditions in Europe which led Europeans to set out for unknown homes in North, Central, or South America. It is not necessary to be an artist to draw a cartoon, but you should have a good idea and a good title. The cartoon should express an idea without using many words. Often it can be funny.
4. *Historical Products Map.* Using the information given in Chapters 2 and 3, make an illustrated map of the chief products of the Spanish, Portuguese, French, and English colonies in North, Central, and South America in the 1600's and 1700's. Remember that present-day boundaries did not exist.



## I TEST MY SKILLS

5. *Using This Book.* This textbook has its main parts in this order: title page, table of contents, list of maps, charts and graphs, preface, main part of the book, appendix, and index. If you can answer correctly these questions, you will show that you know how to use this book. (a) On what page do you find a map entitled, "Latin America Today"? (b) What is the proper way of finding Chapter 12? (c) On what page does the Appendix begin, and what does it include? (d) Parts of this book were tried out in mimeographed form in certain schools. Where would you expect to find such a statement? Is it there? (e) Who wrote this book, and who published it? (f) Where is there reference to Canada's form of government? In each case indicate how you arrived at an answer.
6. *Reading a Map.* Turn to the map on page 16, and test your ability to use a map. How many of these questions can you answer? (a) What is the title of the map? (b) Does it have a legend or key? (c) What part of the world is shown? (d) Where is east on this map? (e) Is it possible to tell distances on this map? (f) Are both cities and countries shown? (g) Where does Columbus's route begin and end? (h) Where did Magellan go on his voyage? (i) From where did Cortés's "invasion army" set sail? (j) In what years did Pizarro make his explorations?

## WE WORK IN GROUPS

7. *Committee of the Whole.* Let the whole class act as a committee to prepare a "Colonial Hall of Fame." This will consist of brief illustrated biographical sketches to be included in a booklet of the above title. In order that necessary planning may be done, it might be well for the class to elect a sub-committee of three. The person receiving the highest vote would be chairman of the sub-committee. This sub-committee would then select the colonial leaders—discoverers, explorers, founders of colonies, and other leaders—to be included in the booklet. Be sure to include some Latin-American and Canadian leaders. This committee would then assign one name in the Hall of Fame to each class member. The committee would make clear the kind of report wanted and the form in which it is to be done. The committee would also prepare an appropriate cover for the booklet. Look under "To Find Out Who's Who" on page 59 for biographies.

## WE THINK FOR OURSELVES

8. *Explorations Then and Now.* Have you ever thought much about these two questions? (a) How does exploration today differ from that of the 1500's, 1600's, 1700's and 1800's? (b) Why do men explore? This unit tells you about many of the early explorers, what they found, and why they explored. On page 21 you will find something about recent explorers and their methods. Additional help in answering these questions will be found in the excellent *Unrolling the Map* by L. Outhwaite, and in M. S. Lucas, *Vast Horizons*. Also useful is any one of these: G. Hartman, *These United States and How They Came to Be*, chaps. ii-iv; D. Goetz, *Half a Hemisphere*, chaps. 1-5; J. Cottler and H. Jaffe, *Map Makers*, parts I and III; A. M. Peck, *The Pageant of Canadian History*, chaps. i, ii and xx; S.



Hoffman (ed.), *News of the Nation*, Nos. 1-3. For simpler reading, see R. C. Gill and H. Hoke, *The Story of the Other America*, 6-18; or R. Duvoisin, *They Put Out to Sea*.

## WE TURN TO OTHER BOOKS <sup>1</sup>

### 9. *To Get More Information.*

HARTMAN, GERTRUDE, *Medieval Days and Ways*. An interesting account of how people, especially Englishmen, lived in the Middle Ages.

HEWES, A. D., *Spice Ho!* A story full of adventure which tells why men and nations risked their lives to control the spices of the East.

OUTHWAITE, LEONARD, *Unrolling the Map*. The story of great explorers from earliest times to the present.

DUVOISIN, ROGER, *They Put Out to Sea*. From the ancient traders to Magellan, this is an exciting story of adding to the map.

HARTMAN, GERTRUDE, *These United States and How They Came to Be*. The first chapters of this book tell a lively story about the early Americas.

GILL, R. C., and HOKE, HELEN, *The Story of the Other America*. A nicely illustrated story of Latin America with emphasis upon the early days.

EARLE, A. M., *Home Life in Colonial Days*. An interesting and accurate description of how the English colonists lived from day to day.

### 10. *To Find Out Who's Who.*

WILLIS, C. H., and SAUNDERS, L. S., *Those Who Dared*. Simply told stories of the lives and adventures of early leaders in discovery, exploration and settlement.

HODGES, C. W., *Columbus Sails*. A dramatic and stirring book about the discovery of America.

DIAZ DEL CASTILLO, BERNAL, *Cortez and the Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards in 1521*. An eye-witness tale by a soldier of fortune who was with Cortez in Mexico.

AVERILL, ESTHER, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier*. A story of French sailors, the discovery of the St. Lawrence, and an Indian chief carried off to the king of France.

KENTON, EDNA, *With Hearts Courageous*. The lives and work of the courageous Jesuit missionaries among the Indians of New France.

LENSKI, LOIS, *Indian Captive: The Story of Mary Jemison*. The childhood of the "White Woman of the Genesee" who lived all her life with the Iroquois.

### 11. *To Read a Historical Story.*

MEANS, PHILIP, *Tupak of the Incas*. An absorbing story of the Incas of Peru before the Spaniards came.

GAGGIN, E. R., *Down Rylton Water*. Young Matt and his Pilgrim companions seek freedom in Holland and finally in the American wilderness.

<sup>1</sup> In each group of books that follows, the titles are listed in the order in which the subject-matter is presented in the chapters. This order of listing will be used in each unit of the book.

COATSWORTH, ELIZABETH, *Sword of the Wilderness*. Seth Hubbard, captured by the Indians, is forced to spend the bitter winter of 1689 with them.

GRAY, E. J., *Meggy MacIntosh*. Brave 15-year-old Meggy came to the Scotch settlement in the Carolinas to join her heroine, Flora MacDonald.

UPDEGRAFF, F. M., *Traveler's Candle*. A Quaker candlemaker takes in young Patrick escaping from kidnappers. Later the lad is able to help his rescuers.

12. *To Look at the Past in Pictures.*

*Pageant of America*: I, 69–170, 171–284, 285–330, 331–43, discovery, exploration, and settlement in pictures—Spanish, English and French.

*Building America*: VI, "We Americans"; VII, "The American Indian"; VIII, "Spanish-Speaking People."

## WE SUMMARIZE THE UNIT

13. *Headline Events*. Under this heading prepare carefully worded brief statements of the ten most important events of this unit. Be sure to include all of the Americas and all aspects of the period: exploration, settlement, and ways of living.
14. *Time Line*. Make a time line on which will appear the outstanding events of the unit. Select your events from those listed under "Why Are These Red-Letter Years?" at the end of each chapter. After the events are arranged in order, you are ready to plan the scale of the time line. This line will cover the years from 1450 to 1650—a period of 200 years. If you let one inch represent 20 years, your line will be ten inches long. The next step is to place the events accurately and neatly along the line. Perhaps you will want to put all Latin-American and Canadian events on one side of the line, and those concerning the English on the other. Be sure to include both date and event. You may wish to be original, but do not forget that the first purpose of a time line is to record accurately events and the time between events.
15. *Checking the Artist*. Study carefully the two-page drawing at the beginning of this unit, pages 4–5. This is the artist's view of the unit as a whole. Checking against the text of Chapters 1, 2, and 3, list the historical events of discovery, exploration and settlement which James Daugherty, the artist, has so ably included in the drawing. Has he included all of the Americas? Has he omitted any important idea? What do you like most about this unit drawing?

## DO WE UNDERSTAND THE IDEAS OF THE UNIT?

16. *Through Indian Eyes*. Imagine yourself an old Indian chief living somewhere in the Americas about 1650. You are telling the young men of the tribe what the coming of the white man has meant to the Indians. The chief tells what he himself has seen and the tales that have been handed down since 1500. What would you say to the young warriors?
17. *The Round-Up*. What ideas in this unit do these words and terms recall: Crusades, "Pope's Line," Aztecs and Incas, religious persecution, Mayflower Compact, hacienda, mestizos, indentured servants, religious toleration?

# Unit Two

## *The New World Separates from the Old*

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4. The American Revolution Paves the Way for Free Nations in America
  5. The Latin-American Colonies Break the Chains that Bind Them to Europe
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Colonies are much like children. The mother country gives them life and protects them in their early years. As they grow older and stronger they do more and more for themselves. Finally they grow up and are able to stand on their own feet.

Strong colonies refuse to be children forever. They want to make their own way in the world. Some stay in the family and make their own decisions. That is, they insist on home rule. Others move out and become independent states. This is what happened to most of the European colonies in America.

The 13 mainland colonies of England first broke away. After a long war they won independence. A few years later the Spanish colonies followed their example. Later the Portuguese colony of Brazil became free. The only strong child in America to remain with its parents was Canada. But Canada insisted on home rule.

# RESISTANCE TO TYRANTS





# IS OBEDIENCE TO GOD





## Chapter 4. *The American Revolution Paves the Way for Free Nations in America . .*

*The autumn of 1776 was the most discouraging period of the Revolution. Washington and his army had been driven out of New York. Weary and discouraged, they began their retreat across New Jersey. The British followed closely, sometimes entering one end of a town as Washington's army escaped from the other. Never did the American cause look so hopeless.*

*But there was one soldier who was not discouraged. He was Thomas Paine, who had already stirred his countrymen to independence by writing a famous pamphlet, Common Sense. While Washington's half-starved, ill-clothed, and defeated men lay sleeping, Paine sat by the campfire writing a new appeal.*

*He called it The Crisis. It began: "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot, will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman." Tyranny, said Paine, is hard to defeat. The cost of freedom is high, but it is worth any price.*

*Again the country was aroused to new efforts. Washington ordered the stirring words of The Crisis read to his army. A few days later his men turned and won the battles of Trenton and Princeton. Defeat had turned into victory. The new nation was saved. The pen can sometimes be as mighty as the sword.*

*The English Colonies Slowly  
Drift Away from the Mother  
Country . . . . .*

The colonies begin to take an American point of view. The settlers at Jamestown and Plymouth were Englishmen transplanted to America. They thought and acted like Englishmen and brought to America the English way of life. But conditions in America were different from those in the homeland. In America the settlers had to clear forests and fight Indians. They had to learn new ways of farming and how to live under new forms of government.

Different conditions developed a new way of life. The settlers gradually began to live differently and think differently from Englishmen. They became Americans with an American point of view. More than 150 years passed between Jamestown and the American Revolution. This was a long time and it helps to explain why Americans took up arms to win their independence.

As the years went by, ties with England loosened. Most Americans of English stock knew little of the mother country. They thought of it as a nation from which their ancestors had fled to find a better life in America. It was a nation which ruled them from faraway. Many felt no great loyalty or love for it.

Many Americans, as we know, did not come from England. At least one-fourth of the white Americans at the time of the Revolution had come from other countries—Holland, Sweden, France, Germa-

ny, and Ireland. These immigrants and their children had even less loyalty than the descendants of English settlers. The Irish, in fact, carried to America a strong feeling against England.

One of the many things that separated England from America was religion. Many had come to America to find religious freedom. This was particularly true of large numbers in New England and the Middle Colonies. These settlers feared that England might try to establish the English state church as the official church in America. America was becoming a land that stood for religious freedom. The colonists intended to keep it that way.

**Colonial interests clash with those of the mother country.** Much hard feeling developed during the long colonial period between England and her colonies. Like other European nations, England founded colonies mainly for the benefit of the home country. If the interests of England and the colonies clashed, the mother country came first. Otherwise, why have colonies?

England made many demands upon her colonies. She expected them to furnish her with products which she did not have at home. The colonies were to provide raw materials for British industries. In turn, the colonies were to be a market for British manufactured goods. Britain opposed colonial manufacturing and expected the colonies to buy British goods. She hoped that commerce with the colonies would develop a strong English shipping business.

Many laws were passed to enforce this policy. One act prevented the colonists from using foreign vessels, such as the Dutch, in shipping colonial products to England. Certain products, such as sugar, tobacco, and furs, must be sold only in England. Products which England did not want, particularly grain and fish, she kept out by high tariffs (import taxes). England tried to prevent the development of colonial manufacturing, particularly in woolen and iron goods. She even forbade the colonies to mint coins or issue paper money.

Not all of these acts were harmful. Some were not strictly enforced until shortly before the Revolution. The colonists evaded other laws by smuggling. Fortunately the colonists found markets in other countries for the goods which England would not buy. Nevertheless, hard feeling was continuous.

The clash of interests was not limited to commerce. There was also disagreement between English officials and the colonists. The king or the proprietors sent over governors and other officials to protect their interests. Naturally, it was their business to enforce the laws passed by the British government.

Each colony, however, had some form of legislature which represented the people of the colonies. They were often at odds with the royal governors. The legislatures would pass laws in the interest of the colonies. The governors or the British king would forbid them. The southern colonies, for example, passed laws to limit the slave trade. The British government crossed

them off the books to protect the English slave dealers.

These constant clashes over rights of the colonists to manufacture, to ship goods, and to trade caused hard feelings. As the years wore on, the colonists could see that their interests were different from those of England. Yet few thought of separating from the mother country. It was not until Britain tried to enforce old laws and pass new ones that real trouble began. Revolt came when new taxes were levied and troops sent over to enforce British laws.

**New taxes increase the bad feeling.** In 1763 Great Britain won a long series of wars with France for control of North America. She now possessed Canada and the region east of the Mississippi. The British government decided to tighten control over her empire and supervise it more closely. She planned to enforce strictly all earlier trade acts. Also she planned new taxes to support the empire. Ten thousand British troops were to be sent to America, and the colonists were to pay one-third of the cost.

The new policy began in 1764 when Great Britain laid new duties on many products imported into the colonies. At the same time she passed the Sugar Act. This reduced the import tax on molasses brought in from the Spanish, Dutch, and French West Indies. On the face of it, the Sugar Act looked better for the colonists than an earlier law, but this was not the case. Britain had not enforced the former law, but this one she intended to enforce



**Resenting the Stamp Tax**, the colonists bitterly criticized those who accepted appointments as stamp officers. Whoever was foolish enough to take such a job had a lot of explaining to do to angry crowds. Two soldiers in the rear seemed surprised that plain citizens should threaten an officer of the British crown. (Howard Pyle in *Harper's Magazine*)

by every means at hand. It struck at the very heart of colonial business prosperity.

Molasses was one of the most important colonial products. From it the colonists manufactured rum, the most common colonial liquor. Rum was also important in the slave trade. There had been import taxes on molasses for many years, but Britain had not enforced the act. The colonists had smuggled in large quantities without paying duties. Under the new law the British officials were to collect the duties, and special courts were to try all who evaded it.

The Sugar Act was passed to protect the sugar planters in the British

West Indies. The mainland colonists claimed that they could not get enough molasses from the British Islands and that they must import from the Dutch, French, and Spanish Islands. Moreover, they insisted that the duties on foreign molasses would ruin their business.

The year following the Sugar Act, Britain passed the Stamp Act. This provided that stamps of different values must be placed upon newspapers, pamphlets, deeds, wills, and various legal documents. The Stamp Act was something new in British taxation. There had always been taxes on imports, but this was an effort to tax business carried on within the colonies.

Protests and petitions were sent to England. Merchants in America banded together and pledged that they would buy no English goods until the taxes were removed. Britain then gave in and withdrew the Stamp Act. At the same time, however, she passed a new act claiming that she had a right to make laws for the colonies in any way she pleased. Then she added new import duties, including one on tea, and sent soldiers to enforce the acts.

The arrival of troops in the colonies increased the bad feeling. This was particularly so in Boston where clashes between citizens and soldiers resulted in the Boston Massacre. A group of soldiers, irritated by the taunts of a mob, fired into them, killing five and wounding several.

**The situation reaches a breaking point.** Despite tax laws and the sending of troops, the situation was quieting down when a new act again aroused the colonies to fresh anger. This was the Tea Act of 1773 which gave the British East India Company the right to import tea directly into the colonies. This act seemed to endanger the importing business of colonial merchants. If Parliament could take away from Americans the business of importing tea, it could take away other business.

When the tea ships arrived, the colonists were ready for them. New Yorkers dumped the tea of one vessel into the harbor and refused to allow the other to unload. At Annapolis the tea ship, *Peggy Stewart*, was burned at the demand of the

patriots. In Boston, a band of citizens, disguised as Indians, boarded the tea ship and dumped the tea into the harbor.

When news of the Boston Tea Party reached England, Parliament struck back quickly to punish the colonists. Several acts were passed in 1774 called by the colonists the "Intolerable Acts." One closed the port of Boston until the tea was paid for. Another changed the government of Massachusetts to make it less democratic. General Gage, commander of the British troops in America, was made military governor of Massachusetts.

The Intolerable Acts aroused the colonists to action. Other colonies sent aid and sympathy to the people of Boston. Merchants again refused to import English goods. More important than all else, colonial legislatures sent delegates to a Continental Congress at Philadelphia. This Congress expressed its loyalty to King George III, but at the same time sent to him a "Declaration of Rights and Grievances." Congress demanded that England end these grievances and again establish American rights. If this were not done, Congress agreed to meet again in the following year.

**The Declaration of Independence marks the birth of a new nation.** Before Congress could meet again, the war for independence had begun. Battles at Lexington and Concord had been fought. On the May day in 1775 that the Second Continental Congress met, Ethan Allen with his Green Mountain Boys from Vermont captured the British



fort at Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain. At the end of the year an American expedition marched into Canada and tried unsuccessfully to capture Quebec (see map, page 73).

During these early months of the war, Congress again petitioned the king. He refused to receive the petition. Instead he declared the colonies in a state of rebellion and hired 20,000 German troops (Hessians) to aid in putting down the revolt. The British began to attack seaport towns.

By now it was too late to draw back. The colonists must either surrender all their rights or fight a war. As the months went on more and more people felt that they must fight not alone for their rights, but also for independence.

No one did more to arouse the desire for independence than an immigrant from England, Thomas Paine. In a fiery pamphlet, *Common Sense*, he attacked the abuses of British rule and urged the need of independence. "The sun," said Paine, "never shined on a cause of greater worth." In every colony thousands read his stirring words, and the demand for freedom grew.

Congress recognized this growing feeling. In May, 1776, it advised the various colonies to organize states with new governments. In June Richard Henry Lee moved in Congress that "these united colonies are, and of a right ought to be, free and independent states." A committee was appointed to frame a "Declaration of Independence." It was adopted on July 4, 1776, our national birthday.

The Declaration of Independence was largely the work of Thomas Jefferson. It begins with a statement of the right of the colonies to revolt. Said the Declaration, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights [rights that cannot be taken away], that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." It was to secure these rights, said Jefferson, that governments were established. When such rights are taken away, the people have a right to change or even do away with their government. Such action is a revolution.

The second part of the Declaration is a list of 27 grievances against the British king. Finally comes the statement declaring independence. There could be no mistake as to its meaning. At home the Declaration meant a call to arms. It meant a final break with Great Britain. To the world, it was notice that a new nation had been born.

### *A Small Army of Patriots Struggle Over Six Weary Years and Win Freedom . .*

**In the first campaign the colonials drive the British out of New England.** Fighting had been going on for more than a year before Congress passed the Declaration of Independence. The American Revolution really began on the night of April 18, 1775, when General Gage,

hearing that the colonists were collecting military stores at Concord, sent an expedition of about 1,000 British troops to destroy them. The patriots, awaiting such a move, sent out William Dawes and Paul Revere to arouse the countryside.

When the British reached Lexington on the morning of the nineteenth they found a band of armed citizens awaiting them on the village green. A brief skirmish followed leaving eight of the Americans dead and ten wounded. Pressing on, the British fought another band of patriots at Concord Bridge (see map, page 73).

Then began the long retreat to Boston. By now the countryside was thoroughly aroused. Nearby farmers swarmed in from all directions and poured a deadly fire on the British regulars from behind rock, fence and tree. Aided by reinforcements, the British finally reached Boston. There the Americans closed in to besiege the city.

The colonists knew that they could never drive the British from Boston unless they occupied the heights over the city. Colonel Prescott, therefore, on the night of June 16 occupied Breed's Hill in Charlestown. Throughout the next morning the colonists held their position against the bombardment of the British fleet. In the afternoon Gage ordered his men to storm the position. With great courage the British advanced twice only to be driven back by the deadly fire of the Americans. On the third charge the Americans, with their ammunition gone, retreated.

This battle, fought on Breed's

Hill, came to be known as the battle of Bunker Hill. The British won the heights, but they lost so heavily in dead and wounded that the colonists considered it as good as a victory. It proved that American militia (citizens volunteering for an emergency), properly led, might be a match for British regulars.

A few days before the battle of Bunker Hill Congress elected George Washington Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army. Washington then took command of the troops near Boston. He spent the next winter training his army and tightening his grip around the besieged city. Early in the spring he seized Dorchester Heights. Rather than fight another battle like Bunker Hill, the British decided to give up the city. In March they sailed for Nova Scotia.

After the British fleet left Boston the war in New England was largely over. Except for a few British raids on seaport towns, there was little fighting. Washington expected that the next attack would be against the Middle Colonies. Shortly after the capture of Boston he moved his troops to the defense of New York.

**In the second campaign the colonials battle for control of the Hudson and Delaware valleys.** General William Howe, the new British commander, appeared off New York in June, 1776, with a large force. Washington tried to defend the city, but failed. He then moved what was left of his army, about 3,000 men, across the Hudson for the defense of New Jersey. Pursued by the British, he retreated swiftly



The Battle of Bunker Hill is being watched from the house tops of Boston by these Americans. As they look across the bay they see Charlestown on the right set afire by the British bombardment and burning to the ground. On the left are the British regulars advancing up the hill against the Americans. (Howard Pyle in *Harper's Magazine*)

across the state. He finally got what was left of his little army across the Delaware into Pennsylvania.

The cause of independence never looked so hopeless. Many of the colonists were discouraged and willing to quit. But Washington was not beaten. In one brilliant stroke he saved his army and restored the hope of independence. With part of his small force he recrossed the Delaware on Christmas night. Marching eight miles through a blinding sleet storm, the Americans fell upon 1,400 of the enemy, mostly Hessians, at Trenton and captured 1,000 of them. Four days later Washington defeated three British regiments at Princeton. Howe then withdrew his troops to New York and Washington established winter quarters at Morristown, New Jersey.

The British War Office planned a large-scale campaign for the summer of 1777. One British army under General Burgoyne was to move south from Canada along the Lake Champlain-Hudson River route. Another was to proceed eastward from Oswego along the Mohawk River. General Howe was to move up the Hudson to join them. The purpose was to cut New England off from the Middle States (see map, page 73).

These plans failed. Fighting farmers under General Herkimer stopped the British and their Indian allies at Oriskany and sent them fleeing back to Canada. Burgoyne got as far south as Bemis Heights (near Troy, New York). Here he was defeated by the militia of New York and New England

and forced to surrender at Saratoga.

Instead of moving northward to join Burgoyne, General Howe in New York decided to march southward and capture Philadelphia. Washington tried to stop him at the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, but failed. While the British took up comfortable quarters in Philadelphia, Washington and his shattered army spent the winter at Valley Forge.

Valley Forge was a bitter winter for Washington's defeated and half-starved troops, but not for the American cause. Washington's army had kept Howe busy while American militia destroyed Burgoyne at Saratoga. Saratoga was the turning point of the war.

The victory of Saratoga brought France into the war. Influenced by Benjamin Franklin and other American agents, France had already been sending secret aid. She was now convinced that America would win. The time had come, she believed, for revenge for earlier defeats at the hands of Britain. In 1778, France declared war against Great Britain and agreed not to make peace until American independence was won.

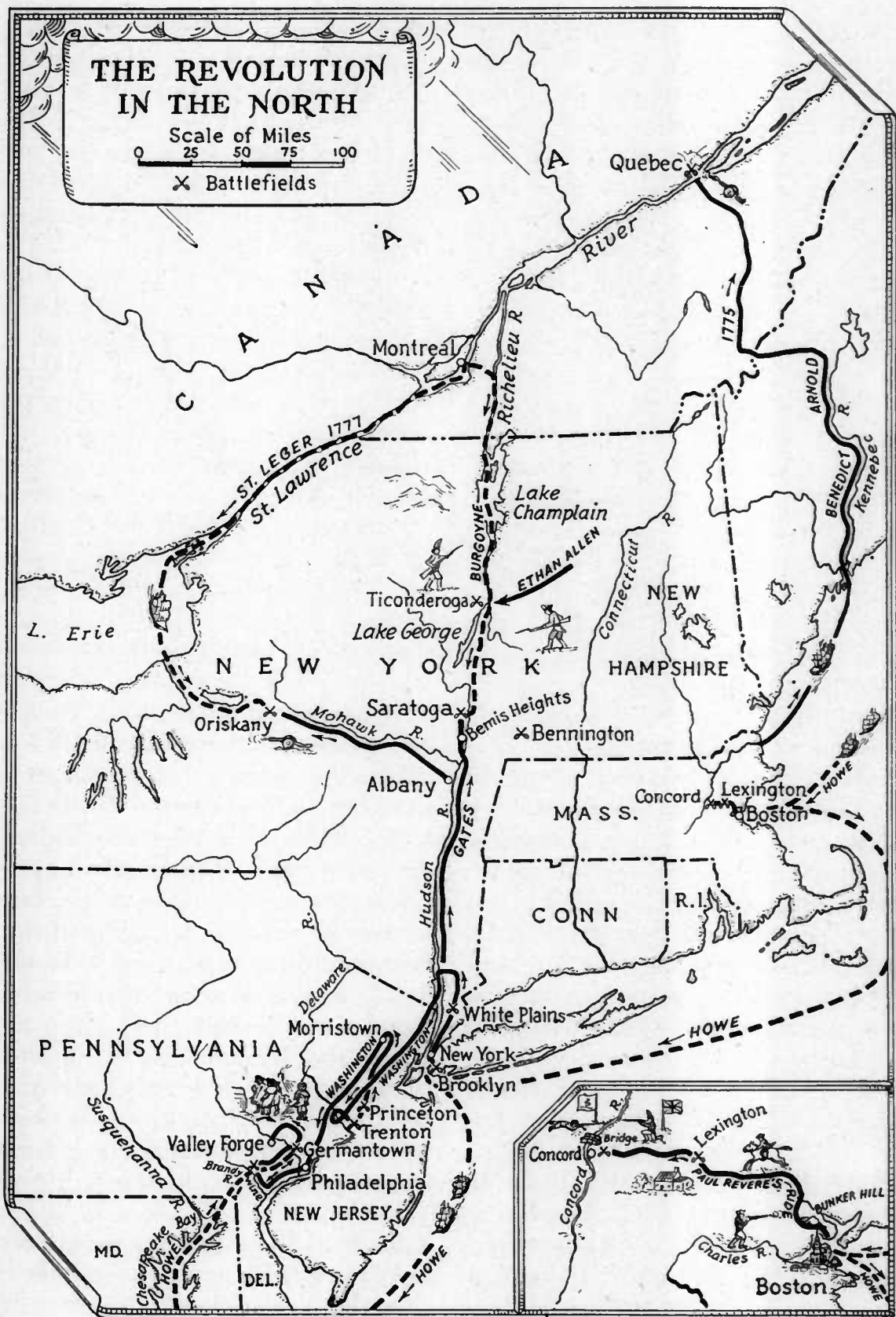
**The colonists cross the Alleghenies and drive the British out of the Northwest.** The Revolution was fought not only along the Atlantic coast, but also on the frontiers. Certain of the American states claimed land as far west as the Mississippi and were willing to fight for it. Throughout the war the British sought to win the Indians to their side. This was not hard, for the In-

# THE REVOLUTION IN THE NORTH

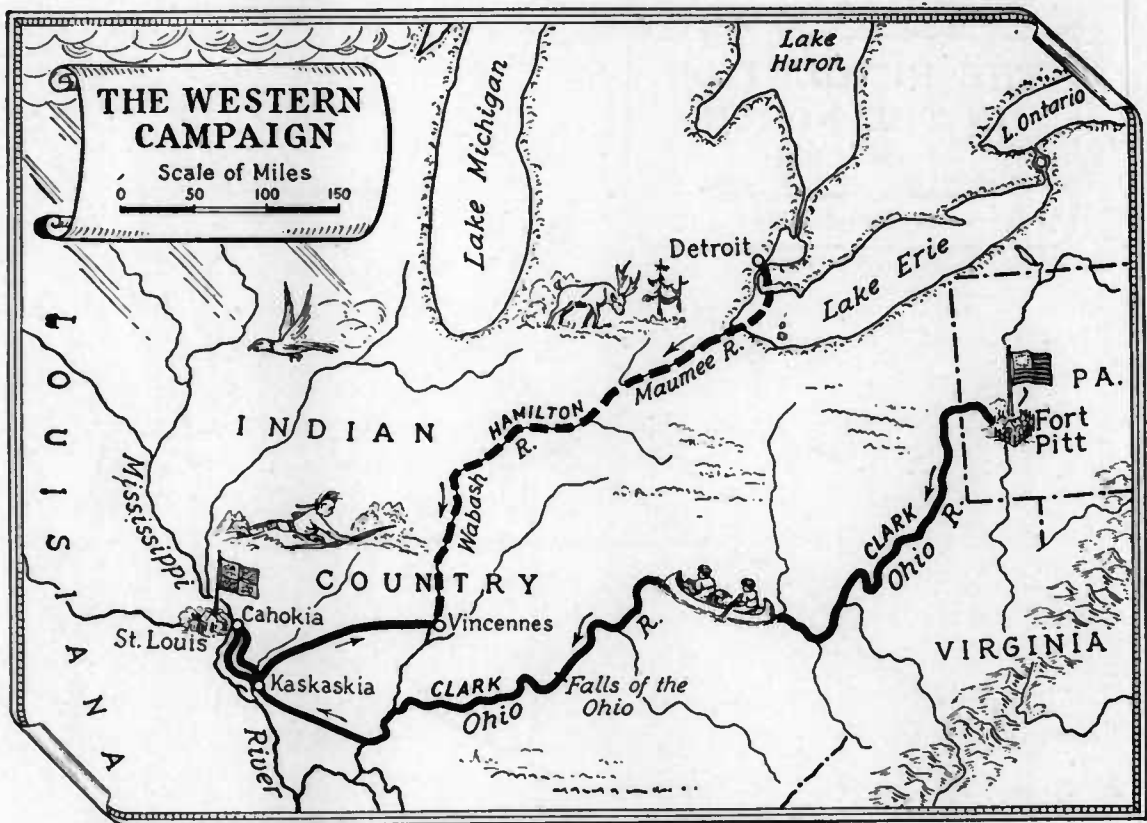
Scale of Miles

0 25 50 75 100

X Battlefields







dians looked upon the frontiersmen as their natural enemies.

In 1778 Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia, ordered George Rogers Clark to raise a band of militia and drive the British out of the region north of the Ohio. With less than 200 men Clark crossed the Alleghenies, descended the Ohio, and captured British forts on the Mississippi and Wabash rivers (see map above).

Clark then planned to attack Detroit when he learned that the British had recaptured the fort at Vincennes on the Wabash. He marched his little band 230 miles in the dead of winter, surprised and captured the garrison. Clark spent the rest of the war fighting the British and Indians on the frontier. When it ended, Americans had control of the Northwest.

While Clark was fighting in the Northwest, the British led their Indian allies against the frontier settlements in the Cherry Valley of New York and the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania. This cruel and unnecessary warfare spared neither women nor children. It gained the British nothing but hatred. General Sullivan with an army of frontiersmen quickly struck back. He defeated the Iroquois in battle and then destroyed their crops and villages. This broke the Iroquois power and opened western New York to settlement after the war.

**John Paul Jones and the privateers fight the British at sea.** Even before Congress declared independence it began to create an American navy. During the war it fitted out at least 70 vessels. At the same time most of

the states had tiny navies. After France joined the American war Congress let its navy decline, and at the end there were only three cruisers in service. Nevertheless, these few ships did much to challenge the proud British navy.

Of all the American naval officers in the Revolution, John Paul Jones was the most famous. He captured many British ships, including an armed transport carrying arms and supplies to Burgoyne. Throughout the war he attacked British commerce and even raided English coast towns.

In 1779 Benjamin Franklin secured for him an old French ship. Jones refitted it and named it the *Bon Homme Richard* in honor of Franklin (a pen name used by Franklin in his *Poor Richard's Almanac*). With this aged vessel and several smaller ones Jones set out to engage the enemy. He soon sighted a convoy protected by three war ships. Leaving the smaller war ships to his other vessels, Jones engaged the larger one, the *Serapis*, far superior to his own. Sailing in close to escape the fire of the bigger ship, he lashed his own to the *Serapis* and began a hand-to-hand fight. When the astonished British captain cried out, "Have you surrendered?" Jones answered with the famous words, "I've just begun to fight." Three and a half hours later the *Serapis* signaled her surrender.

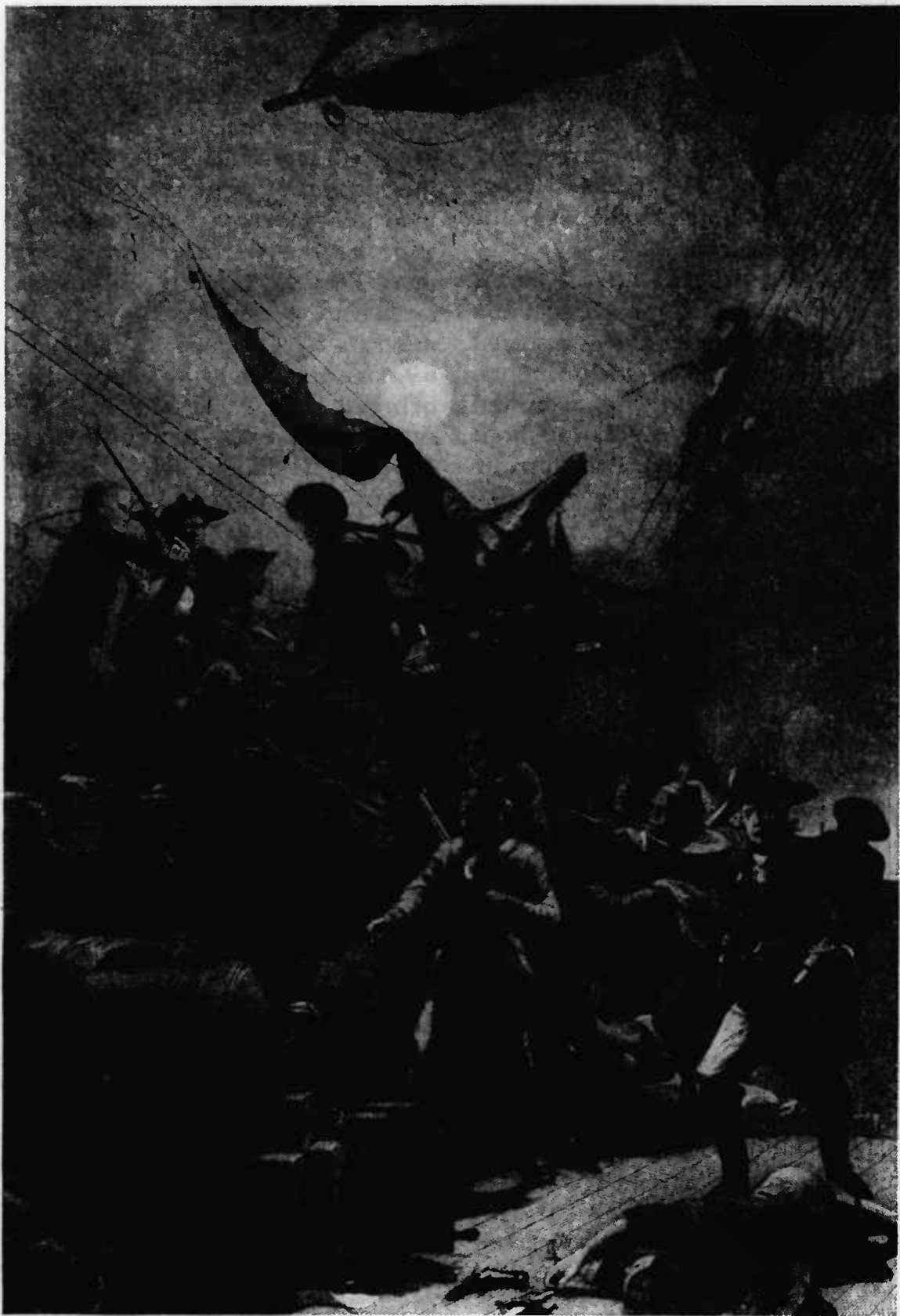
Next to Jones, the foremost naval hero of the revolution was John Barry, an Irishman who had come to the colonies a few years before the war. He was the first American captain to capture a British ship.

Barry was given command of one ship after another and fought many successful sea battles. When Congress reorganized the navy after the war, it made Barry senior captain.

More important than the navy in winning the war were the privateers. Privateers were vessels owned by private persons, but given commissions by Congress or the states to make war upon the enemy. It is believed that 2,000 such commissions were granted, most of them to New Englanders. These privateers roamed the seas and captured hundreds of British merchant ships. English shipowners and merchants lost millions of dollars worth of shipping and cargoes. Insurance rates finally rose to more than one-fifth of the value of the cargoes. The heavy losses caused by privateers did as much as anything to make the war unpopular in England.

**The colonials and the French win the war at Yorktown.** After the winter at Valley Forge (1777-78), the British returned to New York. Washington tried to prevent them but failed. Then he took a position in New Jersey where he could watch the British. From then until the final defeat of the British, the war in the Middle States was almost at a standstill.

During these years the British decided to crush the South. They captured Savannah, Georgia, and Charleston, South Carolina (see map, page 78). Then they began to march through the Carolinas and Virginia, destroying property and striking terror into the hearts of



In sea battles of the Revolution, such as this between the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Serapis*, warships often lashed themselves to the enemy and fought with close-range weapons such as swords, bayonets, and javelins as well as pistols and muskets. The marine in the foreground is either preparing to fire the cannon or to throw a grenade. (Culver Service)

the patriots. Small bands under local leaders, Sumter, Marion, and Pickens, did what they could to oppose them. Congress also sent a regular army of Continentals to help the South.

Nathanael Greene, next to Washington the ablest American general, finally took command of the southern army. But even Greene could not stop the invaders. He lost one battle after another. In the end, however, he managed to lead the British under General Cornwallis onto the Yorktown peninsula in Virginia. In this he was aided by the Marquis (Mahr-kee') de Lafayette, now a general in the Continental Army, and one of the many Frenchmen who offered their help to the Americans.

With the British cornered on the Yorktown peninsula, Washington saw his opportunity. First he deceived the British in New York by making believe that he was preparing to attack the city. He sent word to a French army quartered in Newport, Rhode Island, to join him. Then he quickly marched his troops south to the Chesapeake Bay and embarked for Virginia (see map, page 78).

In the meantime the French fleet sailed north from the West Indies. They stood guard at the head of the bay to prevent reinforcements from reaching Cornwallis. Then Washington with his American and French soldiers closed in around the unfortunate Cornwallis. Caught in a trap and unable to fight his way out, Cornwallis surrendered his 7,000 men in October, 1781. Brief control of the sea off Virginia

and perfect co-operation between French and Americans won the victory.

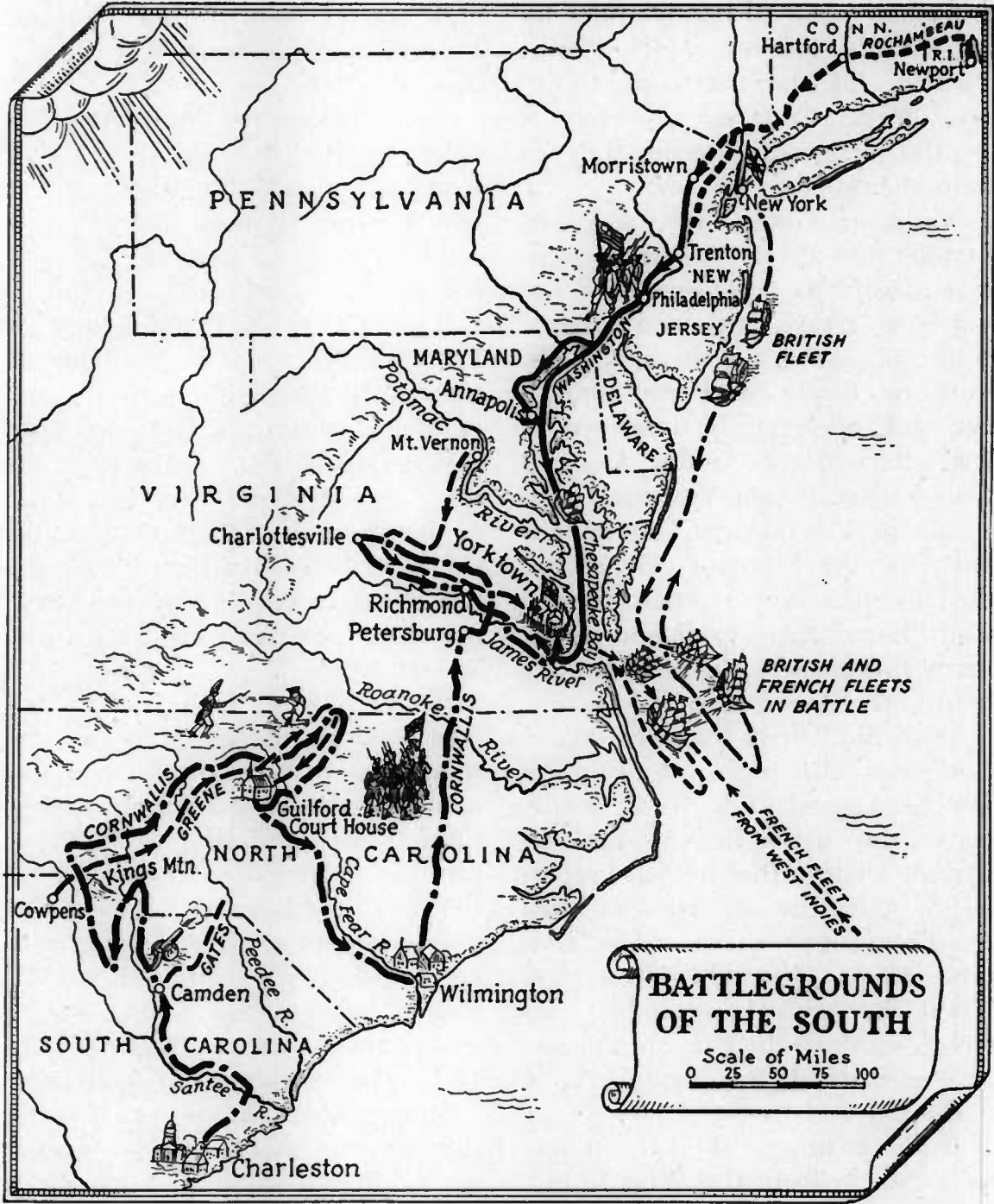
After Yorktown the British decided to end the war. They had won many battles but they had lost two armies. All they had to show after six years of war was the control of a few coast towns.

The Treaty of Paris, signed in 1783, gave the Americans about all they asked for. They secured independence, a western boundary line at the Mississippi, and a share in the Newfoundland fisheries. Some problems, such as the northern and southern boundary lines, were not wholly settled by the treaty. These and other matters were ironed out in later years.

**There are many reasons for our victory.** Why did the colonists finally win over the powerful British Empire? The population of America was less than a fourth the size of that of Great Britain. England had the strongest navy in the world. She had a standing army with well-trained officers. She had a strong government able to tax her people and secure funds for a long war.

Despite these English advantages, the colonists finally won. Geographic conditions helped us greatly. Britain was 3,000 miles away. Like the American armies in the Second World War, the British had to fight a long distance from their supplies and munitions. Moreover, America was a large country. The British army was not big enough to occupy all of it. British soldiers might conquer and hold the land they actually occupied. This was a tiny part





of the whole, and the rest of the country was still in rebellion.

Britain also made several blunders. The British War Office knew little of American conditions and they sent over generals ignorant of America. Orders from London were often delayed or misunderstood. Howe, for example, instead of go-

ing north to help Burgoyne, turned south to capture Philadelphia. The hiring of Hessian soldiers did much to anger the colonists.

More important than British blunders was aid from France. Arms and munitions secretly sent from France helped greatly in the early years of the war. After France en-



tered the war, she loaned us money. French troops and the French navy co-operated with Washington in the final victory at Yorktown. Before the Revolution ended, England was also at war with Spain and Holland. From these nations we obtained some indirect help and small financial aid.

After all has been said, the real cause for victory was the dogged courage of the colonists. Often discouraged and defeated, they kept up the war year after year. The American soldiers were mostly farmers and mechanics, militia with but little military training and almost always poorly equipped. Of his men at Valley Forge Washington wrote: "Naked and starving as they are we cannot enough admire the patience and fidelity [loyalty] of the soldiers."

America was fortunate in her leadership. Washington was a man of patience, courage, and character. A true leader, he commanded the respect of all ranks. No matter how dark the future looked, he never thought of giving up. To George Washington must go much of the credit for the final victory and American independence.

### *The War Creates Problems but Also Results in Desirable Changes . . . . .*

Many colonists oppose the war. One great difficulty in winning the war was the opposition at home. America was divided. There were many in all the colonies who opposed independence. Moreover,

these Tories were often the most prominent men in the colonies. John Adams believed that one-third of the colonists were Tories throughout the struggle.

Although there were many Tories, they did not exert much power. The patriots were better organized. Leaders of the Revolution, such men as Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry, set up Committees of Correspondence before the war started to hold their followers together. These committees kept in touch with one another and kept alive the spirit of opposition. After the war started, they organized to prevent the Tories from actively opposing the Revolution. In some places the Tories were more numerous than the rebels. But the rebels were younger, more active, and more determined.

Thousands of Tories aided the British army and many joined it. As the war continued, however, their influence declined. Many returned to England or went to the West Indies. At least 60,000 migrated to Canada. This was the first great movement of the English to Canada. American Tories laid the foundation in Canada of a new English nation.

The colonists free themselves from the British nation. During the Revolution the Tories were driven from power. The patriots were in control and they wrote new constitutions in most of the states. Some of these constitutions established a more democratic government than had been known before. All included "Bills of Rights," such rights

as freedom of speech, of the press and of religion. They prepared the way for the separation of church and state.

The Revolution won more than political independence. It broke up many large landed estates held by favorites of the British crown. It

ended the system of *primogeniture*, that is, the system whereby the oldest son inherited all the landed property. The Revolution ended many restrictions placed on American commerce and manufacturing. From now on America could develop in her own way.

### WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

Show that you understand the following terms by using them correctly in a sentence, describing their meaning, or giving their historical importance.

- |                       |                          |                   |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. tyranny            | 6. colonial legislatures | 10. Committees of |
| 2. <i>The Crisis</i>  | 7. <i>Common Sense</i>   | Correspondence    |
| 3. tariffs            | 8. Declaration of        | 11. Tories        |
| 4. mainland colonists | Independence             | 12. privateer     |
| 5. Stamp Tax          | 9. militia               | 13. primogeniture |

### WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?

1763: What changes came about in British treatment of America after this date?

1775–81: What is the importance of these years in relation to our military history?

1776: Why is this a year which every boy and girl in our country should know?

1783: What event of great importance to our country occurred at this time?

### CAN YOU FIND ANSWERS TO THESE?

- Why did the colonists have a different point of view from the people living in England?
- Why did England want colonies?
- Can you give at least three instances when the interests of England clashed with those of her colonists?
- Can you give an example of a law passed to favor one group of colonies that was opposed by another group of colonies?
- What events after 1770 finally brought about the break between the colonists and England?
- What is our national birthday and why is it that day?
- Give the important ideas in each of the three main parts of the Declaration of Independence.
- What were the four main areas of fighting in the Revolution? Using the map on page 73 and the text, explain the importance of the battle of Saratoga. From the map on page 78, show how Yorktown was captured.
- What did the Treaty of Paris provide?
- Give at least three reasons for our victory over the British.
- Explain why "The Revolution won more than political independence."
- Summary Question:* "After all has been said, the real cause of victory was the dogged courage of the colonists." Can you give examples of how the colonists showed their "dogged courage" both before and during the war?

# Chapter 5. *The Latin-American Colonies Break the Chains That Bind Them to Europe*

*It was January, 1789. A knock at the door of Prime Minister Pitt of Great Britain was answered by a servant.*

*"I am Francisco de Miranda [Frah-sees'-koh day Mee-rahn'-dah]. I believe Mr. Pitt is expecting me," said the caller. In a moment the Prime Minister appeared.*

*"Ah, Miranda. I am happy to see that you arrived safely from France. I remember well our conversations and exchanges of letters about your request for aid in a movement to free the Spanish colonies in South America from Spain," said the Prime Minister as he led Miranda to his office. "Tell me, how are affairs developing in your native land of Venezuela?"*

*"The people are in a state of unrest and are ready for action. Here is a copy of instructions that have been sent me from reliable agents in the colonies," replied Miranda.*

*Pitt read with interest Miranda's instructions. He noted a proposal that England and the United States should work together to assist the revolt. The Prime Minister asked: "Have you made any direct request of the government of the United States to take part in your struggle for freedom?"*

*"Not yet. I did not wish to act there until I had secured an opinion from you in this matter," answered Miranda.*

*"We should approve," said the Prime Minister. "Another matter, your request for 20 ships we can grant. Now then, have you decided upon the government?"*

*"I have a draft of a proposed constitution," replied Miranda, giving the document to Mr. Pitt.*

*The Prime Minister read the paper with care. At last he arose and said: "Indeed, all is very good. I see nothing wrong with your plans, but this is very serious business and I cannot say more to you at present. In a few days we shall have a definite reply. My best wishes to you, sir."*

## *Conditions in the Old World and New Lead to Revolutions in Latin America . . . . .*

Like the English colonists, the Latin Americans grow discontented with the mother country. Miranda's conversations with Pitt show the unrest and plotting that were going on throughout the Latin-American colonies. All but a few islands of the vast American possessions of Spain and Portugal were lost to the mother countries in the 15-year period from 1810 to 1825. Why were the people in these lands so discontented?

First of all, Spain governed her colonies very strictly. For example, the famous Council of the Indies had charge of all government, trade, and social and religious life. The Council, sitting in Spain, made and unmade laws governing the districts into which the colonies were divided. It also selected the judges, army leaders and even church bishops.

All of these officials came from Spain, served a few years, and then returned to the mother country. They had no real interest in the people they governed. They were often dishonest. Furthermore, government positions were seldom, if ever, given to American-born colonists.

Another reason for discontent was that the colonists learned how expensive it was to trade with the mother country. From the beginning, Spanish colonists were permitted to trade with no one except Spain. Ships were allowed to call

at only a few selected ports. Spain also regulated strictly the trade between one colony and another.

Almost all buying and selling were under the control of the government. Colonists were charged prices that were from five to ten times as high as prices paid for similar goods in Spain. However, the weakening of shipping rules and the increased smuggling by British and Dutch traders enabled the colonists to buy goods more cheaply and opened their eyes to their plight.

A third reason for discontent was to be found in the church. For many years the clergy were strictly loyal to the king. Many in the higher positions were still loyal, but among the lower priests were many creoles and mestizos who observed that once lands were taken from the people by the government and the church, they were never returned. Many of the priests who had been reading about freedom and liberty felt that this practice should be stopped.

Spain herself gave added weight to the discontent when she combined with France to fight against England, thus aiding the 13 English colonies in their fight for freedom. If Spain could aid the colonies of another nation to be free, surely she could not object if her own colonies became free.

**The creoles take the lead in uniting the Latin Americans for action.** Perhaps the most important reason for discontent was the rise of the creole class and the failure of Spain to recognize it as the natural source





**Threshing** was done by hand flails, by the stamping of human feet, and by the pounding of animals' hoofs before the days of machinery. This picture of colonial Chile shows how the wheat farmers drove their horses around in an enclosed ring to separate the kernels from the straw. (Historical Pictures Service)

of leadership in America. The creoles were of pure Spanish blood, but they were born in America. They were proud of their ancestry, many coming from old Spanish nobility. Some owned huge estates and were very wealthy men. Many had gone abroad to Spain, France, England, and America. There they learned new ideas about government and the value of a free press. They were impressed by the cheaper prices of goods.

When these creoles came back home to live, they were unable to enjoy these privileges or to secure important positions in the government or church. They became discontented and talked a great deal about gaining rights of freedom.

Small groups were formed here and there to plan ways to get more power. It was the creole class that furnished most of the leadership in the wars for independence. Miranda was one of these leaders.

Early attempts to revolt were made here and there, but without success. The time was not yet ripe. It took still other events—the French Revolution and wars in Europe—to furnish the spark to set off the revolutions.

**Wars in Europe open the way for revolution in America.** The period from 1789 to 1815 was one of revolution, unrest and war in Europe. The French Revolution opened the struggle for liberty in France, show-



ing that a king could be overthrown. During the first six years of this period the French were at war among themselves and with other countries. Out of these wars rose Napoleon who became the supreme ruler of France.

Napoleon was ambitious to control all of Europe, perhaps most of the world. He was soon at war again with most of the European countries and had remarkable success. At first Spain was his friend and ally against the hated British. But Napoleon deceived Spain. He invaded the country and placed his brother Joseph on the throne.

The Spanish people were furious. They refused to recognize Joseph as their ruler. Instead, the Spaniards formed a committee that was to rule until the rightful heir to the throne, Ferdinand, could be placed in power. This committee made an alliance with England which sent troops and naval aid to Spain. They drove Napoleon from Spain and placed Ferdinand VII on the throne in 1814.

These wars had a startling effect upon the Spanish colonists. The creole leaders did not wish to be governed by the French under Napoleon. The news of his conquests was the cause of important revolts in Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina, and Chile in 1810. The creoles set up their own governments to keep the colonies for Ferdinand, the rightful ruler of Spain. The wars also resulted in increased smuggling on the part of the British, Dutch, and Americans. This gave the colonists an opportunity to buy goods at much cheaper prices.

When Ferdinand returned to the throne, he sent troops to America to put down the creole uprisings and to place the colonists once again under strict rule. The creoles, having once tasted freedom, did not propose to give it up. They now decided to fight for full independence. Thus, a movement begun as a means of keeping colonies for Spain, turned into a movement for complete freedom.

The European wars also had two other effects upon the wars for independence in Latin America. First, when Spain was fighting at home she could not send troops to the colonies to put down rebellions. But when fighting ceased troops could be sent to the New World. Second, after the wars in Europe ended, a large number of soldiers came to the Spanish colonies to aid in the fight for liberty. It was these foreign legions that eventually turned the tide for freedom.

### *Under Strong Leadership Revolutions Spread from Country to Country in Latin America . . . . .*

**Bolívar, the Liberator, is the George Washington of South America.** The wars for independence were long and often seemed hopeless. There were four centers of revolt. The first was in Venezuela, the second centered in Argentina, the third broke out in Chile, and the fourth in Mexico. These revolts could not have succeeded if



**Simón Bolívar** was an outstanding leader of the Latin-American revolutions. This famous picture hangs in the Federal Palace at Caracas, Venezuela. Bolívar also called the first Pan-American conference, hoping to establish a congress that would promote friendly relations among the New World countries. (Pan American Union)

it had not been for the ability of a few great leaders. Perhaps the greatest of these was Simón Bolívar (See-moan' Boh-lee'-vahr). The story of his life makes clear the influences that started the revolution and the troubles that Spanish Americans had in uniting to fight for independence.

There is no more stirring figure in the history of Latin America than Simón Bolívar. A youth born to riches, he became in succession a dandy in European social life, a plotter for the independence of Spanish colonies, a daring army leader, and finally a writer of constitutions and maker of South American republics.

**THE YOUNG CREOLE.** Born on a huge plantation nestled among the hills of Caracas, Venezuela, Bolívar early learned the meaning of wealth. On the great cacao and indigo estate he found many pleasures, among them horseback riding and gay Spanish festivals. His father died when he was only nine years old and his mother when he was but 15, so that he was early placed under the care of his uncle who sent him to Spain to further his education.

Great wealth and a fine family background opened many doors of famous people to him. He met and married a beautiful and wealthy girl, but shortly after their return to Caracas she died. Lonely and disappointed, he returned to Europe and passed the next few years in travel, study, and having a gay time.

His experience in Europe did much to form strong beliefs that were to stick with him through life. He found that as a visiting colonist

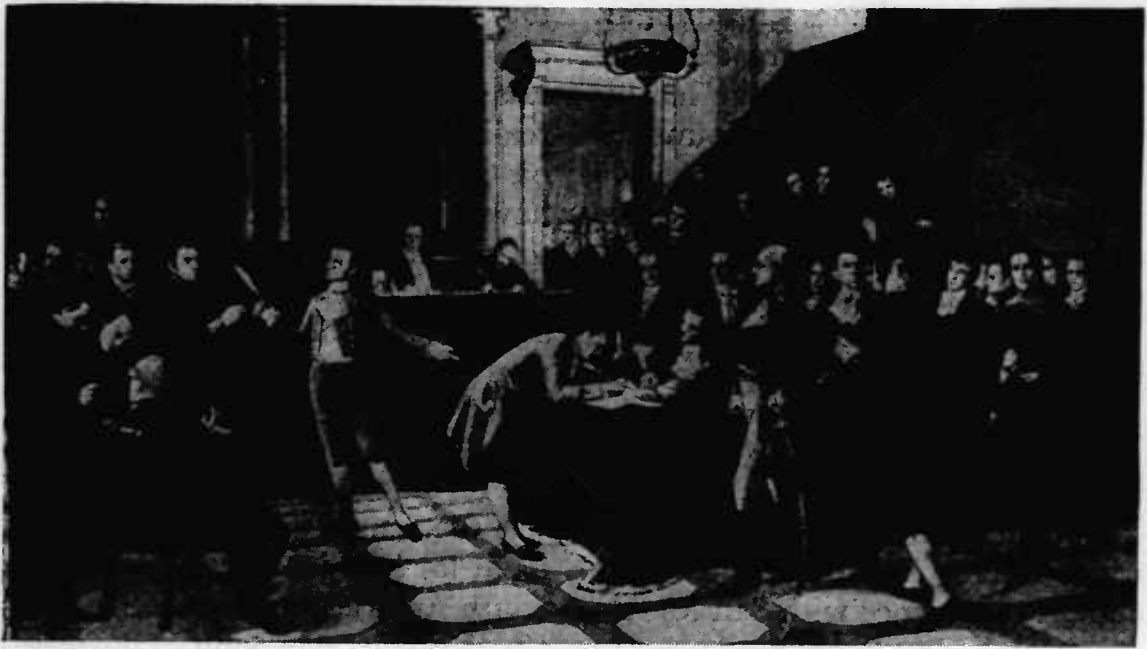
he was looked down upon. This hurt his feelings and from then on he had little use for Spain. He met again his childhood tutor who put into his head some entirely new ideas about liberty. They talked of the experiment in government in the United States and about the recent French Revolution. Why shouldn't people be free?

Bolívar saw Napoleon made leader of the French people in Paris. Here was his hero, a military leader fresh from victories, bringing order out of confusion in France. Yet, in a short time when he saw Napoleon tumble ruler after ruler from their thrones and take over the government for himself, Bolívar wondered about those ideas of freedom. When he saw Napoleon crowned king of Italy with all the splendor and trappings of royalty, he knew that Napoleon was not giving the people of Europe freedom. He was stealing freedom from them.

Then and there Simón Bolívar made a vow. "On my life and honor, I swear not to rest until I have liberated America from her tyrants." At the age of 23 he returned to America to begin his life work.

**THE LEADER OF REVOLT.** Bolívar faced enormous difficulties. He must convince his own people of the values of liberty and he must secure money to buy supplies. He had difficulty in raising an army. Curiously enough, his greatest enemy was not Spain, but Spanish Royalists within the colonies. As the United States had her Tories, Spanish America had her Royalists.

The first stage of the wars began



Venezuela was the first Spanish-American colony to declare itself free from the mother country. Under the leadership of Miranda and Bolívar, delegates met and drafted a Declaration of Independence. Here we see the delegates signing the declaration setting an example for the remainder of Latin America. (Brown Brothers)

when Bolívar with Miranda issued on July 5, 1811, the proclamation of independence for Venezuela. The two leaders gathered their forces for a fight against the Spanish. Miranda was defeated and thereby lost many valuable supplies. Recovering from this loss, Bolívar rallied some 500 men and marched from New Granada across northern Venezuela, liberating that country. In this journey he won six battles and defeated five Spanish armies (see map, page 89). He immediately made plans for the formation of a congress and the establishment of a government.

Next came the period of despair from 1814 to 1819. Spain, now free from Napoleon, sent reinforcements and drove Bolívar from Venezuela, forcing him to flee to Jamaica. Bolívar continued to plan

and work for liberation. Never did he give up hope. He made many attempts in these five years to carry on campaigns on the continent, but without success. He needed more help. The people were not yet ready to rise and fight with him. Some of the best native fighters were on the side of the Spanish.

**THE LIBERATOR.** Finally, plans were completed for the drive that was to spell victory. Establishing headquarters on the Orinoco River, Bolívar received supplies and men from Europe. He gained the confidence of some of the leaders of the local plainsmen. He made his daring plans for attacking the Spanish through the back door by a trip over the Andes.

Leaving a small garrison to fool the enemy, Bolívar took his army through the tropical lowlands to the

base of the Andes Mountains. There in one of the greatest military marches in history, he led his army up the rugged icy mountains through narrow passes at 13,000 feet altitude. Bolívar and his army decisively defeated the Spanish and drove them from New Granada and Venezuela. Eight years after his first entry into Caracas as liberator, he again entered and proclaimed the republic free. This time it was to remain free.

Bolívar turned his armies southward, freeing Ecuador. Then came a great conference with San Martín (Sahn Mahr-teen'), patriot leader to the south, who was driving north from Chile. They discussed the prospects of conquering Peru. It was decided that San Martín should withdraw, leaving some of his troops to help Bolívar. Bolívar's armies, under General Sucre (Soo'-kray), finally met and utterly destroyed the entire Spanish army. This marked the end of the great battles, though some resistance continued for another year and a half. The independence of Bolivia was proclaimed in 1825.

Bolívar was more than a great military leader. He was a believer in the representative form of government. He had faith that people could choose wise representatives. At every opportunity he urged the importance of democratic ideas in government. He had many chances to become a supreme dictator, but he never kept his power over the people.

Bolívar died of tuberculosis in 1830. A daring leader who was hopeful in defeat, generous in vic-

tory and true to his goal, he was one of the great men of the world. His greatest disappointment was the realization at his death that perhaps his countrymen would not know how to use the liberty that had been so recently won. Today all Latin America remembers Simón Bolívar as the man whose persistent efforts won freedom for five republics.

**San Martín and others also aid in the revolt against Spain.** As Bolívar was the central figure in the movement for independence in northern South America, so José de San Martín (Hoh-say' day Sahn Mahr-teen') was the central figure in the military achievement in the southern regions.

The revolution in Argentina began in 1810. Patriots in Buenos Aires, upon hearing that Napoleon had secured control of Spain, seized control of the government from the Spanish viceroy to prevent its falling into the hands of the French. A committee was organized to run the government and preserve it for Ferdinand VII. The patriot government formed an army and attempted to march inland toward the seat of Spanish power at Lima, Peru. At first successful, the patriot armies began to suffer defeats as they went further inland from their base at Buenos Aires.

There now appeared on the scene José de San Martín. Born the son of an army officer at a frontier post in Argentina, San Martín, at the age of seven, went with his father to Spain. Later he joined the Spanish army and served 22 years. Hearing that the patriots were moving







**San Martín**, on the white horse, leads his soldiers in a 25-day march over the lofty Andes. He spent nearly three years preparing for the campaign, making cannons and gun powder and gathering supplies. There were only crude trails and the men suffered greatly from storms and mountain sickness. (Historical Pictures Service)

toward independence in the Argentine, he boarded a British ship and returned home.

San Martín made preparations designed to attack the seat of Spanish power in Peru. In a secluded western Argentine province he secretly gathered a few skilled and trusted leaders who built a well-supplied army. Scouts secured plans of the three great passes through the Andes to Chile, with whose leaders of revolt San Martín made contact. He also kept in touch with events in Buenos Aires and was pleased when in 1816 he heard that independence had been declared.

At last all was ready. Three armies climbed the dizzy heights of the Andes and crossed into Chile. The operation (see map, page 89) was so successful that three different

drives attacked the Spaniards at the same time. Within a year they drove the Spanish from central Chile. It was the turning point of the war in the south. Soon after these victories Chile, too, declared its independence.

Plans were now made to dislodge the Spaniards from their stronghold in Peru. Assisted by a famous British admiral, a fleet of war vessels was soon ready to sail. Working cautiously and gathering recruits from Peru, San Martín was able to drive the Spanish forces out of Lima, though not from all of Peru. After conferring with Bolívar, who was driving down from the north, San Martín withdrew and returned to Argentina.

Strangely enough, when San Martín returned to Buenos Aires he was

ignored, even insulted. Without money, deserted by his friends, his wife dead, San Martín was discouraged and he sailed for Europe. He is remembered as one of the truly great military leaders of South America, a man whose victories insured independence for at least five republics—Argentina, Chile, Peru, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

**Mexico and Central America likewise break away from Spain.** From the day Napoleon placed his brother on the Spanish throne, there had been unrest in Mexico. Two uprisings were actually planned, but the Spanish authorities discovered the plot.

The revolutionary movement in Mexico had one important difference from that in most other Spanish colonies. In Mexico, during the early years, the revolutionary armies were made up mostly of Indians and mestizos rather than creoles. The Indians and mestizos hated the creoles as much as they hated the power of Spain. They wanted power for themselves. The creoles despised the mestizos and Indians and at first fought to keep the Spanish government in power. After 1821, however, the creoles joined the movement for independence, which was quickly won.

There were at least three major steps in Mexico's struggle for independence. First, in the village of Dolores (see map, page 89) a creole priest named Miguel Hidalgo (Mee-ghel' Ee-dahl'-goh) organized a plot against the Spanish rulers. The actual revolution opened one night in the year 1810, when Hi-

dalgo went to the village jail and freed the prisoners. He then tolled the church bell calling the villagers to revolution.

From town to town the mob gathered on its way to Mexico City. A battle was fought and won. Forces nearly 100,000 strong marched toward the capital. The Spanish authorities gathered their armies. Hidalgo hesitated, turned to another town where he was decisively defeated. Hidalgo, father of the revolution, was captured and executed along with many fellow patriots.

Next, another priest, José Maria Morelos (Hoh-say' Mah-ree'-ah Moh-ray'-los) took up the leadership of the Mexicans. He called a patriot congress which issued the first Mexican declaration of independence. After two years of fighting he, too, was captured and executed. The struggle then went on for six years without able leaders.

The final step remained for Agustín Iturbide (Ah-goos'-teen' Ee-toor-bee'-day), a mestizo who brought about actual independence. At first, Iturbide was an officer in the Spanish army who fought against both Hidalgo and Morelos. Later, the viceroy asked him to put down other patriot uprisings. Iturbide marched toward the patriot stronghold. Arriving at the scene of action, he arranged a meeting with the patriot leader. Instead of fighting each other, the two agreed to unite and fight together for the independence of Mexico. Their plan succeeded and that was the end of Spanish rule there.

Central America joined Mexico



**Dom Pedro**, in the center on a black horse, tears from his uniform the Portuguese colors, lifts his sword and utters his "Independence or Death" cry, declaring Brazil independent from Portugal on September 7, 1822. Dom Pedro was shortly proclaimed emperor of Brazil. (Pan American Union)

for a short time. However, in 1823 it declared its independence from "Spain, Mexico or any other power." For a few years this region held together as a republic, but at length it broke up into five countries.

Thus, in one of the most remarkable series of revolutions in history, we have seen how most of the Spanish-American colonies freed themselves to set up independent republics.

**Brazil, largest country in Latin America, separates from Portugal and establishes a monarchy.** Brazil had a colonial history nearly as long and colorful as that of the Spanish colonies. Her main settlements along the coasts were completely under control of Portugal, and she was the chief source of wealth for many a Portuguese noble.

Although the Portuguese strictly

regulated the life and trade of her Brazilian colonists, it was not until after the American Revolution that any serious thought of independence developed. As early as 1787 Thomas Jefferson had an interview in France with a Brazilian student who was seeking aid from the United States government to help promote an independence movement. Jefferson nodded his head in sympathy, but wisely said "no," for he realized that his own government was not yet firmly established.

The real story of independence hinges around King John and his son, Dom Pedro (Dawm Pay'-droh). When Napoleon invaded Portugal, King John and his advisers made up their minds to transfer their government to America. Hastily they boarded ships and sailed to Brazil. There the king opened the ports of Brazil to the trade of all friendly



nations. This pleased the people as it gave them an opportunity to buy goods at cheaper prices. Thus King John was well received. He made Brazil the center of his empire for more than ten years.

Although the Portuguese royalty brought some prosperity to Brazil, it also brought trouble. Brazilians became jealous of the power and wealth that the Portuguese were taking. The first outbreak was in an eastern province which announced its independence of the royal family and established a republic. However, Portuguese forces quickly captured and executed the leaders.

Later, King John decided to return home, as Portugal had been free of Napoleon for six years. Aware of movements for independence throughout Latin America, King John said to his son: "Pedro, if Brazil has to be separated from Portugal, you take the crown yourself, before somebody else gets it."

The Portuguese government again attempted to place the old restrictions upon Brazil. The people objected to this treatment and began movements for independence. Leaders went to Dom Pedro and asked him to declare Brazil a free nation. Dom Pedro hesitated until he heard that delegates to Portugal were insulted. He immediately announced the independence of Brazil.

One month later, October, 1822, Dom Pedro was crowned emperor, though his power was limited by a constitution. In a little more than a year the new government drove the Portuguese soldiers from the country. Thus, a successful monarchy

was established that was to last almost 70 years.

### *Latin Americans Continue to Live under Unsettled Conditions . . . . .*

The revolutions change but little the way of life. It had taken the people of Latin America 15 years to win independence. They were 15 years of turmoil, blood, and hate. Now that they were free, what did it mean in their everyday life?

Strange to say, there was no great change. Latin America continued to be a land of ranchers, miners, and farmers. The huge estates continued to be owned by a few people, with the great mass of the Indians and mestizos working on them as peasants at pitifully low wages. There was still almost no opportunity for the Indians and mestizos to buy land and start out for themselves as there had been for the common man in the English colonies. The church continued to be a powerful influence upon the people. It was still the largest single landowner in almost every country.

Strong class feeling continued, with the creoles taking the place of the Spanish royalty as the highest class. In many ways they were just as proud, just as anxious to keep power to themselves as the old Spanish governing groups had been. The creoles owned the estates; they managed the better businesses; and they controlled the politics. Thus, in many ways the new governments



did not establish immediately freedom and opportunity for which the leaders said they fought.

Did independence mean nothing, then, to these people? Indeed it did! While no great change came immediately, nor in all countries alike, there were some desirable changes made as the years went by. First, the courts that inquired into a person's religious views were abolished. While complete religious freedom was not permitted, non-Catholics were allowed more freedom than they had under Spanish rule.

Second, laws were wiped out that permitted the collection of tribute from Indians. This relieved the Indian of a heavy and often unjust taxation. It must be said, however, that the laws repealing these taxes were not always well enforced. Third, Negro slave trade was abolished in many countries. Fourth, commerce was opened to countries other than Spain so that the people traded more freely and cheaply than before. Finally, many countries did establish schools, improve roads, permit publication and sale of newspapers and books, so that slowly but surely living conditions improved.

**Dictators and revolutions follow independence.** It was in the field of government that the people reaped as they sowed. The years previous to the revolutions were years of dishonesty, graft, and selfishness in government. The period of the revolutions was one of horror, waste, and destruction. The usual manner of settling political disputes came to

be the pistol and the sword, not the ballot box.

The great majority of the people of Latin America were totally unfit for democratic government. Ninety-five per cent of the people were unable to read and write, so they lacked the means of forming reliable opinions. Few of the small farmers, merchants, and craftsmen were informed and capable of making wise decisions. Unlike the English colonies, they did not inherit a background of democratic rule and there had been no long training in the art of self-government. It is no wonder that dictators became the rule in Latin-American politics.

What were the major quarrels in government? First, there were quarrels over the kind of government to be established. Some men, like San Martín, realized that the people lacked training for self-government. They were in favor of establishing monarchies. Other men, like Bolívar, were opposed to monarchy and wanted a republic. These differences led to violent disputes.

Second, there was much trouble over who should govern. Once the Spanish power was overthrown, the various leaders began to fight among themselves. One man would no sooner get into office than a rival would wish to throw him out. The usual way of getting a man out of office was not to hold an election, but to get an army, stage a revolution, and drive the man from office. The victor would remain only as long as he controlled forces great enough to keep another from seizing power. In reality these "presidents" were dictators.



PACIFIC

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# LATIN AMERICA AFTER THE REVOLUTIONS

Scale of Miles  
0 500 1000 1500

These struggles were the main theme in the early story of Latin-American republics. For example, Mexico in its first 35 years of existence had 48 different presidents. Greater Colombia, brought together by Bolívar, lasted but eight years when it split into three countries, Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador. Except for Brazil, every country in Latin America had a revolution within five years after its independence. Some continued to have them at the rate of 60 or 70 in a hundred years. Several countries had revolutions as late as the 1940's.

The one nation to which the above was an exception was Brazil, which you remember established a monarchy. Even there some rivalry and opposition appeared. But no Latin-American country could match the relatively peaceful conditions within her land for the first 67 years of her career as an independent nation.

### *Summary of the Unit . . . .*

In this unit—"The New World Separates from the Old"—we have seen how the United States led the break between the New World and the Old World. Our independence also stirred our neighbors to the south to revolt. The main points of the unit are:

1. Long years of living in America changed the outlook of the colonists so that they were no longer British, Spanish or Portuguese at heart, but were Americans with an American point of view.

2. Both England and Spain clashed with their colonies over taxation, and over strict regulation of trade and manufacturing.

3. All the Americas had their Tories and Royalists who wanted to remain loyal to the mother countries.

4. A whole stream of events led up to the Revolutionary War, beginning with the Stamp Act (1765), followed by the Boston Massacre (1770), the Tea Act (1773), and finally the Intolerable Acts (1774). These and other events caused each side to become more impatient with the other.

5. The first shots on April 19, 1775, at Lexington and Concord became a revolution, when, on July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence told the world we were free from England.

6. The Revolutionary War lasted six years (1775-1781) and was fought in five broad areas: New England, the Middle Colonies, the South, in the Northwest, and on the high seas.

7. The patriot army, under the courageous leadership of General Washington, finally brought the long and difficult struggle to a victorious end. Foreign aid also helped.

8. The treaty of peace, signed in Paris (1783), recognized our independence and gave us control of lands east of the Mississippi, north of Florida, and south of Canada. We became the first republic in the New World.

9. Under the leadership of Bolívar and San Martín, Spanish America revolted and in wars lasting 15

years (1810–1825) Mexico, Central and South America won independence.

10. Brazil, alone of the great nations, had a peaceful separation,

and it then established a monarchy.

11. Although Latin America had won its independence, it took some time before steady and strong governments were established.

### WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

Show that you can use each of the following terms in relation to events in Latin America.

- |                          |                      |                |
|--------------------------|----------------------|----------------|
| 1. revolt                | 4. creoles           | 7. foreign aid |
| 2. independence          | 5. French Revolution | 8. mestizos    |
| 3. Council of the Indies | 6. smuggling         | 9. monarchy    |

### WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?

1810–25: Why should we remember this 15-year period in Latin-American history?

### CAN YOU FIND ANSWERS TO THESE?

1. What is the purpose of the story about Miranda and Pitt?
2. Name at least four reasons for discontent among the Spanish colonists in Latin America.
3. Why were the creoles often the leaders of revolt?
4. What effect did Napoleon's successes in Europe have upon the Spanish-American colonists?
5. Name the four centers of revolt in Spanish America.
6. What were some of Bolívar's qualities which made him such an able leader? Give two examples of his daring leadership.
7. In what countries would San Martín be an important hero today? Why?
8. How did the Mexican revolt differ from the revolutions in South America?
9. Was Iturbide a hero or a traitor?
10. Explain how Brazil became independent. Who were John and Pedro?
11. In what respects did the revolutions fail to change the Latin-American "ways of life"? In what respects were they changed?
12. Why did Latin America continue to have revolutions for many years while the United States did not?
13. *Summary Question:* How did the ideas for which Latin Americans fought compare with those for which the English colonists struggled?

## Activities for Unit Two

### CAN YOU MAKE IT?

1. *Poster.* Prepare a poster showing the reading of the Declaration of Independence before the Continental Congress. Or a poster showing Hidalgo calling the people of Dolores to revolution in Mexico. Watch your costumes and be sure that your poster centers on a single idea.

2. *Models*. Make a clay or soap bust of one of the three great revolutionary leaders: George Washington, Simón Bolívar or José de San Martín.
3. *Cartoons*. Draw a cartoon to illustrate one of the following: (a) Latin Americans wondering if they should follow the example of the United States and fight for independence; (b) comparison of the grievances of the English colonists and the Latin-American colonists with their mother countries; (c) the attitude of the patriots toward the Tories.
4. *Newspaper Headlines*. Write headlines for a newspaper featuring the conference between San Martín and Bolívar. For additional information see Marion Lansing, *Liberators and Heroes of South America*, 104-07. Or write headlines announcing the victory of John Paul Jones over the *Serapis*.
5. *Letter*. Imagine that you were at the battle of Yorktown and saw the British surrender. Write a letter to a friend describing the ceremonies. For additional information consult *Pageant of America*, VI. Turn to the index and look under "Yorktown." Or imagine that you were with George Rogers Clark. Write a letter to your mother who is in New York, telling her about the kind of country that you are going through, some of the forts that you visited, and what it looked like there. You might mention some battles. For additional information see *Pageant of America*, II and VI. Consult the index under "Clark, G. R."

## I TEST MY SKILLS

6. *A Report*. Prepare an oral report on the military campaigns in the Hudson and Delaware valleys. Make a list of the important facts that you wish to explain—people, plans of British and of Americans, places, and results. If necessary prepare a blackboard map to use during your report. Have your notes arranged in outline form so that you can give your report smoothly. Start with an interesting idea—a British blunder cost them the key battles in this campaign. Present your report well. Stand evenly on both feet, look at your audience. Have a pointer to indicate on the map the routes and places that you describe. At the close of your talk invite questions. For information see pages 70-72. *Pageant of America*, VI, will also be helpful.
7. *Using References*. There are thousands of books for reference work. We shall explain two, the encyclopedia, and the *World Almanac*. Encyclopedias may be in one volume or several. They are usually arranged alphabetically with letters on the back of each volume indicating the range of topics in that volume. To find a person look under his last name. Some topics may be listed several ways, or under headings other than what you might think. For example to look up the battle of Yorktown you might try first "Yorktown." If that fails, try "Revolution" for this was a battle during the Revolution. Practice on these. (a) What are the main headings under the Revolutionary War? (b) Find out about the Liberty Bell. (If it isn't under "Liberty" or "Bell" try "Declaration of Independence.")

The *World Almanac* is a handy single volume reference for current facts and information published each year. It has a great variety of materials ranging from topics such as sporting records, names of government officials, and facts about countries to figures on population, immigration, and a summary of events in each year. Opening the *World Almanac* you will find first several pages of advertising. Then will follow one or two pages



covering the table of contents, followed by the index, which you note is not in back of this book. As in other reference books, you may need to think of several ways in which your topic might be listed in order to find it. Find these to get acquainted with the *World Almanac*. (a) When did Argentina adopt its constitution? (b) What are the area and population of Chile? (c) Who is the United States ambassador to Mexico? (d) How many immigrants have come to our country from Mexico?

## **WE WORK IN GROUPS**

8. *Committee*. A committee of five could prepare a Philadelphia newspaper issued soon after the battle of Yorktown. The editor will be responsible for seeing that all materials for printing are well punctuated, spelled correctly and neat. Decide on the various articles you will want in the paper. Suggestions are: the surrender at Yorktown, the meaning of the victory in terms of what the colonists were fighting for, a who's who in the war, a cartoon, as well as odds and ends typical of that period. For helpful suggestions, but not to copy, consult Sylvan Hoffman's *News of the Nation* series of newspapers. See especially Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 7.

## **WE THINK FOR OURSELVES**

9. *Round Table Discussion*. A panel of five members might discuss the topic: "Are Revolutions Necessary?" First, the panel will meet to organize their discussion into four topics. Suggestions for three of the four possible topics are: (a) why people are discontented, (b) ways of settling their troubles, and (c) results of revolution. The chairman will introduce each speaker and will conduct a question period at the end. Pupils in the class should feel free to direct questions to each speaker. Speakers may be able to tie up this topic with present-day events. Are there any countries or regions today in which revolutions are taking place?

## **WE TURN TO OTHER BOOKS**

10. *To Get More Information*.  
RUGG, HAROLD, *America's March Toward Democracy*. Chapters iv and v give the story of events leading to the Revolutionary War and describe the chief campaigns in that war.  
HOFFMAN, SYLVAN (ed.), *News of the Nation*. Nos. 4, 5, 6 and 7 give excellent accounts of the leading events in the United States between 1770 and 1783.  
CUTRIGHT, PRUDENCE AND OTHERS, *Latin America, Twenty Friendly Nations*. Pages 116-69 tell in easy language the story of Latin-American revolutions. Other pages give additional facts about these nations.
11. *To Find Out Who's Who*. The class working together could prepare from the following books a "Who's Who" for this unit. Each person taking part could prepare a 100-word biography of one person. Then put all biographies together to make up the "Who's Who." The class artist could decorate the cover.  
OLCOTT, F. J., *Good Stories for Great Birthdays*. Over 200 easily read stories of leaders of both North and South America.

EATON, JEANETTE, *Leader By Destiny, George Washington, Man and Patriot*. A delightful biography of Washington.

ELLSBERG, EDWARD, *"I Have Just Begun to Fight."* The thrilling adventures of our first naval hero, John Paul Jones.

WILSON, W. E., *Big Knife*. This is the name by which the Indians called George Rogers Clark. This book tells you his story.

ROGERS, FRANCES, AND BEARD, ALICE, *Paul Revere, Patriot on Horseback*. A good account of this famous patriot of the Revolution in the Boston area.

DEAN, S. W., *Knight of the Revolution*. The biography of the slippery "Swamp Fox" who saved the South for the cause of the colonies.

DAUGHERTY, JAMES, *Poor Richard*. Interesting details of Benjamin Franklin's life and of his help in the Revolution.

EATON, JEANETTE, *Young Lafayette*. The story of the aid given by a great leader from France.

FAST, HOWARD, *Haym Salomon, Son of Liberty*. The story of a famous Jewish patriot who gave his life and used his fortune to help pay the costs of the Revolution.

LANSING, MARION, *Liberators and Heroes of South America and Liberator and Heroes of Mexico and Central America*. These two books contain good stories of leaders of both North and South America.

12. *To Read a Historical Novel.*

FORBES, ESTHER, *Johnny Tremain; A Novel for Young and Old*. The story of a messenger boy for the Sons of Liberty, which will make the Whigs and Tories mean something.

WONSETLER, A. H. AND J. C., *Liberty for Johanny*. A new story of the son of a Pennsylvania Dutch family during the days of 1777.

UPDEGRAFF, F. M., *Coat for a Soldier*. How a 13-year-old girl worked for a soldier in days when cloth was scarce.

13. *To Look at the Past in Pictures.*

*Pageant of America: VI*, dealing mostly with the details of the Revolutionary War.

*Building America: V*, "Our Latin-American Neighbors," will give further information on the revolutions in Latin America.

## WE SUMMARIZE THE UNIT

14. *Time Line*. Prepare a time line seven inches long dating from 1760 to 1830. On one side of the line place events in the United States, and on the other side place events in Latin America. Color in the periods of the two revolutions so that they stand out.

15. *Booklet*. Prepare a booklet entitled "Military History." In this booklet place a map of the principal campaigns in the United States and Latin America. Have a section devoted to outstanding men with a one sentence statement of the importance of each. Another section could contain copies of some of the flags of that day. Be sure that the British and Spanish get due credit. Make it fair. Do not neglect naval battles and leaders.

16. *Map*. Make a map of the American nations in 1825. You will need to

watch the United States at this date. For additional territories, see map on page 180. For proper boundaries of Latin-American nations, see map on page 95.

17. *Watch Your Words.* Be sure you know the meaning of these terms: tyranny, tariffs, mainland colonies, Tories, privateer, militia, revolution, uprisings, creoles, and mestizos. Identify the importance of the following: Committees of Correspondence, Declaration of Independence, Council of the Indies, and French Revolution.

### **DO YOU UNDERSTAND THE IDEAS OF THE UNIT**

18. *List.* Prepare a list of the main points in this unit. You should not need more than one sentence for each sub-heading under each section. Be sure that the sentence summarizes the main idea, rather than gives facts in detail.
19. *Understanding a Picture.* An artist tries to put across ideas with pictures, rather than words. Turn to pages 62-3 and study the unit picture. What is the main idea the artist is trying to show? What men from the United States does he use as leaders? What man from Latin America? How does the artist make it possible for you to identify these men? What is the significance of the yoke on the ground? How does the artist point out that it takes more than soldiers to make a revolution? How do you account for the Indians on one page and the Yankee frontiersmen on the other?



## Unit Three

### *The Idea of Democracy Takes Root and Grows in American Soil*

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6. The Seeds of Representative Government Are Brought from England and Planted Here
  7. The New Constitution Binds the States Together into a Strong Central Government
  8. In the Early Days of the Republic, Democracy Means Different Things to Different Men
  9. Our American Neighbors Make Progress toward Democracy
- 

The democratic idea in England began more than 700 years ago. When Englishmen began coming to America in the early 1600's, they brought their democratic ideas along. Soon town meetings and "little parliaments" sprang up in the colonies. In the late 1700's our great Constitution and Bill of Rights were born. Jefferson, the dreamer, and Jackson, the doer, did much in the early 1800's to make democracy popular in our country.

Meanwhile, Latin-American colonies cast aside the chains of political slavery. So did Canada, a little later. Today, nearly everywhere in the Americas, is this sign: "To the Land of Democracy."







## Chapter 6.     *The Seeds of Representative Government Are Brought from England and Planted Here . . . . .*

*It was October 14, 1765. Certain citizens of Cambridge in Massachusetts were gathered in Town Meeting. They were there to consider a law just passed by the British Parliament. Under the leadership of their elected chairman, the members were discussing in open meeting the matter before them. The discussion lasted a long time and frequently grew heated. Finally, however, the members were ready to vote on what their position would be. Here is the simple record of their votes.*

*Voted that the people of this Town and Colony have a legal right to claim all the Rights of Englishmen even though they are far from Great Britain.*

*Voted that the Stamp Act is a violation of these rights for the following reasons. (1) The representatives of the king who sell the stamps will control everything except the lives of the people. These distributors of stamps may call every one they please to such faraway places as Quebec, Montreal or Newfoundland to answer for pretended or real violations of this Act. (2) When these faithful subjects arrive there, they will not be tried by their fellow citizens—the birthright of every Englishman. They will be tried by a judge, but there will be no jury. (3) Why are not his Majesty's subjects in Great Britain treated this way?*

*We also believe this: No one in Great Britain is taxed as much in relation to the property he holds as are some in our Colony. If this Act stands, liberty will end and trade will die.*

*Voted, therefore, that the Town advises and directs its representatives to do nothing that will aid in the enforcement of the Stamp Act. Moreover, we urge that everything be done to have this Act wiped off the law books.*

*Voted that this be recorded in the Town Book so that children yet unborn may see the desire their ancestors had for their freedom and happiness.*



*The English Colonists Bring to America the "Rights of Englishmen" . . . . .*

Three great documents are the foundation stones of the "Rights of Englishmen." The Cambridge Town Meeting was democracy at work. It was a lawful gathering of citizens to determine what kind of government and what kind of laws they should have. Since not all Cambridge citizens were present or had a right to be present, those who were there were more or less representative of the citizens. Such a government is called *representative government*, a form of democratic government in which we are governed only with our consent.

The slow growth of our democratic ideas and rights goes far back into England's past. Let us turn to England in about the year 1200.

At that time King John was ruling with a high hand. He was taxing heavily and making unusual and unlawful demands on his subjects. Finally the great landholders revolted. They forced John to agree to 63 demands made upon him, when in 1215 he signed the Great Charter or *Magna Charta*. The most important demand of the charter was that in the future the nobles or great landholders would be given a fairer trial when accused by the king. They wanted a small number of their own group to pass upon the charges made by the king. Today we call this trial by jury or trial by one's fellow citizens.

It is important to note that the Great Charter is a written and

signed statement which limits the powers of the king. So important is this agreement that it is considered one of three great English documents or laws which together are known as the "Bible of the English Constitution."

The Petition of Right (1628) was the second far-reaching victory in the struggle between those who rule and those ruled. This time another king gave up more royal rights, when he agreed that in the future *no* Englishman could be taxed without the consent of Parliament (the law-making body). In a word, representatives of the voters would pass upon the matter of what taxes were to be raised.

The third and most important of the foundation stones of the "Rights of Englishmen" came in 1689 in the form of the Bill of Rights. A revolution had brought a new king to England. Before Parliament would accept the new king, however, he was forced to agree to the Bill of Rights. This document placed lasting limitations on the king's power. In the future, it was agreed, that (1) Parliament should have greater power than the king, and (2) Parliament, in its turn, was to govern only with the consent of the voters. At last Parliament was supreme over the king.

**The rise of Parliament gives more power to Englishmen.** The 500 years from *Magna Charta* to the Bill of Rights were important ones for England and the idea of representative government in the world. During these years the struggle had gone on between unwilling kings



**King John** is forced by the nobles to accept *Magna Charta* in a meadow near London in 1215. The king, who certainly does not look pleased, is supposed to have said, "Why do not the barons ask me for my crown also?" (Culver Service)

and the "representatives of the people." And in this time the English system of government, as we know it today, had come into being. What was this government like?

The heart of the English system of government today is Parliament. Parliament, however, did not rise overnight as a body representing the English people. Its beginnings go back to the Great Council of the early kings. This council was a small group of nobles and high churchmen selected by the king to advise him. In time the Great Council was called "parliament," meaning a place where *discussion* of government affairs took place.

It was not until the 1300's that Parliament became the body we know today. Slowly—over several hundred years—three important

changes had taken place. First, Parliament became representative of more classes of Englishmen. When representatives from the great middle class were admitted to Parliament, a great step forward was taken. One reason for these new members lay in the fact that the middle class was being taxed. The idea was developing that those who pay taxes should be represented.

Second, with the addition of these new representatives, Parliament was divided into two houses. The House of Lords included the nobles and high churchmen. The House of Commons was for the representatives of the middle class or "commoners." Third, the practice grew up of electing the members of Commons.

The rise of Parliament did not



end the powers of the king. In the next 400 years (1300–1689), the struggle for power went on between king and Parliament. It went on over questions of taxation, over rights of free speech, over religious matters—to list the most important. In the end, however, the Bill of Rights made Parliament the ruler of England.

### *The Business of Government Centers around “Little Parliaments” . . . . .*

“Little parliaments” are early set up in the colonies. In Chapter 2 we learned that great business companies made possible the settlement of important colonies. Here we want to consider *political* life in some of these colonies. By political life we mean the machinery for government and the part the people had in the running of that machinery.

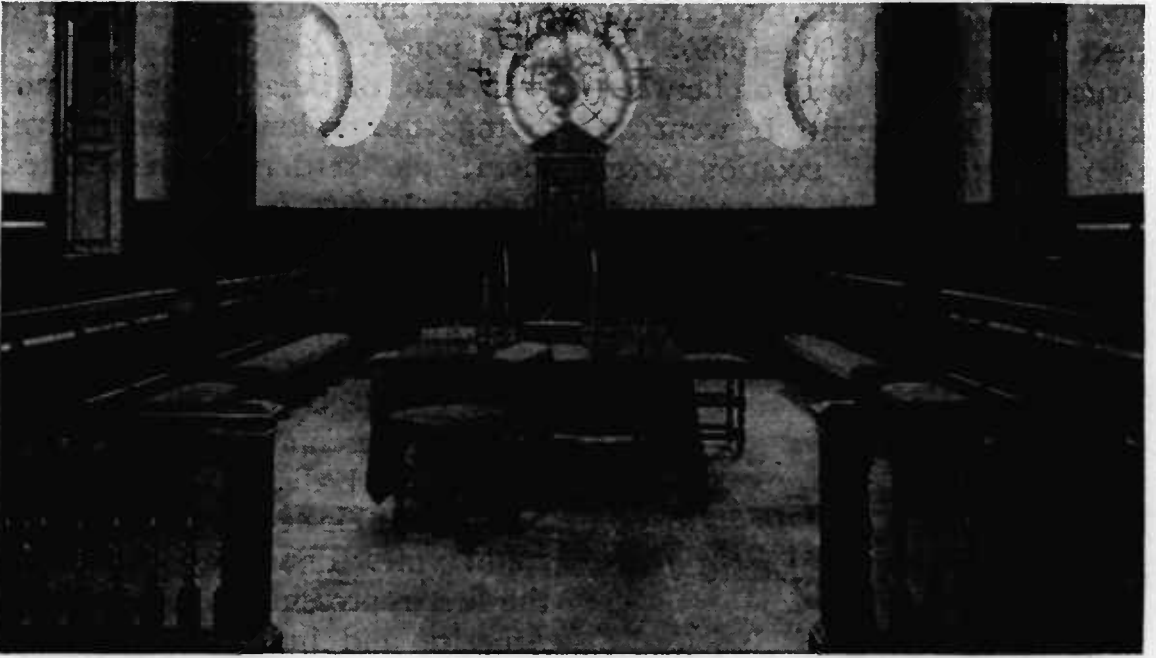
It was only natural that the English colonists should want to bring to America the precious “Rights of Englishmen.” On the other hand, the idea of representative government was opposed by the London and Virginia Companies for at least two reasons. First, these business companies were not eager to let the power of government slip from their control. They asked: “Why should the colonists not be dependent on us and the mother country? After all, don’t we protect them against their enemies?” Second, they feared that the colonists might

take too many liberties, if given a little power.

In spite of these reasons for not giving the colonists self-government, the settlers soon insisted upon it. In fact, only 12 years after its settlement, the king granted a representative assembly to Virginia. This was called the House of Burgesses, and its first meeting was in 1619. This legislature was made up of two representatives from each of Virginia’s 11 districts. The members were elected by those who could vote. Thus was established the first representative assembly in America and indeed in the New World.

Far to the north—in Plymouth Colony—the Pilgrims also made a real beginning in democracy when they drew up the Mayflower Compact (1620). Finding themselves beyond the land granted them, the men of the good ship *Mayflower* signed a compact or agreement. All promised to obey “just and equal laws.” Although this was not a constitution, it clearly showed that the Pilgrims intended to have a democratic government.

In the neighboring colony of Massachusetts Bay, the Puritans, too, finally turned to representative government. At first, however, only the stockholders of the company which made the settlement had political power. But after a group of settlers complained bitterly, a representative assembly was established. In spite of this victory, representation was limited for 60 years to members of the Puritan church. In New York, likewise, real self-government was slow in getting un-



The House of Burgesses as it was in the early 1700's in the capitol at Williamsburg, Virginia. The building and furnishings have been rebuilt according to descriptions in records. The Speaker's chair (rear center) is, however, the one used in the 1700's. (Copyright 1934, Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated)

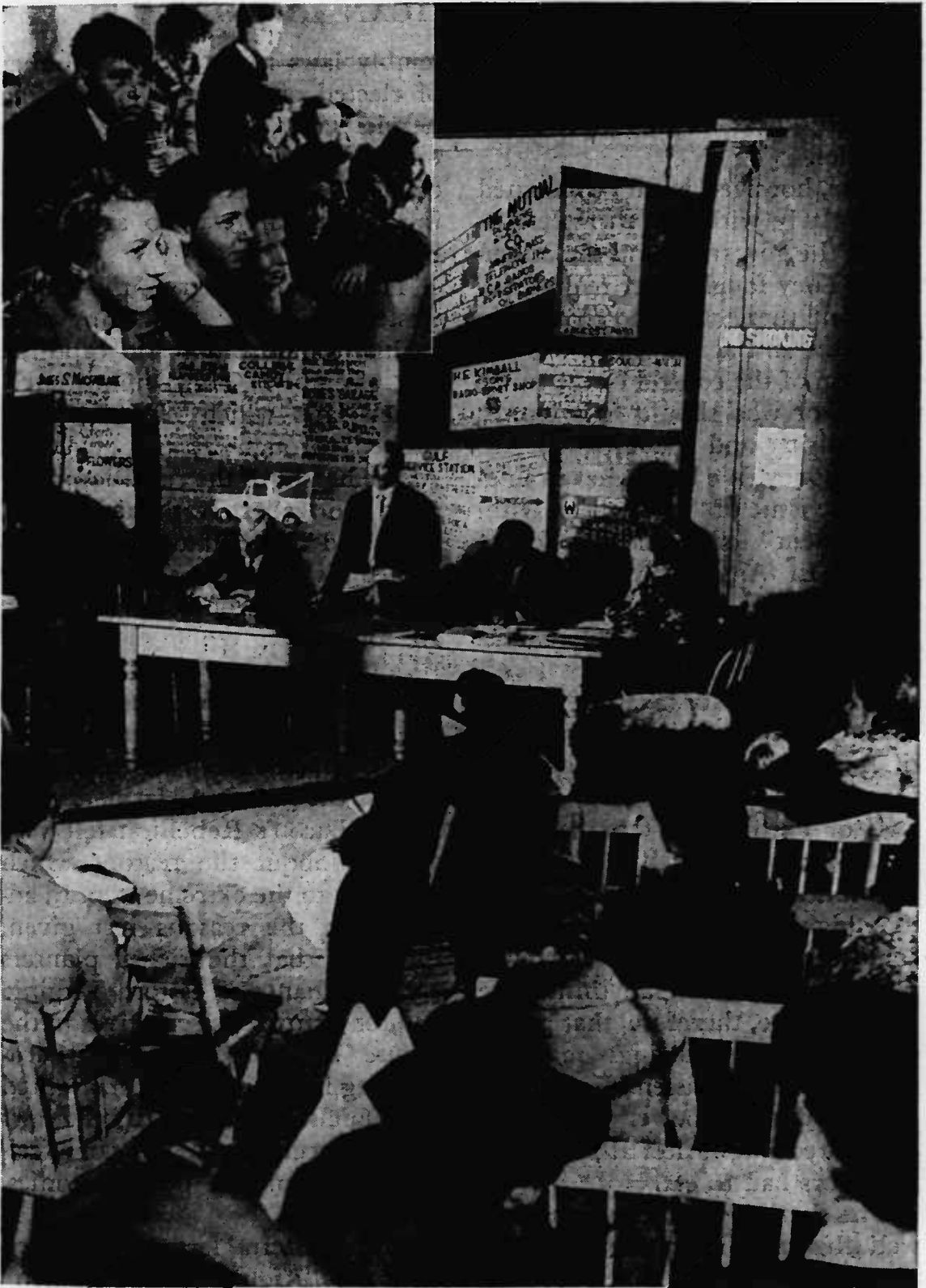
der way. Here first the Dutch and later the English governors kept the people from power for over 75 years.

The establishment of legislatures, or "little parliaments" as the colonists sometimes called them, in these and other colonies is very important. The colonists meant to enjoy the "Rights of Englishmen" in America. Further, these little parliaments were fine training schools for self-government later.

In the small towns and villages of New England representative government took the form of *town meetings*. Those who could vote met together to make laws for the town or village. Do you remember what the Cambridge Town Meeting did in 1765? Such town meetings still are the governments of many small towns in that region.

**Struggles early develop between the parliaments and the governors.** Perhaps you have heard the saying: "As mother, so daughter." In some ways it could be said: "As mother country, so daughter colonies." The long struggles between king and Parliament in England were repeated in the colonies between the governors and the "little parliaments." This was especially true in the royal colonies where the governors were appointed by the king.

Since the English Parliament had the right to make laws for the colonies, there was always the question of how far these laws should go. Note again what the Cambridge Town Meeting had to say on this matter. Whether it was the acts of Parliament or the attempted one-man rule of the governors, the colonial assemblies demanded home



Town Meeting is under way in Pelham, Massachusetts, a town of 500 people. The elected moderator or chairman is speaking. Any voter may attend, debate, and vote. This meeting elected town officers, and voted funds for relief, education, the destruction of porcupines, and for other purposes. The inset shows Pelham's upper grade pupils in the gallery learning how democracy works. In ten years they will be downstairs. (Walter Sanders, from Black Star)

rule. This means that the colonists intended to govern themselves through their representative assemblies.

Here, however, we are concerned particularly with the struggles between the governors and the assemblies. They fought over many matters, but there was one that came up again and again. That was the problem of the control of the purse strings, or who should have power over raising and spending government money. We know that in England the issue of "no taxation without consent" led to the Petition of Right. In America the colonists said that this meant no taxation without consent of the colonial assemblies.

This question of taxation left the royal governors in an awkward position. They were in the colonies to represent the king and carry out the laws of Parliament. On the other hand, they were paid by the colonial assemblies. If the governors became too high-handed, the assemblies could reduce their salaries or even refuse to pay them anything. We can easily see, therefore, that power over the purse strings made it possible for the assemblies to get more and more power over more and more things. After all, the royal governors had to eat.

The struggle for more rights was well illustrated in another case. Just 100 years before the American Revolution a rebellion—called Bacon's Rebellion—broke out in Virginia. At that time the House of Burgesses was under the control of a governor who hated democracy. In dictator fashion he forced through that as-

sembly laws reducing the number of elected officials and laws laying heavier taxes on the poor. He also refused to come to the full support of the poor farmers who were fighting an Indian war to save their homes.

Thoroughly angry, the small western farmers took up arms against the governor and captured the assembly. They immediately passed laws which replaced those pushed through by the governor. At the height of the rebellion, however, the leader, Nathaniel Bacon, died, and the dictator-governor regained his power. Not all battles for democracy are won at the time they are fought.

**Conflicts arise among the colonists for more equal representation in the assemblies.** Deep down in their hearts the western farmers who fought Bacon's Rebellion felt very strongly about the reasons which led them to the extreme step. In addition to the reasons just given, they felt that the richer planters and merchants of eastern Virginia had too many representatives in the House of Burgesses. The hard-working backwoods farmers wanted their fair share in making the laws which concerned all. The same feeling was found in other colonies, too.

The western farmers believed that the "Rights of Englishmen" belonged to them as much as to the more fortunate people along the coast. Believing as they did, they began to complain about high taxes and the unequal political rights and powers. They appealed to the gov-



ernors and assemblies to make necessary changes.

They offered figures and arguments to support their appeals. They insisted that in one colony three eastern counties had 26 representatives, while in five western counties there were only ten. In a second colony the rule was: In the west large districts with many people; in the east small districts and few people. But no matter what the size, the number of representatives was the same. In another colony it was claimed that four-fifths of the people were governed by the other fifth.

Four years before the opening shots of the American Revolution, another uprising took place. This time it was in North Carolina. It was not against Britain. It was a revolt of the western farmers against the ruling classes of the eastern part of the colony. The men who were fighting for more equal representation were called Regulators. A bloody battle took place between the Regulators and the militia. Although the Regulators lost the battle, they did not lose the cause for which they were fighting. When a new North Carolina constitution was made, many of their demands were written into the document.

Slowly, then, Americans won the right of equal representation, no matter where they lived or how little money they had. The men of the East began to realize that the men of the West meant business. Angry westerners were talking about breaking away from the 13 colonies and setting up governments of their own.

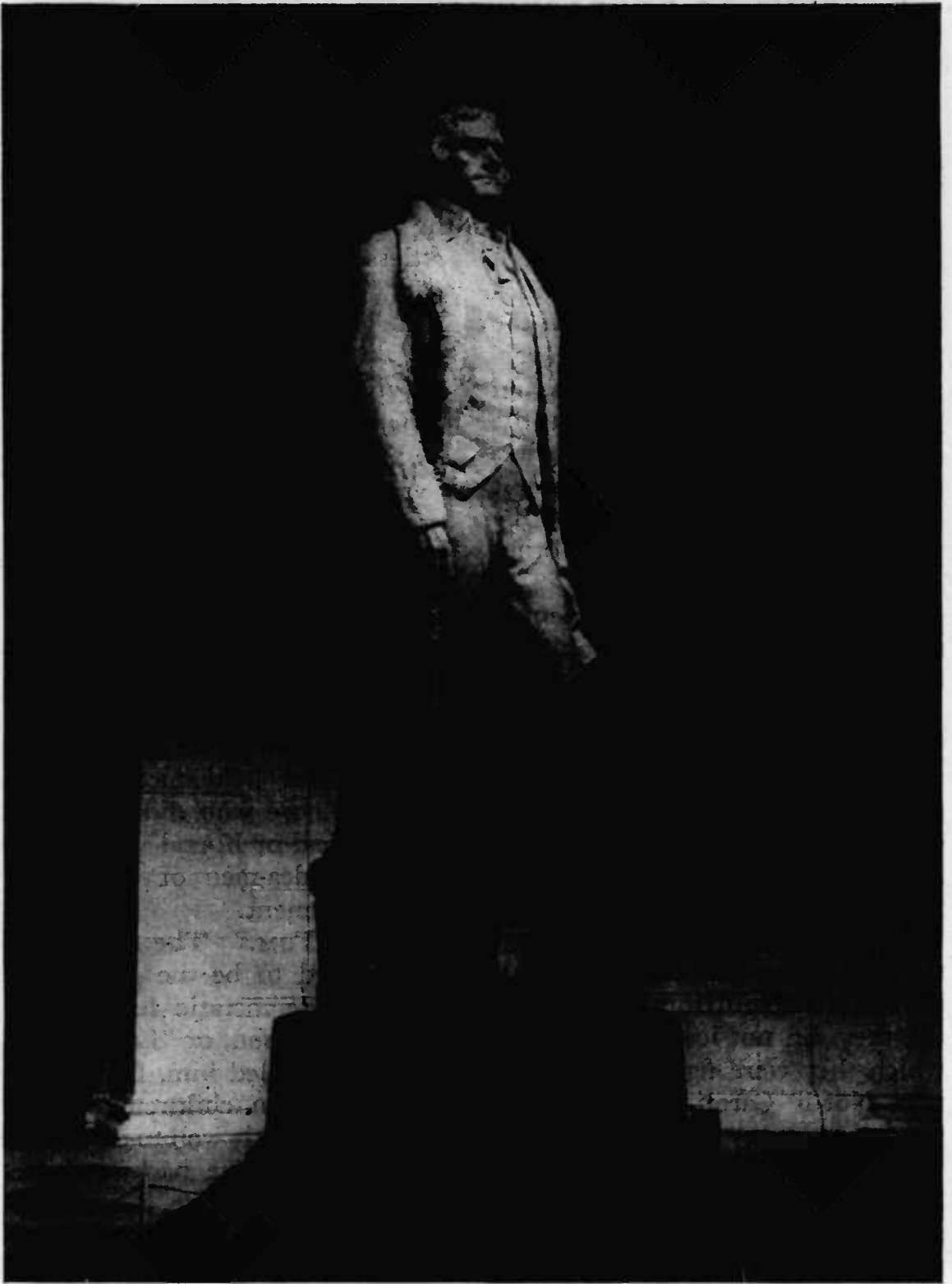
The struggle of the little western farmer for real representative government seemed to be history repeating itself. At an earlier time the people of England had to fight for the same thing. And so did the early settlers in the East.

### *Thomas Jefferson, A Great Liberal, Becomes the Spokesman of Early Democracy*

Jefferson's entire life is a battle for the rights of man. Were the "Rights of Englishmen" intended for all persons in both England and America? We know that there were some who did not think so. The idea that democratic privileges belong to all was not widely held among colonial leaders. Those who did believe it took a broad or liberal view. They were the idea-men of the democratic movement.

"LONG TOM." The American who seemed to be the greatest of the early democratic leaders was Thomas Jefferson, or "Long Tom" as the boys called him. Long Tom was one of ten children and the first son of a fairly well-to-do farmer who settled in the backwoods region of Virginia. Here, 33 years before the Declaration of Independence, was born the boy who was to grow rapidly into a loose-jointed but straight lad over six feet tall. Horseback riding, which his father taught him at a very early age, remained his only sport through life. From his father he also learned much about nature study.





Thomas Jefferson, the spokesman of early democracy, served his country well for 40 years. Shortly before his death he prepared some rules for the guidance of a young namesake. "Adore God," advised the writer of the Declaration of Independence. "Reverence and cherish your parents. Love your neighbor as yourself, and your country more than yourself. Be just. Be true. Murmur not at the ways of Providence." This statue of Jefferson is in the Jefferson Memorial in Washington. (James Sawders, from Cushing)

Long Tom's schooling began at the usual age. Later he was taught Latin by a nearby clergyman. He was interested in his studies and proved to be a hard-working pupil. Although his father died when the boy was 14, the lad was sent to college. At the age of 17, then, Tom set out for the College of William and Mary.

This proved to be quite an experience for the rather shy country boy who had never seen even a village of 20 houses. Now he was to live in Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia and the seat of the House of Burgesses. Tom's pleasing ways and his ability to dance and to fiddle soon opened the doors of some of the old families to him. But it was his curious mind that found a place for him at the dinner table of the royal governor. Here a small group of well-educated and much-traveled men regularly discussed European literature, music and science. How would regular dining with the royal governor affect Tom's thinking?

For the moment Jefferson's mind was turned. He was leading a gay life, and he liked it. He did little studying that first year. But when he realized how much money he had spent, he was rudely awakened. Without waiting to be urged by his guardian, he settled down to business. And as a result he was graduated at 19—in just half of the time usually taken. Now he turned to the study of law. At the legal age of 21, Tom became the head of the family and owner of the farm.

**THE REBEL.** Because he was the first-born son, a Virginia law re-

quired that the entire property go to Tom. Another act prevented Tom from selling or giving away any part of the land. In other words, it was not possible for Tom's brothers and sisters to own land. Because these laws built up a small class of large landholders or aristocrats, Jefferson rebelled against them. Thomas Jefferson now began demanding rights for the common man that shocked many of the rich, privileged classes or aristocrats.

We shall list briefly his demands, remembering that he was a leader in the struggle for these rights. We should also remember that the aristocrats considered him a traitor. For Jefferson was a large landholder and the owner of several hundred slaves. Here are the rebel's demands:

*First.* The common man will not have a place in this country until there is a large group of small farmers owning their own lands. Laws must be changed so that when a person dies land can be divided among all the children. Also it should be possible to sell land to any buyer.

*Second.* There must be freedom of religion for all. No longer should any man be compelled to go to a state church or to pay taxes for its support.

*Third.* Education at public cost must be for all—at least in the elementary grades. The ablest persons should go to a state university without payment. How, asked Jefferson, can there be a democracy unless both masses and leaders are educated?

*Fourth.* Freedom of speech and press is also necessary to a demo-



Monticello was Thomas Jefferson's home for more than 50 years. Jefferson, sometimes called "the first American architect," designed Monticello, the University of Virginia, and the capitol at Richmond. In introducing the stately old Roman models, he declared for American independence of English styles. (Courtesy Jefferson Bicentennial Commission)

cratic government. The right of the people to debate freely and openly is a good thing for those in power.

*Fifth.* Slavery must be ended. No more slaves must be brought into the country. All slaves now here should be freed gradually. (Jefferson freed his slaves in his will.)

*Sixth.* The British government must no longer delay in granting the rights of man to Americans. "All men are created equal." They have certain rights, and among them are "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." So said the Declaration of Independence.

THE SAGE OF MONTICELLO. Jefferson was more than a rebel. He was one of the greatest political leaders this country has had. It would be a mistake, however, to think that Jefferson was always successful in carrying out his ideas.

Even as President he found that conditions beyond his control forced him to take something less than he wanted for his countrymen.

Jefferson was a many-sided man. He was, for example, a musician and a scholar. He wrote three books and thousands of letters. He knew six foreign languages. He was a farmer, a student of nature, and an inventor. He invented, to give one example only, a plow that won a gold medal in France. He was an educator, for he founded the University of Virginia. As an architect he planned the university's buildings. He also designed and built his home in Virginia, called Monticello.

To this home went Jefferson after 40 years in his country's service. Here he became a guide to Presidents for 16 years more. When he

retired, Jefferson was greatly in debt. Too easygoing, he was unable to manage his own affairs without going into debt. Fortunately Jefferson's last months were free from worry, for his fellow countrymen raised a fund to pay his debts.

Thomas Jefferson died at his beloved Monticello, July 4, 1826—exactly 50 years after the Declaration of Independence. No man fought harder for the rights of man.

**Jefferson works with others to put into practice his ideals.** From the age of 26 when he was elected to the House of Burgesses to the age of 66 when he left the Presidency, Jefferson served in one office after another. He served several times in both the Second Continental Congress and the Virginia assembly. He was also governor of Virginia. He was our minister in France. He was President Washington's first Secretary of State. Finally, he became Vice President and then President.

Here we want to see how Jefferson put into practice his ideas about the rights of man. His first step was to spread the ideas. His early years in office were largely spent in drawing up resolutions, writing speeches and pamphlets. A pen in his hands was a thing to be feared.

With a few brave patriots, he worked endlessly to stir up the colonists to their rights under the king and Parliament. He was one of the first to say that Parliament had no power over the colonial assemblies. As a member of the Committee of Correspondence, he worked with his fellow liberals to spread the gos-

pel of the rights of man. In the Continental Congress he worked quietly to bring the members to declare for independence. We know that Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence—one of the greatest liberty documents of all times.

After this was done, Jefferson returned to Virginia to work for a more liberal state government. Here, aided by others, he defeated the landholding aristocrats in a most important matter. He got the assembly to change the land laws in favor of the common man. After a ten-year struggle and with the help of his friend, James Madison, religious liberty was also established by law in Virginia. Jefferson, then in France, wrote the law. This idea later appeared in Amendment I of our Constitution. His demand for free elementary schools did not become law during his lifetime. And he had to wait 40 years for his demand for a state university. Although he wiped out the slave trade, he never succeeded in freeing the slaves in Virginia.

No part of America escaped the effects of Jefferson's battle for the rights of man. He fought for three freedoms: freedom in political life, freedom in religion, and freedom in education. These are the things for which he wished us to remember him. For this is what he wrote for the shaft on his grave: "Here was buried Thomas Jefferson, Author of the Declaration of American Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia." Not a word about being President for eight years!



"Signing the Declaration of Independence" is John Trumbull's greatest painting. Here, before the Congress which adopted the Declaration, Thomas Jefferson offers the document to John Hancock for his signature. To the right of Jefferson stands Benjamin Franklin, and to the left John Adams, Roger Sherman, and Robert Livingston. (Library of Congress)

### *The Revolution Speeds up Thinking about Democratic Ideas . . . . .*

Men again think about the rights of man. Jefferson's Declaration of Independence was intended to do many things. It was a document written to explain to the world why we declared our independence. It was meant to win the good will of liberals everywhere. It was also an excellent statement of the rights of man. In part it was intended as propaganda. That is, it was written to make men think about the rights of man and to make Americans want to separate from England. Those who write to influence our thinking are propagandists. Since we all agree that Jefferson's ideas

in the Declaration are good, we call the Declaration good propaganda.

Wars cannot be fought without ideas and propaganda. Quite often it takes propaganda to get a war started, especially a war for independence. Propaganda is necessary while men are fighting. In fact, one of the problems of carrying on a war is to keep clearly in mind the purposes for which men are fighting. After a war men sometimes are so weary that they have no energy left to keep alive the ideas for which they fought. Jefferson and others meant to keep alive the ideas of the rights of man.

We saw at the beginning of this chapter that the people of Cambridge were concerned with the "Rights of Englishmen" ten years before the Revolution started. In



nearby Boston lived a man who at this time was busy agitating or stirring up feelings against England. This agitator was Samuel Adams. He lost no opportunity to arouse the colonists. Under one name or another, he wrote article after article for the Boston newspapers. His job was to prepare the people's minds for revolution. In doing this, he also wrote a pamphlet on the rights of man. Throughout the war he worked to prevent a peace short of victory.

Perhaps the most important propagandist of this period was Thomas Paine, an English author and friend of liberty. Paine came to America shortly before the war started. Six months before the Declaration of Independence he wrote a famous pamphlet which called for immediate independence. During the war when the outlook for victory was very dark, he wrote a whole series of pamphlets. The task of keeping up the spirits of Americans on the battlefield and at home was well done. General Washington warmly praised Paine for his work.

Thus did the propagandists keep alive the idea of the rights of man. While Adams and Paine were writing and agitating, Jefferson was at work in Virginia. He was writing the rights of man into the laws of Virginia.

**The rights of man are woven into state constitutions.** If the Revolution had brought nothing but independence, many would have considered it a failure. Unless the rights of man were to be more of a living thing than ever before, why should

the masses fight for six long years? But to sum up, what are the rights of man? Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? Yes, broadly. But to be more to the point, these rights mean among other things: (1) freedom of religion, speech and press; (2) greater opportunity for education in free schools and libraries; and (3) the important right of all persons to be free.

These democratic rights become real when governments make them possible. That is why it is so very important that Englishmen and Americans had for several hundred years insisted upon *government by the will of the people*. To have such representative government means that the "people" must have two important privileges. One is the right to vote. The other is the right to hold public office. Since the days of *Magna Charta*, there has been an uphill fight to give more and more people these privileges.

The years of the Revolution fortunately kept alive all of these ideas. More than that, many of these ideas were written into the new state constitutions made during the Revolution. A *constitution* is a written statement describing the machinery of government, the powers of the rulers, and the rights of the people. Both Virginia and Massachusetts in two famous Bills of Rights wrote the rights of man into their constitutions. So did the other states.

Although more people were given the right to vote in most states, still very few had the privilege. Probably not more than six in every 100 white people could vote at

the time of the Revolution. Today about 60 out of every 100 of our entire population may vote. The requirements for holding office were lowered, too. The terms of office were also shortened so that more men might share the privilege.

As a result of the ideas of men like Jefferson, Adams, and Paine, the Revolution took place. During

the Revolution democratic ideas were written more boldly than ever into state constitutions. Still only a few persons could enjoy either the right to vote or to hold public office. Nevertheless, nowhere in the world were governments freer or more liberal than here. The seeds of representative government were not only brought from England and planted here. They also grew here.

### WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

Show that you understand the following terms by using each in a sentence. Give an example whenever possible.

- |                              |                   |                  |
|------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 1. representative government | 4. democracy      | 8. liberal       |
| 2. trial by jury             | 5. Parliament     | 9. aristocrats   |
| 3. dictator                  | 6. political life | 10. propaganda   |
|                              | 7. town meeting   | 11. constitution |

### WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?

- 1215: Why is this a date which should be included in a political time line?  
 1619: Why is this a very important date in the story of democracy in America?  
 1620: Compare the importance of this date with 1619.  
 1628: Tell why this is a milestone on the road to greater self-government.  
 1689: Why is this date probably more important than either 1215 or 1628?

### CAN YOU FIND THE ANSWERS TO THESE?

- How did *Magna Charta*, the Petition of Right, and the Bill of Rights help to advance representative government?
- How did the English Parliament slowly come to be more representative of the "people"?
- What were the "little parliaments" in the colonies, and how were they examples of self-government? Give an example of a "little parliament."
- The Mayflower Compact was neither a representative assembly nor a constitution. Why, then, is it important?
- Why do you suppose Thomas Jefferson once said that the New England towns were the "wisest invention" ever made by man for the "perfect exercise of self-government"?
- Struggles for power between the governors and the legislatures in the colonies were common. Give two examples of these struggles, and describe each.
- In what sense was Bacon's Rebellion a struggle between the poor farmers of western Virginia and the rich planters and merchants of the East? Give another example of this struggle.

8. What six democratic rights did Thomas Jefferson demand for the common man?
9. Why was Jefferson called the "Sage of Monticello"?
10. How did Jefferson go about the business of putting his ideals into practice? In what important way did he fail?
11. Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Adams, and Thomas Paine were propagandists. What kind of propaganda did they write?
12. List at least five democratic rights which were written into the state constitutions as a result of the American Revolution.
13. *Summary Question:* Government by the consent of governed is a basic democratic idea. Give examples from this chapter which illustrate the struggle for this ideal.

# Chapter 7. *The New Constitution Binds the States Together into a Strong Central Government*

*Have you ever heard or read the story of the Old Man, his sons, and a bundle of sticks? According to the story, an Old Man had several sons who often quarreled with one another. The father did everything he could to make them good friends, but he met with little success.*

*Finally, as the end of his life drew near, he called his sons together and showed them a bundle of sticks which was tightly tied together. To each son the Old Man said, "See if you can break this bundle of sticks." One after another each tried with all his might to break the bundle, but could not.*

*When all had tried and given up, the Old Man made this suggestion. "Untie the bundle," he said, "and each of you take a stick, and see if you can break that." This the sons were able to do easily, and soon each stick was broken.*

*The Old Man had taught the sons a valuable lesson. To be sure, however, that each understood its meaning, this is what he then told them:*

*"You saw when the sticks were bound together how strong they were. As soon as they were untied, you broke them easily. Now, if you will stop quarreling and stand together, you will be like the bundle of sticks. You will be so strong that no one will be able to harm you. If, on the other hand, you do not live together as friends when I am gone, you will be no stronger than one of these little sticks. Then your weakest enemy will be able to do you harm.*

*"The value of friendly and united action, sons, is the moral and point of this story. Your old father hopes that you will see the wisdom of putting this moral to work in the days that lie ahead."*

## *Early Colonial Unions Lead up to the Articles of Confederation . . . . .*

**Co-operation is an early American idea.** Co-operation or working together for common purposes is one of the best ways for men to make progress against enemies of all kinds. When successful it results in what is sometimes called the "we-feeling."

Beginning with the first settlement at Jamestown, men who came to the New World to tame a wilderness learned that co-operation among families was necessary. If forests and the enemies in the forests were to be conquered, the help of neighbors was needed. And so the earliest settlers joined together to carve homes out of the wilderness, to build roads, to husk corn, and to fight Indians.

Co-operation is not always an easy lesson to learn, as the story of the Old Man's sons shows. This is especially true when working together means setting up machinery for the co-operation of large groups. Families in one community might work together for common ends, but would colonies separated by hundreds of miles do the same? The answer is that slowly—over a period of many years—rival colonies learned to co-operate against common enemies.

Fear of attack by the Dutch, the French, and the ever-present Indians gave rise to the first attempt at union of certain New England colonies. In the middle 1600's the colonies of Connecticut, New Haven,

Massachusetts, and Plymouth joined in a "league of friendship," known as the New England Confederation. A *confederation* is a loose union of colonies or states with very little power given the central government. That describes exactly this first attempt at union. The four colonies agreed to act as good neighbors and to protect one another from all enemies. The union lasted about 40 years. Although the most powerful member, Massachusetts, would co-operate only on its own terms, this confederation was important as an experiment.

The threat to colonial safety of the oncoming French and Indian War (1754–63) produced the next attempt at colonial union. This time delegates from seven colonies met at Albany to consider common dangers. Here Benjamin Franklin suggested the Albany Plan of Union. Under his plan there would be a congress of delegates representing each colony and a president appointed by the king. Franklin's plan never had a chance to prove its worth, for the colonial assemblies rejected it. They feared they would be giving up too much power.

When the ill-feeling between the colonies and Britain led to revolution, large-scale colonial co-operation began. Delegates from 12 colonies gathered at Philadelphia just before the Revolution in what was called the First Continental Congress. This Congress and the Second Continental Congress, which met a few weeks after Lexington and Concord, represented real progress in colonial co-operation. It was the





A spirit of co-operation is well illustrated by this example of William Penn's conference with some of his colonists. Believing thoroughly in "one for all, and all for one," Penn provided a system of government which encouraged co-operation between him and his settlers. His well-known fair dealings with the Indians made for a life-long peace with the American natives. (Howard Pyle in *Harper's Magazine*)

Second Continental Congress that adopted the Declaration of Independence, raised an army, appointed General Washington to head it, and prepared to fight a revolution.

**The states experiment with the Articles of Confederation.** Whatever the Second Continental Congress did to win the war, it was never intended that it should be more than a temporary meeting of delegates from the states. It had no constitution. It lacked power to tax. It always lacked money. It was poorly organized. It was inefficient. Under the circumstances, the wonder is that the Continental Congress managed to exist.

Shortly after the Declaration of Independence was adopted, a committee of the Congress reported on a plan of union intended to replace the temporary Congress. They called the plan the Articles of Confederation. The Continental Congress promptly adopted the Articles as a constitution. Disputes over state ownership of lands between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River delayed adoption by all of the states, however, until the war was almost ended.

What was the nature of this new experiment, and why was it adopted? The Articles were entered into for the common defense of the 13 states at war and for the promotion of their general welfare. As the name of the "Articles of Confederation" indicates, here was the constitution of another loose union of states. Although it was another "league of friendship," it was to be

much stronger than the New England Confederation. The new confederation was called "The United States of America," and included all of the 13 states.

What kind of government was provided for under the Articles? The government was the Congress and nothing more, but it was a three-in-one Congress. This Congress would make laws, enforce them, and interpret or judge them in the event of disputes. There was no president, nor any national courts.

Every attempt made to form a large-scale union of colonies or states came face to face with two big problems. First, should each state, large or small, have equal power in the congress of the central government? Second, how many powers should the states give to congress?

The first problem was settled by the Articles in this way. A state might have as many as seven representatives in Congress, but no state could have less than two. Regardless of size, wealth, population, or number of representatives, no state could have more than one vote in Congress. About 50,000 people in Delaware, therefore, would have as much power as more than 500,000 in Virginia.

The second question was answered by giving the Congress under the Articles certain powers. Among these were the power to raise and support an army and a navy, declare war, make treaties, coin and borrow money, and establish post offices. No central government could have existed with fewer powers.



**Shays's Rebellion** in Massachusetts was one example of the failure of government in the 1780's to solve the people's problems. In the moving picture *Servant of the People* the farmers, led by Daniel Shays, are shown capturing a court house. They rebelled against seizure of farms for debts they could not pay. (Courtesy Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer)

**The Articles of Confederation fail to unite the country.** On paper the Articles of Confederation set up the strongest central government of a democratic nature then known to history. In practice the Articles proved so weak that they lasted only eight years. The period just after the Revolution was a serious one for the young nation. Even Washington appeared more discouraged than in the darkest days of the war.

The new government failed to unite the country chiefly because the Articles lacked several necessary powers. In the first place, Congress could not tax the people directly as is done today through the income tax. It could only ask the states to raise their quotas of money. These amounts were based upon the value

of land within the states. This was like passing a hat around. If a state cared to toss some money in, it did. If it did not, Congress was helpless. Less than one-fourth of the money requested was received. This was not enough to pay the interest on the money our foreign friends had loaned the government. To make matters worse, the paper money already issued was practically worthless.

Second, Congress lacked power to regulate commerce among the states. As a result trade rivalry broke all bounds. Each state taxed the goods of another when those goods crossed its borders. Maryland and Virginia quarreled over the use of the Potomac for trade. In the face of such weaknesses at home, it

is not surprising that England, Spain, and even France took advantage of us and refused to make favorable trade treaties with us.

In the third place, the Congress lacked necessary military power. Shortly after the war ended, a band of unpaid soldiers caused Congress to flee from the capital at Philadelphia. Congress was unable to put down the endless quarrels among the states—quarrels over boundaries and land, over taxes on trade, and over their different money systems.

Finally, and most serious of all perhaps, Congress could not compel the states to obey its rightful orders. It could only beg and recommend. The dispute between Maryland and Virginia over the use of the Potomac finally brought matters to a head. A Trade Convention was called to consider the problem. When only a few states sent representatives, Alexander Hamilton saved the day by putting through a motion. The motion requested Congress to call another convention to meet in Philadelphia in May, 1787. This the Congress did, but made it plain that the meeting was for "the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation."

### *The Constitutional Convention Creates a Stronger Government . . . . .*

The "Fathers of the Constitution" meet to form a more perfect union. Whether they knew it or not, the

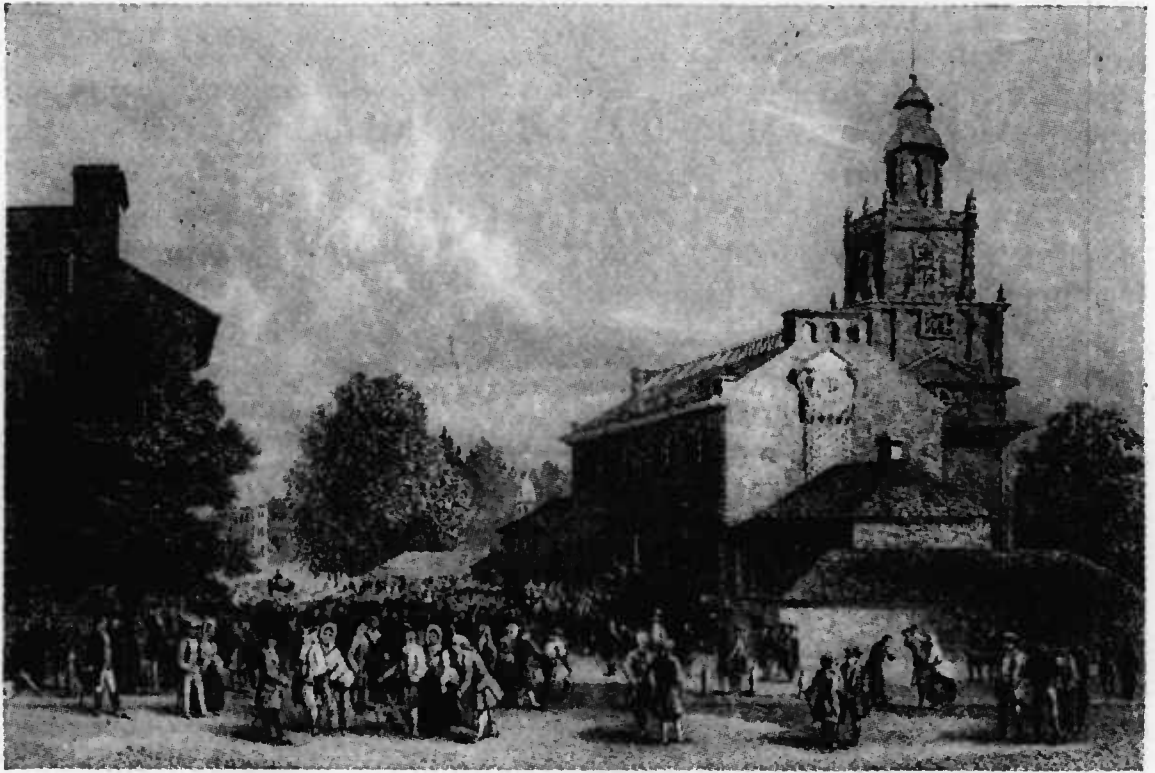
55 men who met in Independence Hall in Philadelphia in 1787 were to be recorded in history as men wise beyond their times. They were meeting in a chamber already sacred to the memories of Americans, for here the Declaration of Independence had been adopted and signed several years earlier. From the same building had rung the famous Liberty Bell.

Heading the roll of the "Fathers of the Constitution" was the "best-loved American," General Washington, chairman of the convention. Also from Virginia was 36-year-old James Madison, able student of both ancient and modern government. From New York came the brilliant 30-year-old Alexander Hamilton. The oldest member was 81-year-old Benjamin Franklin from Pennsylvania, the American best known to the world. There were at least a dozen others in the convention who would have been strong men in any gathering, but the list is too long to call.

There is no doubt that these delegates, representing all the states except Rhode Island, were able men. They were practical men, too. Most of them had had considerable political experience. More than two-thirds of them had been members of the Continental Congresses. Some had been governors and judges in their states. Others had helped to draw up their state constitutions. Later three-fifths of them were to become important officials in the new government, including two Presidents and two Chief Justices of the Supreme Court.

The body as a whole was excep-





**Independence Hall, Philadelphia**, as it was when the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were adopted. Thousands of visitors yearly view the Declaration Chamber in this shrine, where these two great documents were born. In the same building the visitor can reach out to touch the famous Liberty Bell. (Culver Service)

tionally well educated for the times, since more than one-half of the delegates were college graduates. As a group the delegates were conservative or generally opposed to change. Most of them were men of property, such as merchants, planters, bankers, and army officers. More than one-half were lawyers. As men of some wealth, they had loaned money to the government during the war. They naturally wished to see a government established that would be able to repay those loans. But beyond this, they were also meeting "to form a more perfect Union."

Because the convention as a whole was conservative, it does not follow that the members agreed on

all matters. As a matter of fact, quite often the section of the country a delegate represented would determine his point of view. A merchant from New England, for example, might disagree strongly with a planter from the South. Or a representative from a small state might refuse to accept a proposal made by a delegate from a large state.

**The delegates wisely agree to compromise.** Under such circumstances one should not be surprised to learn that long discussions—sometimes very heated ones—developed in the convention. The differences in the convention, however, were not nearly so important as the fact that in the long run the delegates were



big enough men and loved their country enough to compromise their differences. That is, each side to a controversy or a dispute was willing to take less than it first wanted. In the end one delegate said that the Constitution was a "bundle of compromises."

This willingness to give up some state or sectional advantage for the good of the country as a whole was well illustrated in one of the most important differences in the convention. After having decided to cast aside the Articles of Confederation as hopelessly weak, there was no agreement on the kind of government to replace it.

Especially was there disagreement on how the small states and the large states should be represented in a new congress. You will remember that under the Articles each state was equal in voting power in the Congress. The large states presented the Virginia Plan to the convention as their solution of the problem. Under this plan a state would be represented in the new congress according to its *population*. This would mean that the large states would have more representatives, more votes, and therefore more power than the small states.

The small states, objecting violently, introduced the New Jersey Plan. Under this plan representation in the new congress would be based upon *equality of states*. Regardless of size or population, each state would have equal representation and equal voting power in the congress.

For a month a battle of words

went on between the big and little fellows. Then, finally, men were ready to listen to compromise. Connecticut—neither a big nor a little state in number of people—introduced the Great Compromise. The Great Compromise provided for a Congress of two houses [2].<sup>1</sup> In the upper house, or the Senate, each state was to be equally represented. Regardless of its size, each state would have two Senators and each Senator would have one vote [8, note]. In the lower house, or House of Representatives, each state was to be represented according to its population. No state, however, was to have less than one representative [3]. Each representative would have one vote.

In the Senate, therefore, the small states won their point. In the House of Representatives the large states won, for there the large states would have more representatives and more votes than the small states.

**The states give very important powers to the central government.** Now that a Congress of two houses was agreed upon, what powers should it have? The delegates were torn between two feelings. On the one hand, there was the long-standing fear that a faraway central government might prove dangerous if given real power. Moreover, since the powers of government belonged to the separate states, why should they give them up? On the other hand, they remembered as a long and very

<sup>1</sup> Heavy-faced numerals in brackets refer to the authors' paragraph headings in the Constitution in the Appendix. See the first and sixth footnotes on the first page of the Constitution for further explanations.

unpleasant dream how close to disaster the weaknesses of the Articles had brought this country.

They weighed these fears against each other. Then the convention decided that a new government without some real power over the states would be as useless as the old Articles. Quarreling states, like quarreling sons, made for a dangerous weakness. Furthermore, were they not meeting "to form a more perfect Union" and to make a stronger government? This question then remained: What kind of power should be given to the new government?

The events of the immediate past seemed to answer that question. Something had to be done about the control of commerce, especially among the states. Something had to be done about giving the new Congress power to tax and to collect taxes. Passing the hat around was not the answer. Something had to be done about the power of the central government to make and enforce treaties. Something had to be done so that the central government could exercise control over childishly quarreling states. These and many other things had to be done, if the central government was not to be laughed out of existence. Above all, Congress had to have power to compel obedience to its rightful orders.

If you will turn to the Constitution in the Appendix, you will find that one part [26-43] contains a number of powers that the convention granted to the central government. It is well to remember that all powers granted were given up

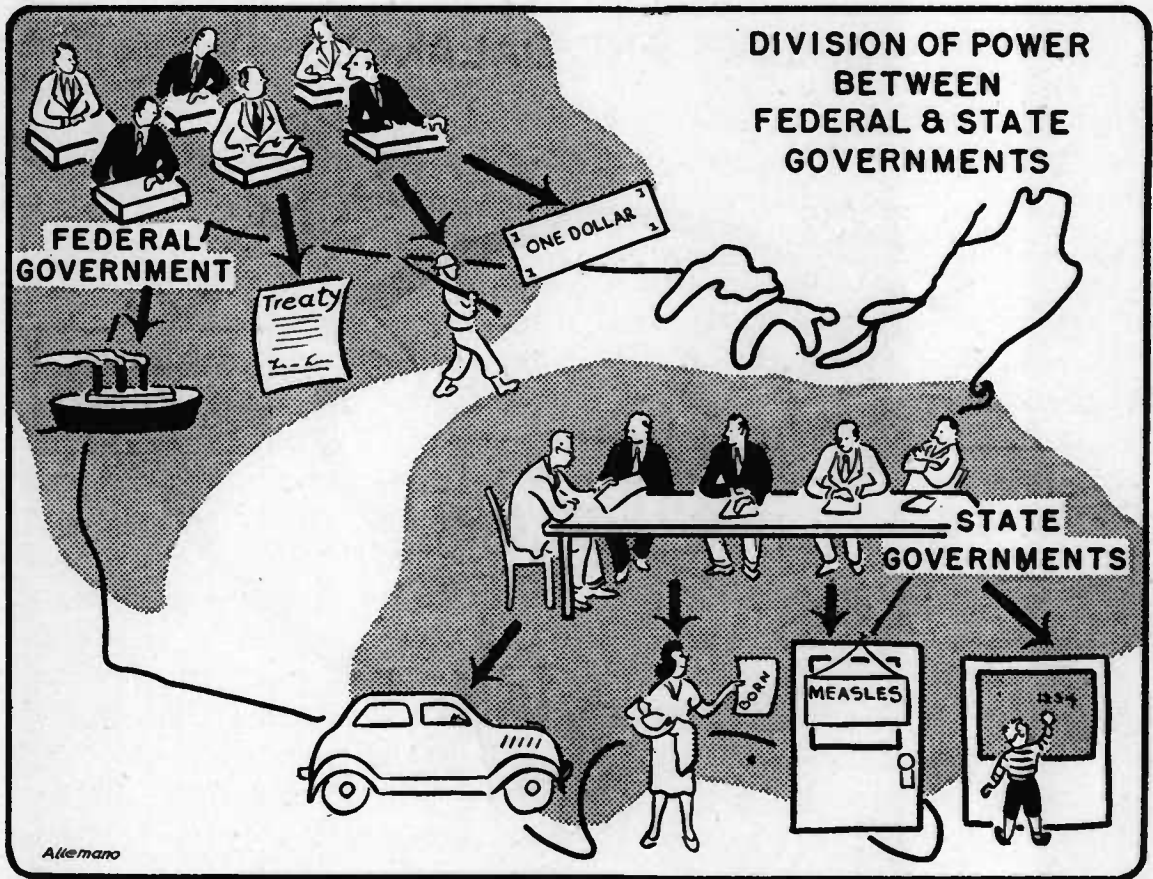
by the states only after long thought.

Important in terms of the weaknesses of the Articles and important in terms of the future of this country were these powers: (1) to lay and collect taxes; (2) to regulate commerce with foreign nations and interstate commerce or commerce among the states; (3) to provide for an army and a navy, and to declare war; (4) to make treaties [64]; (5) to coin and to borrow money.

Back of these and other powers granted the Congress was this general power: Congress had full right to enforce these powers upon the states and upon the people in the states [43]. *Power* was the foundation stone of this new and stronger union. Here, for the first time, was a central government that could command (see chart, page 131).

**The states keep many powers for themselves.** When the Constitutional Convention decided the question of powers, it followed two general rules. First, a power ought to be given to the central government, if the central government could do the job better than the states separately. Treaty-making, for example, is such a power. The central government was in a better position to make a treaty than the states acting separately. The second rule was: Unless the Constitution directly or indirectly grants a power to the central government, that power belongs to the states or to the people [95].

Although the states surrendered important powers to the central government, the states kept many,



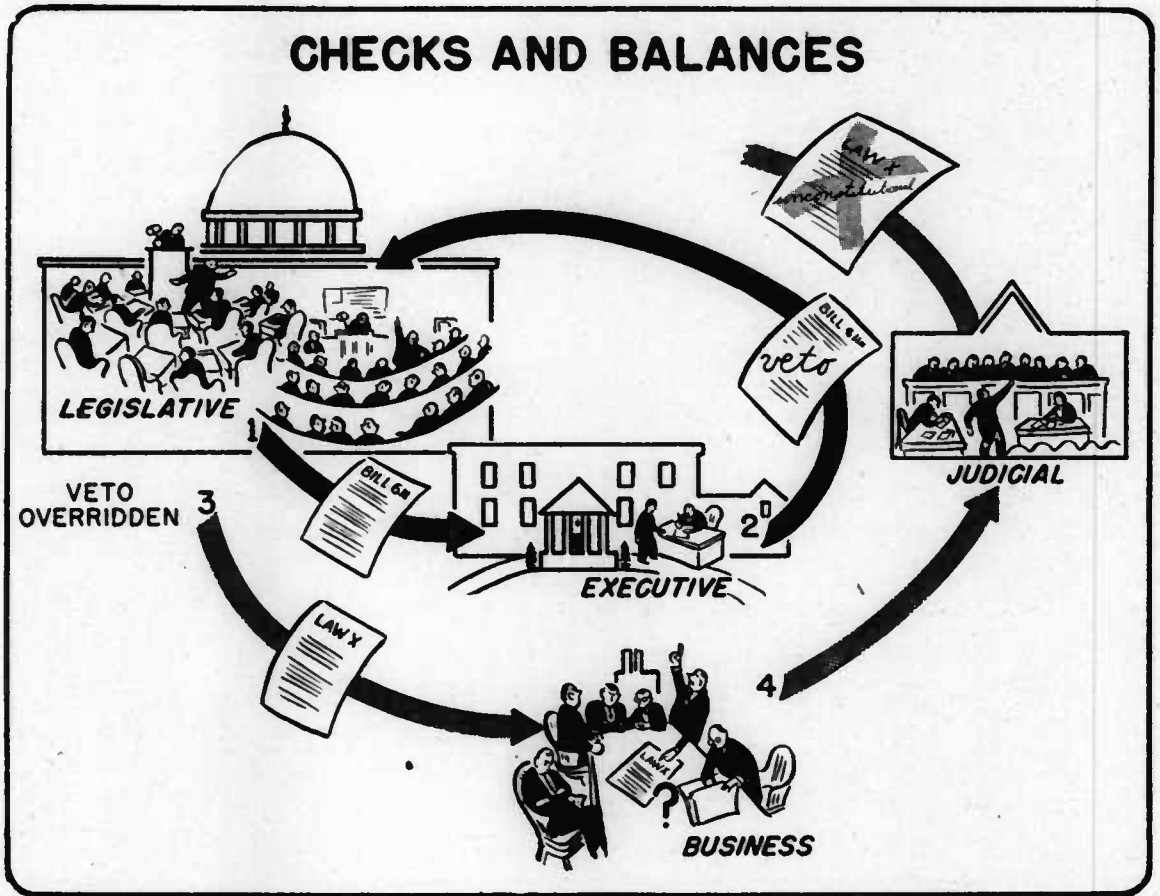
many powers for themselves. Today, it is said, state laws touch you nine times to the one time that laws of the central government reach you. In one way or another, state and community laws and regulations keep close watch over you from the cradle to the grave.

When you were born, a state law required that a birth certificate be filed with the proper authorities. Failure to do this would probably mean that you are not legally alive. If you fall ill with certain diseases, your local government may quarantine you or keep you away from others for a period of time. When old enough you must go to school and attend regularly until a certain age is reached. If you leave school to go to work at certain ages, you probably must get permission in

the form of a work certificate. Then the state determines the general conditions under which you may work.

At the age of 21 you may vote, provided you register and meet certain requirements. When you go fishing or hunting, avoid trouble by staying within the law. If you decide to own or operate an automobile or an airplane, the state sets the conditions under which you may do either. When you make up your mind to marry, you had better become acquainted with your state laws on the subject.

If you buy a house, there are certain papers that must be filled out and recorded. When you make a contract or business agreement, remember that there are important state laws on the subject. When you



make a will, which will distribute your property after death, be certain to know or get advice on the state's requirements. Finally, when at last you pass from this life, it is necessary to have your death properly recorded. Otherwise, you may not be legally dead.

**"Checks and balances"** are written into the Constitution. The Congress of two houses—the Senate and the House of Representatives—was one of the three great branches of the central government as planned by the Fathers [2]. It was the *legislative* branch. Within its powers the Congress was to make the laws for the nation as a whole [26–43]. The second branch was the *executive* department. This branch included

the President, Vice President, and the chief secretaries (today these ten secretaries are called the cabinet). The task of the executive department was to enforce or faithfully carry out the laws passed by Congress [63–66]. The President was also to carry on our foreign relations [64]. The third branch was the *judicial* department made up of the Supreme Court and other courts created by Congress [68]. The courts were to interpret the laws or decide what they meant, if a state, a person, or a business organization raised a question.

By this *separation of powers* in three departments, the Fathers hoped to avoid two extremes. They wanted to avoid dictatorship or too much power in one man's hands.



They also hoped to prevent too much power from falling into the hands of the common people.

To make matters doubly safe, the makers of the Constitution worked out a system of *checks and balances*. Executive, legislative, and judicial powers would not be wholly separate. They would overlap in each case under this system. The President would have some legislative and judicial powers. The Congress would have some powers over the President and the courts. The courts would check the President and Congress. There are many examples of "checks and balances" in the Constitution. Let us take as an illustration what may happen to a law of Congress.

These are the checks and balances (shown on the chart, page 132) through which a congressional law may go [24-25, 69]:

*First.* Both houses of Congress, let us say, pass a bill which places a heavy tax upon all goods produced in factories employing children under 16 years of age. (Note that Congress has used its *legislative* power.)

*Second.* The President, we will say, believes that the age should be 18 rather than 16. He therefore vetoes the bill. That is, he returns the bill to Congress with his objections stated. (Note that the President has used his veto power to "check" Congress.)

*Third.* Both houses of Congress consider, let us assume, the President's objections, but decide to pass the bill over the President's veto. To override the President's veto, however, requires at least a two-

thirds vote in each house. (Note that it appears that Congress is to have final *legislative* power.)

*Fourth.* A manufacturer believes that Congress has misused its constitutional power to tax. He appeals to the courts for protection of his constitutional rights. Finally, the case reaches the Supreme Court. That court decides, in our example, that Congress has gone beyond a proper use of its power to tax. It therefore calls the law *unconstitutional*. That is, it is contrary to the meaning of the Constitution.

The Supreme Court had in this imaginary case done more than set aside a law. By its action it had shown itself to have power over and above that of Congress and the President. In spite of checks and balances or separation of powers, the judicial branch is today supreme.

## *The Bill of Rights Places the "Rights of Man" in the Constitution . . . . .*

**Civil liberties protect us against unreasonable rulers.** The three departments and checks and balances are machinery of government. More than 150 years have proved them to be good machinery. Machinery, however, is only something to be used for a purpose. The goal or purpose of representative democracy is the *spirit of democracy*—what democracy is at its best. From early times men have kept their eyes on that precious golden thread woven



into the history of free men. Neither King John nor George III was allowed to forget that men will fight for their "rights."

When new state constitutions were made, the sacred rights of free men were included in Bills of Rights. A written guarantee is some protection against unreasonable rulers. Before we ask what the Constitutional Convention did about a Bill of Rights, let us make clearer the meaning of civil liberties.

Part of a letter written during the Second World War reminds us of some of our civil rights today. It was written to a California government official by a German who had fled from the cruelty of the Nazis. The German had just received the final payment for a claim against an employer who had failed to pay his salary when he left his job. After thanking the official, he wrote:

"But it is not really the money for which I am writing this letter. When I came to this country two years ago as a German refugee from Nazi oppression, I was stateless, no country in the world was willing to accept me and to protect my civil rights. This little interlude [event] in behalf of a non-paid salary brought me for the first time in contact with the American law, and you can imagine my amazement when your court upheld my rights regardless of nationality and creed [religious belief].

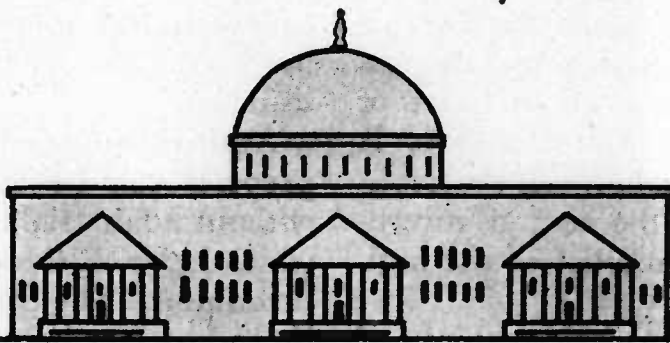
"I feel the greatest respect for a country in which even in wartime a foreigner finds protection, and which builds an institution like yours to enforce the laws of a democratic country."

This man had learned that in democratic America he could get a square deal in the courts, even though he was not a citizen. The most important thing he learned, however, was this: In a democratic America the individual—man, woman, or child—counts.

Civil liberties mean, therefore, more than rights in a court. They mean the right to speak and write freely, to criticize the government whether the government is right or wrong, and the right to hold free elections. Those who live in America can move about freely without government permission. They can belong to a union and they can strike. They can follow any religion. They are safe from unlawful searches of their homes and places of business. Without these and other civil liberties, Americans would not be so free as they are today.

**The Bill of Rights guarantees civil liberties.** Before the new Constitution could go into effect, at least nine of the 13 states had to ratify or accept it. When the document came from the convention, a real opposition promptly greeted it. One reason for the opposition was the failure of the Fathers to include a Bill of Rights. Although all the states finally ratified the Constitution, most did so only on the promise that civil rights would be safeguarded. The famous Bill of Rights or first ten amendments [86–95] was added to the Constitution in 1791.

Since the state constitutions guaranteed the civil liberties, why was it necessary to have a Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the central



# P.S. BILL OF RIGHTS

THESE RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES ARE GUARANTEED



I. FREEDOM OF RELIGION, SPEECH, PRESS AND ASSEMBLY

II. RIGHT OF STATE TO HAVE A MILITIA

III. PRIVATE HOMES MUST NOT BE USED AS BARRACKS

IV. UNREASONABLE SEARCH AND SEIZURE ARE PROHIBITED

V. LIFE, LIBERTY AND PROPERTY ARE SPECIALLY PROTECTED

VI. RIGHT OF ACCUSED TO A FAIR TRIAL

VII. RIGHT OF A JURY TRIAL IN PROPERTY CASES

VIII. NO CRUEL OR UNUSUAL PUNISHMENTS

IX. THE PEOPLE KEEP MANY RIGHTS NOT LISTED HERE

X. THE STATES OR THE PEOPLE KEEP POWERS NOT GIVEN TO CONGRESS



*Red*

government? The answer is that this Bill of Rights applies to Congress only. It places a whole series of "thou-shalt-not's" on Congress. It strikes a balance between the necessary powers of the central government and the liberties of the individual.

The average American thinks of the Bill of Rights as a guarantee of three freedoms: religion, speech, and press. A few more know that Amendment I also gives Americans the right to petition the government or request in writing that the government change its policy. A few others know that, so far as Congress is concerned, they have a right peaceably to gather together. These are very sacred rights. They are the first rights that dictators take away from their victims. They are not, however, the whole story.

Some other provisions in the Bill of Rights protect us against government officials who might be tempted to overstep their powers. No law-enforcing official, for example, can search our homes or places of business unless he has a paper called a warrant. A warrant can be issued by a judicial officer only after he is

convinced that something unlawful has been done in the place to be searched.

Again, no one's life, liberty, or property can be taken from him without a fair trial. A trial, that is, which hears all sides before guilt is determined. The trial must be public and by jury in most cases. Every person brought into court has a right to know what crime is charged against him. He has a right to have his own witnesses and to hear the witnesses against him. He does not have to be a witness against himself. In this country a man is considered innocent until proved guilty. Finally, unreasonable fines and punishments must be avoided.

All these and still other civil liberties are recorded in the famous Bill of Rights (see chart, page 135). These amendments are "the rules of the game"—the very foundation of American democracy under our strong Constitution. So important is it that we keep them alive that some states have a Bill of Rights Day or Week. At such time citizens pledge themselves anew to the civil liberties for themselves and their fellow Americans.

### WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

Giving examples, show how each of the following terms is necessary to an understanding of our history and government.

- |                        |                     |                                      |
|------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. co-operation        | 6. legislative      | 11. unconstitutional                 |
| 2. confederation       | 7. executive        | 12. civil rights, or civil liberties |
| 3. conservative        | 8. judicial         | 13. petition                         |
| 4. compromise          | 9. veto             | 14. a warrant                        |
| 5. interstate commerce | 10. override a veto |                                      |

### WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?

1787: Why is this one of the most important dates in our 350 years of history?

1791: The event which this date marks seems to increase in importance with the years. Why was the event important at the time, and why today?

**CAN YOU FIND THE ANSWERS TO THESE?**

1. What conditions in the New World forced the settlers to co-operate?
2. Describe the central government set up under the Articles of Confederation.
3. What four outstanding weaknesses of the government under the Articles explain why the Articles lasted only eight years?
4. The Fathers of the Constitution were an unusual body of men. What qualifications did they have for the work they were to do? Name four important members of the Constitutional Convention.
5. Describe the Great Compromise of the Constitutional Convention.
6. What kind of power was given to the new government under the Constitution? Name six of these powers.
7. How did the convention decide to divide power between the central government and the state governments? Give examples.
8. What are the three great branches of government set up by the Constitution, and what is the chief duty of each?
9. Using the chart in this chapter, explain how the system of checks and balances works.
10. Why is the Bill of Rights (the first ten amendments to the Constitution) necessary to what we call the "American way of life"?
11. *Summary Question:* This chapter deals with a series of attempts to bind all of the colonies (and later all of the states) into "a more perfect Union." List each of these attempts. How was each a step nearer the goal of a stronger central government and "a more perfect Union"?

## Chapter 8. *In the Early Days of the Republic, Democracy Means Different Things to Different Men . . . . .*

*Two great Americans—Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson—stand out in the early years of the Republic as political giants. One distrusted democracy; the other had a deep faith in it. What they believed about democracy is important today because their opposing views are basic. Although changed somewhat with the times, their ideas live today. Men still quote these giants, as we shall do now.*

HAMILTON: *"All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and well-born, the other the mass of the people."*

JEFFERSON: *"Men are naturally divided into two parties: 1. Those who fear and distrust the people, and wish to draw all powers from them into the hands of the higher classes. 2. Those who identify themselves with the people, have confidence in them, cherish and consider them as the most honest and safe, although not the most wise depository [place of safekeeping] of the public interests."*

HAMILTON: *"The voice of the people has been said to be the voice of God; and, however generally this maxim [saying] has been quoted and believed, it is not true in fact. The people are turbulent [restless] and changing; they seldom judge or determine right. Give, therefore, to the first class [the few] a distinct, permanent share in the government. They will check the unsteadiness of the second [the many], and they will therefore ever maintain good government."*

JEFFERSON: *"In every country these two parties exist. Call them, therefore, liberals and serviles [slave-like], whigs and tories, republicans and federalists, aristocrats and democrats, or by whatever name you please, they are the same parties still, and pursue the same object. The last appellation [name] of aristocrats and democrats is the true one."*



## *Washington Lays Sound Foundations for the New Government . . . . .*

Washington becomes first President of the infant Republic. "Your cool steady temper is *indispensably necessary* to give firm and manly tone to the new Government. Among these thirteen horses now about to be coupled together, there are some of every race and character. They will listen to your voice, and submit to your control; you therefore must, I say *must*, mount the seat." So wrote a Revolutionary leader to General Washington. Because most Americans felt the same way about the need for Washington's leadership, he was unanimously elected the first President of the United States.

Notified of his election, Washington prepared to leave his beloved Mount Vernon for New York City. His journey northward was a 14-day procession, as fellow citizens in town after town paid their respects to the President-elect. On the triumphal arch at Trenton were the words: "The hero who defended the mothers December 26, 1776, will protect the daughters."

At noon, on April 30, 1789, on the balcony of Federal Hall in New York City, a tall 57-year-old man placed his hand on a Bible and took a solemn oath. "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States." [62] Bending to kiss the

Bible, Washington added, "I swear, so help me, God!"

From the street below came the chorus, "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!" In the distance was heard the boom of cannon, as the simple outdoor ceremonies closed. In a brief address delivered to the Congress, the President warned that "the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny [future] of the republican model of government are justly considered, perhaps, as *deeply*, as *finally*, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people."

The new government was at last a going concern, and in the hands of leaders friendly to the new Constitution. This was fortunate. But most important of all was the fact that Washington had yielded to the demands of Madison, Hamilton, and others that he take the responsibilities of the Presidency.

Washington brought to his office a broad experience as farmer, engineer, business man, traveler, and military leader. To the office he also brought certain desirable qualities. He was a man of high character, excellent judgment, and unusual self-control. "He was, in every sense of the words," as Jefferson said of him, "a wise, a good, and a great man."

**Washington puts the Constitution to work.** Today—more than 150 years after its making—all Americans take just pride in the Constitution. Under it our country has grown strong and great. Few nations in the world have continued



George Washington brings his 73-year-old mother into the ball room at Fredericksburg, Virginia. The occasion is the visit of the general to his mother following an absence of almost seven years during the Revolution. "Mrs. Washington, in her still handsome black brocade with its soft laces at neck and wrists, entered on the arm of her distinguished son." Washington gave his mother credit for his successes. (Howard Pyle in *Harper's Magazine*)

for so long a period under one form of government. It would be a mistake, however, to think that the Constitution, which was drafted in 1787 and put into operation in 1789, would enforce itself.

Two big tasks, therefore, faced President Washington. First, he had to put the Constitution to work. That is, he had to take a piece of paper—a set of theories—and make a living, working government out of it. Second, he had to lay a solid foundation for the new government, for another failure at setting up a central government might be fatal.

Shortly before Washington was inaugurated, Congress met and organized. The most important law passed by the First Congress was the Judiciary Act. It provided for a number of federal courts. It also determined the size of the Supreme Court, which was to consist of a Chief Justice and five associate justices.

In this act, moreover, Congress provided for the *right of appeal*. Any case which concerned the federal Constitution, laws, or treaties could be appealed or be carried for further and final hearing to the Supreme Court. Appeals could be made from the highest state courts or lower federal courts. With the presidential appointment of justices to the several courts, the three departments were established. The new government was a going concern, but the task of making the government operate smoothly remained.

Washington knew that the way things were done the first time

might well determine how they would be carried on for years. When Congress by law provided three executive departments and a legal adviser for the President, how was Washington to use their services? Should he request the Secretary of State (foreign affairs), the Secretary of the Treasury (financial affairs), the Secretary of War (military affairs), and the Attorney-General (government lawyer) to advise him in writing? Or should he call them together? When Washington decided to call them together, he started a cabinet not provided for in the Constitution [63, note].

How should the President deal with Congress and the Supreme Court? Two examples will illustrate. Should the President consult the Senate in making a treaty or send it to the Senate when completed? Washington visited the Senate while making his first treaty. The results were not satisfactory. After that he decided to send treaties to the Senate when completed. So it is today. Would the Supreme Court please give Washington some advice? We do not give advisory opinions replied the court, and that remains the practice today.

### *Political Parties Begin When Hamilton and Jefferson Disagree over Who Shall Rule*

**Hamilton believes in the rule of the few.** As his Secretary of the Treasury, Washington appointed the brilliant 32-year-old Alexander Hamilton. In that office Hamilton

was in a good position to influence the new government. As we have seen from Hamilton's own words, he distrusted the masses. He did not believe them capable of acting wisely in a legislative body. He even questioned their ability to "judge or determine right." On the other hand, he frankly believed that "the few," "the rich and well-born" should be given power. To this small group, he would give "a distinct, permanent share in the government." In brief, Hamilton believed in an aristocracy—a government of the select few.

Washington's government had inherited a debt of \$75,000,000, a huge debt for the times. And the government's income was not sufficient to pay day-to-day expenses. Hamilton's problem was to put Uncle Sam on a sound financial basis. All debts must be paid, for only in that way would the people, again have faith in the American dollar.

Accordingly, Hamilton proceeded to convince Congress that (1) both the national and state debts must be paid in full by the central government, and (2) taxes must be laid so that money would again flow into Uncle Sam's cash box. (3) He also managed to establish a strong banking system.

In pushing this program through against mounting opposition in Congress, what did Hamilton have in mind? First, he believed that governments, like individuals, must pay their debts in full. Second, his policy offered an excellent chance to secure the support of the "respectable" people for the new government. It was this group—the

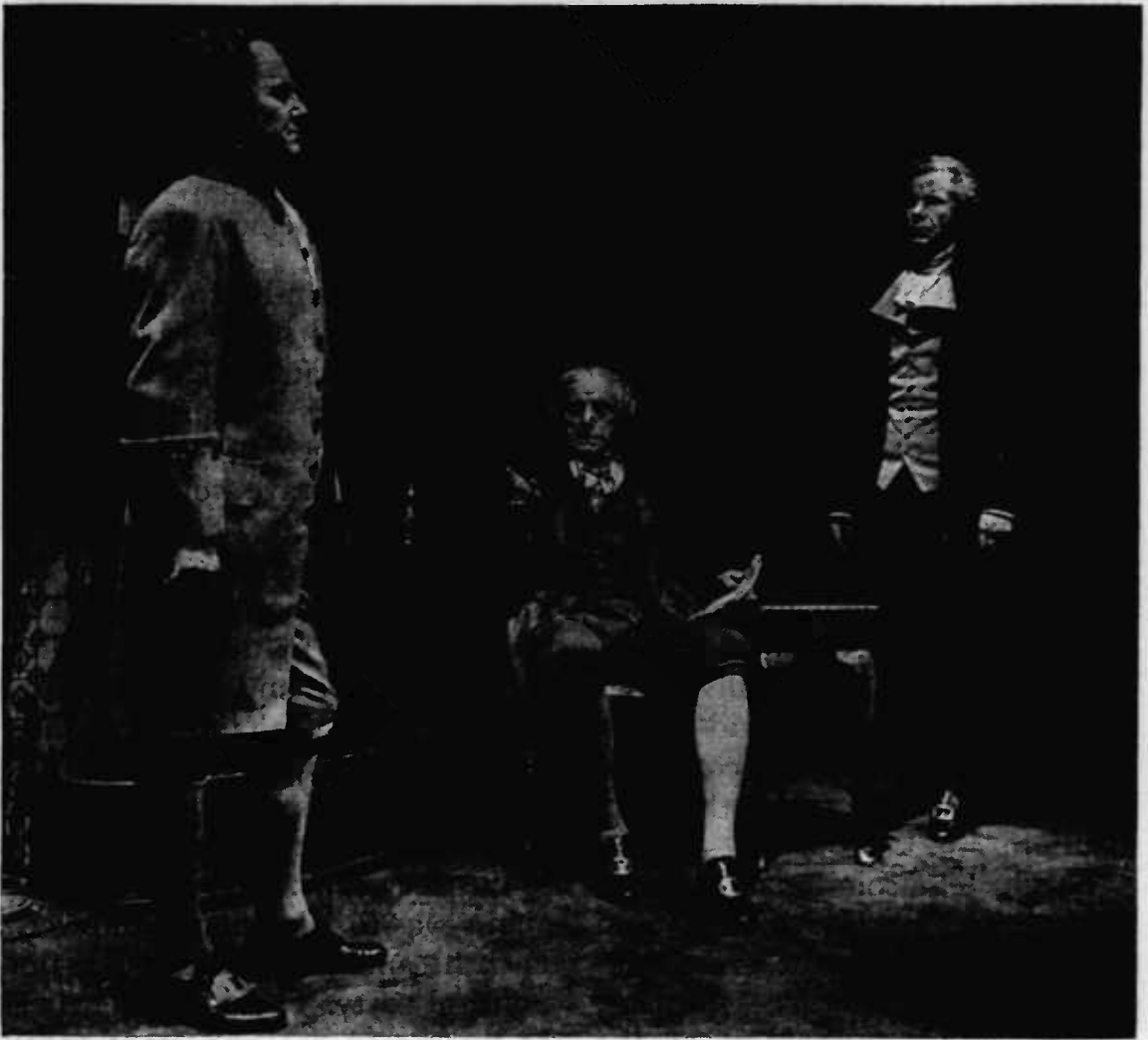
fortunate few—who, generally speaking, held the bonds issued during the Revolution. Third, by having all debts paid by the central government, that government rather than the state governments would gain in power and standing. The establishment of a United States Bank, partly owned by the government, would likewise increase the powers of the central government.

In one more way Hamilton used the occasion to strengthen the new federal government. Among the new taxes laid by Congress was one on distilled liquors. This tax bore heavily upon many farmers in the western counties. Unable to transport their corn and rye over poor mountainous roads, they distilled these grains into whiskey. This was a product in demand in the East and not so bulky to transport. When the "Whiskey Boys" in western Pennsylvania rebelled against the tax, Hamilton led 15,000 militiamen to enforce the law. The Whiskey Rebellion was quickly put down, and the new government's power was made crystal-clear.

Hamilton had put through a financial program which won the support of the few for the new government. He greatly strengthened the central government and easily crushed a rebellion.

**Jefferson has faith in the common man.** As Washington's Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson sat opposite Hamilton in cabinet meetings. But more important was the fact that Jefferson's way of thinking was opposed to Hamilton's. These two





Alexander Hamilton (left) was able to persuade President Washington (seated) that his financial plans should be accepted. Jefferson (right), in this scene from the play *The Patriots* by Sidney Kingsley, strongly opposed parts of the program—especially the establishment of the bank and the whiskey tax. (Courtesy Playwrights' Co.)

giants faced each other “like two fighting cocks in the pit,” according to Jefferson. Jefferson, the great liberal, had an undying faith in democracy. Unlike Hamilton, he had full confidence in the people, although he saw the need for education for the masses if they were to rule wisely. “The influence over government must be shared by all the people,” wrote Jefferson just before becoming Secretary of State. No wonder he was called “the prophet of Democracy.”

In and out of cabinet meetings Jefferson was strongly opposed to most of Hamilton's political ideas. First of all, Jefferson did not believe it desirable to have too much power in a faraway central government. Government at its best seemed like a necessary evil to Jefferson. He did, of course, recognize the need for some government. But what government was necessary should be largely in the states. For this reason, then, Jefferson opposed those parts of Hamilton's financial



plans which increased the power of the central government.

Second, Jefferson opposed Hamilton's readiness to read the Constitution loosely or broadly. When Hamilton read between the lines of the Constitution for the purpose of giving Congress or the President increased power, Jefferson disagreed. Jefferson insisted that neither Congress nor the President had a right to act unless the power was unmistakably given in the Constitution. In brief, Jefferson believed in a strict reading of the document. Believing so, he violently opposed Hamilton's United States Bank. The Bank could not legally be established by Congress, said Jefferson, because such a power could not be found in the words of the Constitution.

Third, Jefferson fought Hamilton's policies because they favored the fortunate few—the large merchants, manufacturers, shippers, lawyers, and bondholders of the East. Those policies were not aimed primarily at helping Jefferson's common people—the poor farmers of the South and West and the city workers of the East. This was especially true of the tax on whiskey so heartily disliked by the farmers.

The major differences between Hamilton and Jefferson (and those who believed with them) may be summed up as follows:

#### *Hamilton*

1. Stood for a strong central government
2. Believed in loose reading of the Constitution
3. Favored the aristocratic few

#### *Jefferson*

1. Stood for strong state governments
2. Believed in strict reading of the Constitution
3. Favored the democratic many

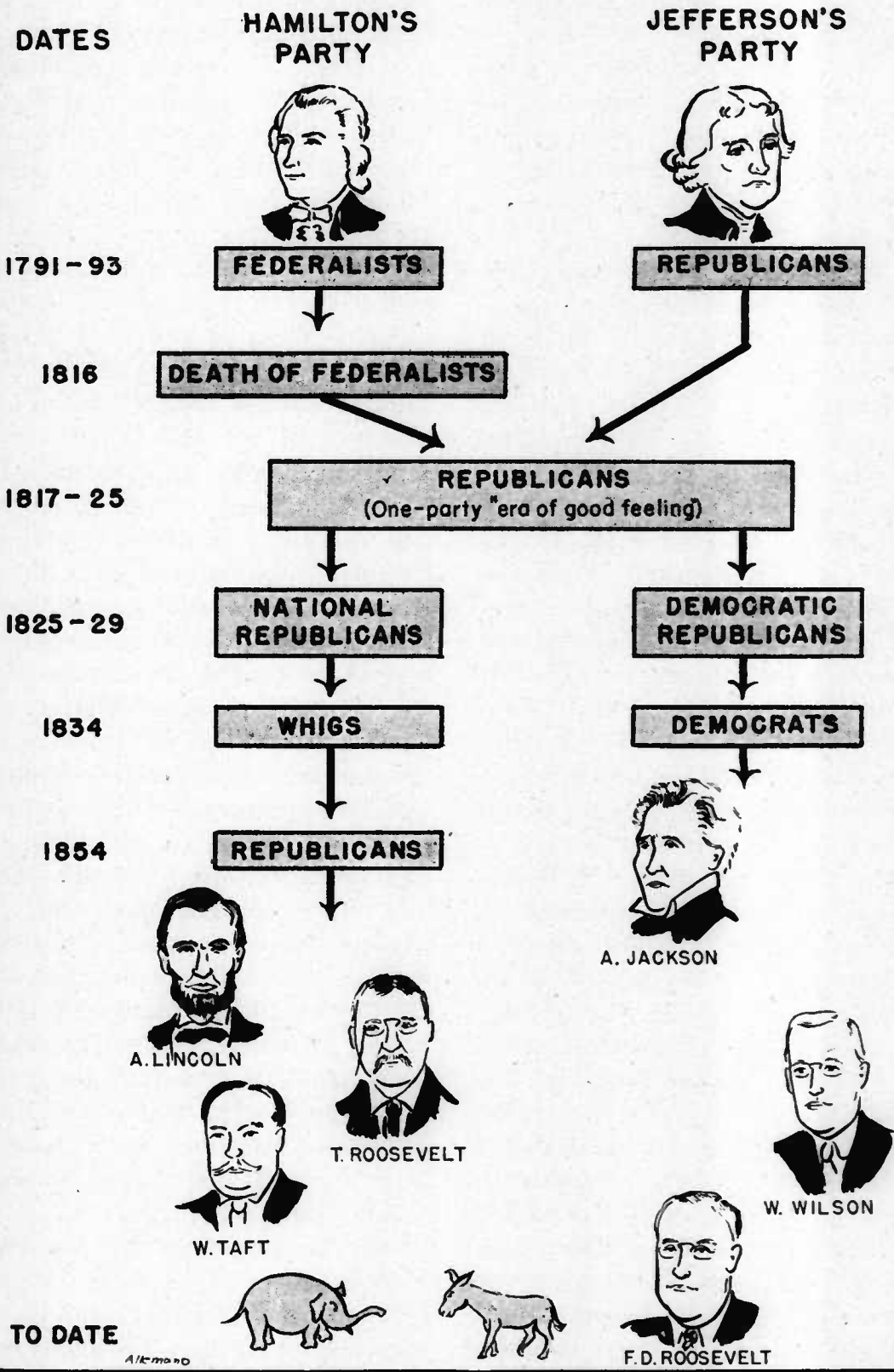
Although Hamilton and Jefferson differed strongly in their ideas, each was a sincere patriot. Under Washington's steady leadership, such honest difference of opinion was good for the brave young nation.

**Rival political parties line up behind Hamilton and Jefferson.** The opposing ideas of these two political giants were and are quite important. They were important then because the government was just getting started. Hamilton and Jefferson knew that as the twig is bent so the tree grows. Soon each of these giants was to have many followers. Each became the leader of a major political party. The political beliefs of these men are important today because in one form or another they continue to exist.

Although the Constitution makes no provision for political parties, party organizations are necessary to democratic government. Political parties—groups of people who believe much alike on political matters—carry on the political house-keeping for the nation. They elect candidates to many offices, prepare programs of political action called platforms, and in general make the wheels of government move in a democratic manner.

The differences between Hamilton and Jefferson laid the foundations for the first parties under the

# OUR TWO PARTY SYSTEM



Constitution. After more than four years of disagreement in the cabinet, Jefferson resigned and returned to his home in Virginia. There he did the endless spade work necessary to the successful beginning of an opposition party. Helpful to him was the hard feeling in the western counties, which the Bank and the whiskey tax aroused.

The followers of Jefferson took the name *Republicans*. Republican then meant opposition to monarchy, privilege, and the rule of the wealthy few. The Jeffersonian Republicans consisted largely of the common people—the little farmers and the city workers. They gladly accepted Jefferson's beliefs. Hamilton's followers called themselves *Federalists*, that is, believers in and supporters of a strong federal government. As conservative men of property, they followed Hamilton's program as the best method for conserving or protecting what they had. In his second administration, Washington went over to this party.

The two-party system of Hamilton and Jefferson has continued to this day, as is indicated on the chart on page 145. A careful study of the chart will show these three things: (1) a line of succession extends from the early Federalists to today's Republicans; (2) today's Democrats trace their beginnings to the Jeffersonian Republicans; (3) the Republicans of Jefferson's times became first Democratic-Republicans and finally Democrats. Not shown on the chart is this: The years have brought changes to party thinking and action. Much depends upon whether a party is *in* or *out* of office.

Whatever the name of a major party, its object is to gain control of the government. Only in that way can a party put its ideas to work. In this sense, then, the two major parties are the "Ins" and the "Outs." Jefferson, you will remember, insisted that the proper names for parties are "aristocrats" and "democrats."

### *Jefferson Tries to Put His Ideals into Practice . . . . .*

Jefferson is called upon to apply the "American Dream." Jefferson's success as a party leader won him the Presidency as the first of a line of Republicans. When he was inaugurated in 1801, his countrymen got a first taste of what the change from the Federalists—Washington and John Adams—would mean. The ceremonies were simple compared with Washington's. The first President had used a coach drawn by four cream-colored horses. That was too much like royalty for Jefferson. Simply clad, Jefferson walked from his boarding house to the Capitol for the inauguration.

The defeated Federalists feared what would happen to them and the country under the leadership of Jefferson. He had, they thought, such strange and unsound ideas. What were these ideas so much feared by the few in the early 1800's? Since Jefferson was a great believer in democracy and in the goodness of all men, his ideals have been summarized under the title of the "American Dream." This

dream, according to one writer, is "the belief in the common man and the insistence upon his having, as far as possible, equal opportunity in every way with the rich one."

Jefferson indicated that there were two basic ideas in his dream of life, liberty, peace, and happiness for all. First, our federal government must be representative of all the people, not the few. To be representative of all, it must respect the rights of all. Jefferson did not say that all people must rule. He did believe that the government should be *of* and *for* the people. That is, able men representing all classes would, he thought, provide a wise and thrifty government.

Jefferson's second basic idea concerned the power of the federal government. The central government, he insisted, must not always be trying to increase its powers. He believed that the chief powers should be in the states. Government powers, said Jefferson, had to do with either domestic matters or foreign affairs. Domestic matters meant government business within the country, such as road building. Relations with foreign nations, such as making trade treaties, would be foreign affairs.

He believed that domestic matters should be largely the business of the states. The conduct of foreign relations, on the other hand, should be the primary concern of the central government, because the states separately were not in a position to handle such matters.

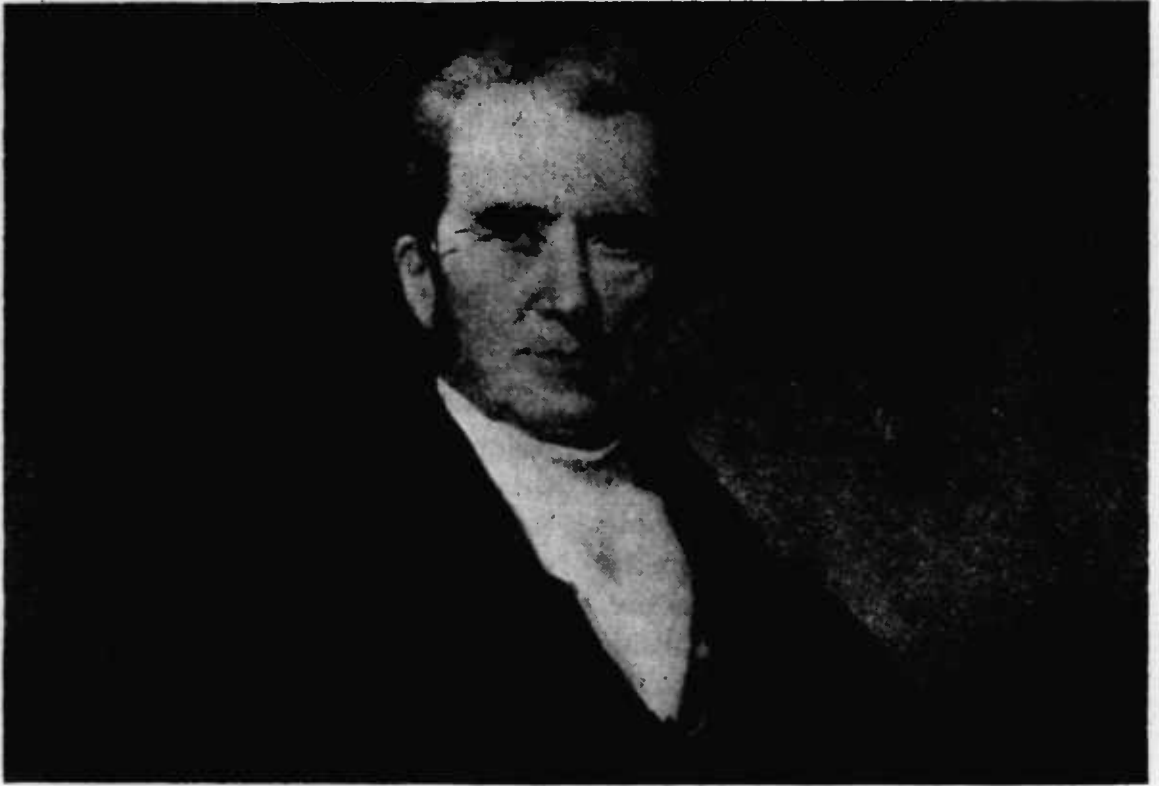
**Events prevent the Jeffersonians from having their way.** Thomas Jef-

erson held the Presidency for two terms. He was succeeded by his faithful follower, James Madison, for two terms. Following Madison, another Jeffersonian Republican, James Monroe, held the office for two terms. Thus the Jeffersonian Republicans were in power for a quarter-century. Although they believed in their democratic ideals and wished quite sincerely to put them into practice, events beyond their control prevented them from having their way. This was true upon one important occasion after another.

The first event to brush Jefferson's ideals aside was the closing of the port of New Orleans. Since Jefferson's farmers west of the Appalachian Mountains had no other way out for their commerce, they turned to the President for help. Jefferson proposed to buy New Orleans and the surrounding territory from Napoleon, who now held this region. In the end (1803), Jefferson had to buy the entire Louisiana Territory in order to get control of the mouth of the Mississippi.

By doubling the size of the country in the greatest real estate deal in history, Jefferson had, of course, greatly increased the power of the central government. But more than this troubled Jefferson. Nowhere did the Constitution grant power to buy land unless one read between the lines. Finally, Jefferson fell back on the "good sense of our country" to justify his purchase. This was going beyond the Constitution altogether.

Shortly after Jefferson took office, the Napoleonic Wars broke out in



Chief Justice John Marshall made the Supreme Court the great power it is today. Courts still refer to Marshall's rulings made more than 100 years ago. This portrait by Henry Inman was chosen by the Treasury Department for use on certain government bonds. (From original in possession of The Philadelphia Bar Association)

Europe. France and Great Britain were engaged in a life-and-death struggle for power. Jefferson believed that we as a young nation should take no side. But Jefferson soon discovered that neither warring country intended to permit us to use the Atlantic for peaceful commerce. To protect our interests, Jefferson asked Congress to pass a law which practically killed our commerce. Again, the Constitution did not grant such power unless one read between the lines. Finally, the Jeffersonians, under Madison, found themselves in the War of 1812, thus again centralizing more power in the federal government. A war always does that.

When the war ended, a wave of

*nationalism* swept the country. This "we-feeling" grew rapidly. Americans, turning their backs on Europe, decided to build up a strong and prosperous United States—a great nation independent of Europe. Since Monroe, the last of the Jeffersonian Republicans, was now in power, he was soon swept along in the swiftly-moving current of nationalism. Under the circumstances, Monroe supported measures that represented Hamilton's ideals more than Jefferson's. Fortunately, however, the American dream did not disappear. It was merely lying on the shelf of time.

**Chief Justice Marshall continues Hamilton's fight for a strong cen-**



tral government. Although Hamilton had been killed by Vice President Aaron Burr in a pistol duel, there were faithful Federalists eager to keep Hamilton's ideals alive. None was more ready or in a better position to do this than John Marshall. For Marshall had been appointed Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court just before the last Federalist President, John Adams, turned his office over to Jefferson.

In the 34 years (1801–35) he was Chief Justice, Marshall greatly increased the power of the central government. He also made the Supreme Court the strongest of the three departments, although the Constitution does not state that the judiciary is to have such power.

Earlier in this chapter we read that the Judiciary Act determined the conditions of the right of appeal. This right is granted in the Constitution [70]. Marshall, however, seized upon the right of appeal to give the Supreme Court a power not found in the Constitution. This was the power to declare an act of Congress or of a state legislature *unconstitutional*. This means that a law could be wiped out, if a majority of the Supreme Court justices thought it conflicted with any provision in the Constitution. To establish this power Marshall read between the lines of the Constitution.

With this tremendously important power in their hands, the justices under Marshall's great leadership were ready to go to work. In case after case, laws of Congress and the state legislatures were set aside.

Usually Marshall's reasoning would throw a state law out because the legislature was using a power which he believed belonged to the central government.

The famous New York "Steamboat Case" shows how Marshall and his court could set aside a law. The New York legislature had granted the right to two men to use New York's rivers for steamboat shipping. When a person who had not been granted the privilege began operating steamboats between New Jersey and New York, the matter was brought before a federal court. The case finally reached the Supreme Court on appeal. The court ruled that *navigation* is commerce, that commerce between two or more states is *interstate*, and that power over interstate commerce belongs to Congress under the Constitution [28]. The New York law was therefore declared unconstitutional. Under Marshall's leadership the court thus practically gave the central government control over the country's waterways.

There can be no doubt that under Marshall the Supreme Court had reduced the powers of the states. But it did more than that. It greatly increased the powers of the central government. Thus did John Marshall keep Hamilton's ideas alive, even though the Federalists no longer controlled the Presidency.

Jefferson greatly feared the power of the Supreme Court under Marshall. He feared it because he thought that the central government was gaining too much power at the expense of the states.

## *Jackson Brings New Ideas About Democracy to Washington . . . . .*

The West stands for greater rights for the common man. As our forefathers spread across this vast continent, those on the outer or western edges of civilization were called frontiersmen. Their thin settlements became the frontier—an ever-shifting “West.”

Frontiersmen were usually people of little or no wealth. They belonged to the masses. They were Jefferson’s farmers. They believed in his “American Dream.” Those who lived through the hardships of the frontier believed also in equality. Since one man was as good as another, there were no classes in the expanding West. The frontier brought all to the same level. The frontier, therefore, was a natural birthplace for a new kind of democracy—one in which every man had a right to share directly in running the government.

When Jefferson became our third President, the frontier had barely nosed its way into the open spaces west of the Appalachians. Twenty-eight years later (1829) when Andrew Jackson entered the Presidency, the frontier had reached the mighty Mississippi. The region between the Appalachians and the Mississippi became the “New West.” It was an area from which seven states were carved in less than 20 years. From these “frontier democracies” an increasing number of Representatives and Senators went to Washington. The East was be-

ginning to feel the influence of the frontier spirit.

The constitutions of the new western states did not require that one own property in order to vote. In some states taxpaying was no longer a voting requirement. The West believed that *manhood suffrage*, or the right of men to vote, is the basis of democracy. Before long the workers of the East gained that right, too. The democratic ideas of the frontier were traveling eastward.

Now that the common man was beginning to enjoy the privilege of voting, what kind of a President would he elect? The answer was not long in coming. In 1828 the masses overwhelmingly elected Andrew “Old Hickory” Jackson, Indian fighter, hero of the War of 1812, and son of the West. By electing “the people’s President,” the common men of the East and West voted for one of their kind. They also voted against privilege, wealth, and aristocracy.

Democracy, as we know it today, began with the election of Jackson. For the first time the people themselves were in the political saddle. When the frontiersmen flocked to Washington to see Jackson inaugurated, an old Federalist wrote in disgust, “King Mob seemed triumphant.”

Under Jackson the common man has a share in the national government. The people’s President soon put new life into Jefferson’s dream. Jefferson believed in government of and for the people. Jackson favored government of, for and *by* the peo-



ple. Let the people not only vote, said Jackson, let them hold office, too. Jackson also stood for *rotation in office*. That is, he favored shorter terms and more frequent elections. Pass the elective offices around to as many of "the people" as possible, seemed to be Jackson's goal.

"Old Hickory" also believed in giving his faithful followers a chance at the non-elective offices. The central government employed many clerks who received their jobs by appointment. Many had held them for years, some since the days of the Federalists. Believing that the common man was entitled to a share in these offices, Jackson began removing men long in office. In their places he put loyal party men; that is, men who had supported him. "To the victors belong the spoils," was the slogan. In his first year in office, Jackson removed one-tenth of the old officeholders. About one-fifth were removed in Jackson's eight years.

The people's President defended the *spoils system*—the name for this practice. He said it was a democratic "reform." He was taking the government away from the "aristocracy" of officeholders and giving it to "the people." Today, of course, we do not regard the spoils system as either good government or as democratic.

Unlike Jefferson, Jackson had no special fear of a strong central government. Jackson believed the people should use the national government to increase democracy. But he was thinking of more than voting and officeholding. A people's government would protect the masses

from every form of greed and privilege. Convinced that the United States Bank played into the hands of a few wealthy owners, Jackson opposed it. In spite of Marshall's opinion supporting the Bank, Jackson believed the Bank unconstitutional.

When the Bank applied to Congress for a new charter, Jackson was ready to wage war on it. He vetoed the bill. The owners were gleeful. They felt certain that Jackson would now be defeated for re-election. But the few were mistaken. Jackson was easily re-elected. The masses applauded his war on the Bank. When Jackson gradually withdrew the government's funds from the Bank, it came to an untimely death. Jackson now deposited government funds in selected state banks which Jackson's enemies called "pet banks."

**Jackson's ways and ideas stir up strong opposition.** Jackson's willingness and fearlessness in fighting for what he believed to be the rights of the common people aroused those who had slowly been losing power. They organized an opposition which they called the Whig party. They were out to drive "King Andrew" from office. They called him a dictator and referred to his two terms as the "reign of Andrew Jackson." A glance at the chart on page 145 will show that the Whigs were the successors of the old Federalist party. You will also notice that with the appearance of the Whigs Jefferson's old party became the Democratic party.

Hamilton in an after-dinner



speech once referred to "The people—your people, Sir, is a great beast." In the 30 years between Hamilton and Jackson the democratic ideal made much progress. Under Jefferson the common people found a leader who believed in them and could put their hopes into the "American Dream." But it was not until Jackson's time that "the people" really ruled. Under Jackson the dream began to come true.

If there were differences of opinion in the early days of the Republic as to the meaning of democracy, they have not wholly disappeared today. Men still disagree as to how far democracy can or should go, or even what its real meaning is. Democracy, then, continues to mean different things to different men. To some extent Jefferson's two parties—aristocrats and democrats—still exist.

### WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

Show that you know how to use the following terms correctly by explaining each term. Give an example if possible.

- |                                       |                    |                        |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| 1. cabinet                            | 4. right of appeal | 9. common man          |
| 2. loose reading of the Constitution  | 5. political party | 10. manhood suffrage   |
| 3. strict reading of the Constitution | 6. Federalists     | 11. rotation in office |
|                                       | 7. Republicans     | 12. spoils system      |
|                                       | 8. nationalism     | 13. Whigs              |

### WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?

1789: This date should be included on a time line for two reasons. What are they?

1803: What important event occurred in this year? Why did the event itself trouble Jefferson?

### CAN YOU FIND THE ANSWERS TO THESE?

1. Why was George Washington unanimously elected first President, and why was the young nation fortunate in its choice?
2. During Washington's two terms what important actions were taken so that the new government would get a good start?
3. What political ideas did Alexander Hamilton stand for, and in what ways did he help President Washington to establish the new government on a sound foundation?
4. How did Thomas Jefferson's political ideas differ from Hamilton's, and why did Jefferson fight Hamilton's policies?
5. Hamilton and Jefferson were quite honest in the political views they held, and each of course was a great patriot. Why may the views of these two "political giants" still be important today?
6. As President, Jefferson stated two basic ideas necessary to a good government, according to his views. What were these ideas, and how successful were the Jeffersonian Presidents (Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe) in making the ideas work?



7. Why is John Marshall regarded as the greatest of the Chief Justices of the United States Supreme Court?
8. Why was the frontier the birthplace of a new kind of democracy? What was this kind of democracy?
9. How did Andrew "Old Hickory" Jackson go about giving the common man a greater share in the national government and more control over it?
10. Why is the spoils system not regarded as either good government or democratic government today?
11. *Summary Question:* In this chapter democracy has been shown to mean different things to different men. Taking Jefferson as a yardstick for comparison, did Hamilton and Jackson have more faith or less in democracy? Give good reasons for your answers.

## Chapter 9. *Our American Neighbors Make Progress toward Democracy . . . . .*

*Two gentlemen—a Latin American and a North American—were discussing a subject which might have had the title, “What’s in a Name?” This was part of their conversation.*

**NORTH:** *One hears much about dictators in Latin America. How, then, can one talk about democracy in Latin America?*

**LATIN:** *Democracy can mean many things. In our 20 republics each has a constitution based on yours.*

**NORTH:** *Then, why do you have so many revolutions and dictators?*

**LATIN:** *Under Spain and Portugal we had little experience in self-government. One must learn to use political freedom. In spite of everything, we do have representative government today. Isn’t that democracy?*

**NORTH:** *I begin to understand. You use the term democracy as a label to mean that you are struggling to become more and more democratic.*

**LATIN:** *That’s right. In some countries much progress toward actual democracy has been made. In certain republics outright dictatorships exist. In others the government is partly democratic and partly a dictatorship.*

**NORTH:** *Do you mean dictatorships of the Hitler brand?*

**LATIN:** *In general, no. In most countries having dictators or governments bordering on dictatorships, there is usually some freedom for the individual outside of politics. We must not think of democracy in a political sense only.*

**NORTH:** *You mean that, even in those countries where political rights are greatly limited, a citizen may have a chance in other respects?*

**LATIN:** *Yes, even under a dictator the common man usually has a chance to improve his way of life. There are, of course, still many Indians and others who are poor and without educational opportunities. In the matter of equality between races, however, I believe Latin Americans have progressed more than the people of the United States.*

**NORTH:** *That’s a point against us.*

## *Latin-American Republics Have an Ever-changing Political Life . . . . .*

These republics pattern their constitutions after that of the United States. Following their wars for independence, Latin Americans asked themselves: What kind of government shall we adopt? Sooner or later the 20 countries became republics. Most of them borrowed our form of constitution, although some followed that of the old French Republic. Our Constitution could be taken south, but getting the feel of it was another matter.

The difference between the form and the spirit remains today a basic difference between Latin-American democracy and ours. The chief reason for this difference lies in the fact that we spent 150 years learning the ways of democracy before we won independence. Latin Americans very largely had to learn self-government after their independence. And they had to learn it the hard way, for 95 per cent were unable to read or write.

How faithfully was the United States Constitution followed? All Latin-American constitutions provided for a government of three departments. In most countries congress consisted of two houses usually elected by the voters. Every republic had a president elected either by the voters or indirectly by presidential electors or by congress. Each country had a supreme court. Practically every constitution contained a Bill of Rights.

Most of the constitutions pro-

vided for a four-year term for the president, although in some the term was six years. In most countries, however, immediate re-election was forbidden. Despite this provision, ambitious presidents found a way to stay in office beyond the stated period. Unlike our President, Latin-American presidents might, when congress is not in session, rule by their own issued orders. Also, in case of foreign war or disorder within the country, the constitutions permitted the presidents to declare an emergency and suspend individual liberties.

Most Latin-American governments differed from ours in another respect. They had highly centralized governments, in which the central authorities had far-reaching powers over the separate states. In these highly centralized governments, the presidents could even appoint the state governors.

Latin Americans do not look upon constitutions as we do. We believe a constitution is a framework of government and ought to be closely followed. It should be changed only after serious thought. In most of Latin America, on the other hand, constitutions are regarded somewhat as we look upon political platforms. Under the circumstances, Latin-American constitutions are frequently changed either by constitutional conventions or by dictators who wish to make legal their seized power.

Bolívar feared that democratic forms might not go well in Latin America. "To my mind," he wrote, "it would be better for [Latin] America to adopt the Koran [Mo-



The congress of Chile consists of two houses: the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. Here the deputies are shown in session in Santiago. Deputies are elected for four years, while senators hold office for eight years. Men 21 years of age and over may vote if they can read and write. Chilean congresses have passed social security laws which have gone beyond those passed by our Congress. (Fenno Jacobs, from *Three Lions*)

hammedan Bible] than the government of the United States, although it is the best in the world."

**The story of Spanish-American politics is one of unrest.** No Spanish-American country was able to avoid revolution in the years following independence. Most of them had many revolutions, followed by one-man government. Some had more than 60 in the first hundred years after independence. Revolution and dictatorship, then another revolution and another dictator—that seemed to be the rule. Before we look into the causes of this unrest,

let us understand the meaning of revolution in the Latin-American sense.

Revolutions in Latin America were usually merely an attempt to change rulers. Frequently they took the place of an election. Many times they indicated the people's will better than elections, because elections were often dishonest. Many revolutions failed. That is, the "Outs" did not drive the "Ins" out. Many were "bloodless," which meant that the army had merely given its support to another dictator, with loss of few or no lives. In the long run revolutions in Latin America meant re-



**This Cuban revolution** in 1933 resulted in the resignation and flight of a dictator-president, who held office for eight years. Several officials were killed in this revolt engineered by the army. Because of student opposition, the dictator had closed the universities. The general unrest ended when a new constitution was made. (International)

form and progress. Gradually they increased democracy. A Mexican writer reminded us recently that Jefferson and Lincoln believed that revolutions might be necessary at times. We should remember, too, that we have had three Presidents murdered.

In Chapter 5 certain causes for unrest in Latin America were described. There were quarrels over the kind of government to be established and disputes over who should rule. The feeling between the masses and the favored few was bad. Then, too, there were lack of education and lack of democratic experience. These were serious handicaps, if republics were to work democratically. Another factor also

contributed to the unrest. Latin America lacked a middle class—the very backbone usually of a contented nation.

Ready to make the most of this restlessness in each country was a small group of military chieftains known as *caudillos* (cow-deel'-yos). Usually with one eye on what they could get out of it, these chieftains became leaders of a large personal following from the masses. The followers seemed more interested in the leader than in his program. When the republics were founded, the *caudillos* came into their own. They became the dictators one hears so much about. These dictators ignored or controlled congress and the courts. And they lost no



time in taking over the treasury, army, and secret police. When the paths of rival dictators crossed or too much corruption developed, a revolution occurred.

Although many of the dictators were cruel and selfish, a few did improve conditions for the masses. In time political parties, as we know them, came out of the earlier personal parties. Indeed, today, the *caudillo* is a local political boss. Gradually, then, in a century, Latin Americans became politically more peaceful. Revolutions, however, can still occur, as Argentina proved in the early 1940's.

### *Latin America Becomes More Democratic . . . . .*

Democracy moves forward. When one says that "Democracy moves forward in Latin America," it does not mean that it moves forward everywhere or to the same extent in each country. In some republics democracy is still pretty much a dream. In others, democratic ideals have made much headway. Do you recall "What's in a Name?"

As time passed, conditions favorable to democracy improved in many Latin-American countries (see map, page 160). Most important of all, perhaps, was the spread of free elementary education. Today, in nearly all countries, free elementary schooling is required. In a few countries free high schools exist. Nevertheless, in about three-fourths of the republics 50 per cent or more of the people still cannot read or write.

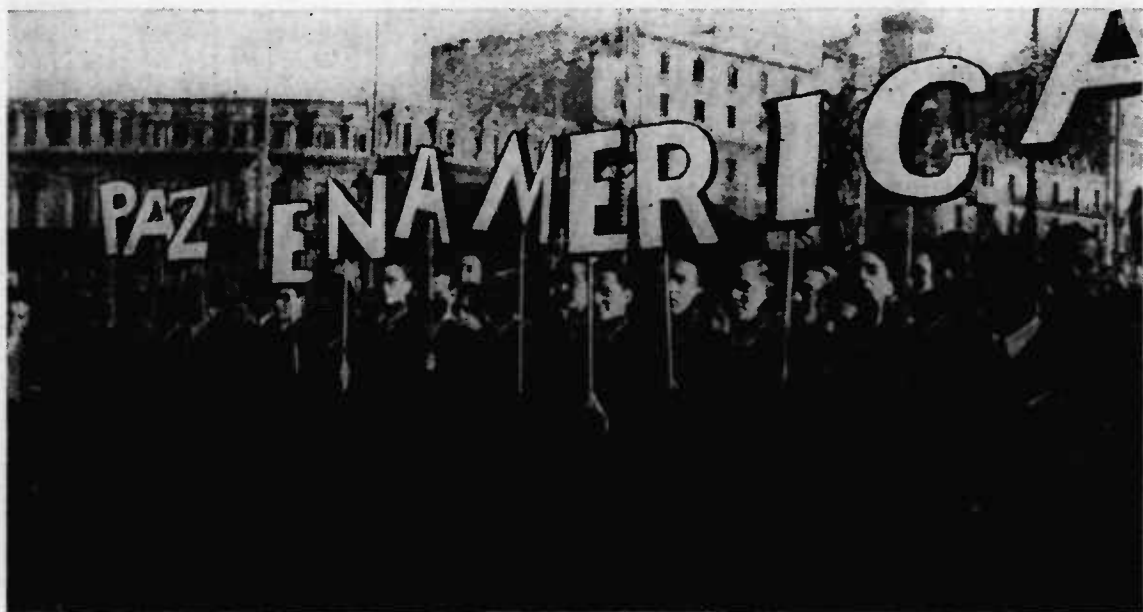
Second, the right to vote was gradually extended in most countries to men able to read and write. Today, in a few, one may vote at the age of 18. In more than one-half of the republics women may vote—at least in some elections. In five, voting is required; and failure to vote may result in a fine. Third, introduction of the secret ballot in some countries has strengthened the democratic trend, for voting as one wishes without fear is a democratic right.

Fourth, a practice which does not exist here developed in Latin America. University students became active in politics. In place of football games and fraternities, students joined political groups. Sometimes they brought about revolutions. Even kindergarten children are said to discuss leaders during a political campaign.

A fifth factor in causing democracy to move forward was the very slow growth of a middle class of skilled workers, teachers, small shopkeepers, and some small farmers. The recent rise of labor unions also strengthened the democratic trend. Next, freedom of the press has increased. As a result, many people are better informed. They have, therefore, better grounds for making up their minds.

In the advancement of social and economic democracy parts of Latin America lead the United States. In the matter of race relations, for example, Latin Americans not only have less racial feeling, they have less racial trouble than we do. In some countries the Indians' skill in handicraft has been recognized by





University students gather in front of a government building in Buenos Aires to show their support of peace in America and among American nations. The occasion was the Day of Peace set aside to mark the end of long border wars between Bolivia and Paraguay in the 1930's. (International)

laws providing for co-operatives. Under these laws, co-operative industries are encouraged by the government to help the Indians help themselves. As a result, the old Indian handicraft has been profitably awakened. At least one country—Uruguay—provides free medical attention for the poor. In this republic every worker gets a vacation with pay. Uruguay, moreover, had what are called social-security laws before the United States had them.

**Our neighbor, Mexico, moves rapidly toward democracy.** A good all-around example of rapid democratic progress in recent years is that of our neighbor, Mexico. Revolutions and dictators followed Mexican independence. A notable exception was the liberal president—the full-blooded Indian, Juárez (Hwah'-race)—who attempted a re-

form program against heavy odds. The outstanding dictator was the mestizo, Díaz (Dee'-ahs), who for 35 years (1876-1911) ruled with an iron hand. Then (1910) the Great Revolution began. From it came a new Mexican constitution.

First, the constitution of 1917 provided for a federal government like ours. However, the president who was to be elected for six years might not succeed himself. Men and women able to read and write could vote. But since only 55 out of 100 could read and write, suffrage was limited. So much for officeholding and voting in revolutionary Mexico.

Second, the heart of the Mexican constitution was the article dealing with ownership of land. "Mexico for the Mexicans" was the slogan of the revolutionists. They meant: (1) Mexico's millions of farm workers



Mexican school girls in this picture are quite clearly showing more interest in what the teacher is doing than in the photographer who stood to the right. Note that in this well-furnished schoolroom the girls appear to wear similar clothes. (Fritz Henle, from Monkmeier)

should own their own little farms, and (2) foreigners should not control the rich oil properties of Mexico.

Accordingly, the constitution provided that the government should take farm lands away from the great landholders and give them to the "have-nots." Likewise, 17 British and American oil companies were ordered to give up their properties. By what is known as *expropriation*, the government would pay them a price for lands and properties seized. After long disagreement, American oil interests came to a settlement with Mexico in the early 1940's. By the same time, the Mexican government had distributed farm lands to nearly 2,000,000 peas-

ants. That many more were still waiting for farms.

The expropriation of land and properties was regarded by many as communistic rather than democratic. Most Mexicans said it was merely returning to the Indian land system in use before the Spaniards arrived. Mexicans did not believe that about 5 per cent of the people should own everything.

Third, the revolutionary constitution made education the exclusive business of the government. No longer could the church have a share in primary education. Under the government's program little one-room schools sprang up in the country districts. Today, one-half of Mexico's children have schools—at

least to the age of 15. The importance of these rural schools as a basis for democracy cannot be overstated.

Fourth, the new constitution gave new privileges to labor. It recognized, for example, labor's right to form unions. Under it new laws gave labor real hope for a better life.

### *Brazil Shifts from a Monarchy to a Republic . . . . .*

**Under Dom Pedro II Brazil enjoys a long period of progress and orderly government.** How Brazil—an area larger than the United States of America—gained its independence from Portugal was told in Chapter 5. How the Brazilians decided on a monarchy rather than a republic was also related. The first emperor, however, did not come up to Brazilian expectations. He was, therefore, forced out in favor of his five-year-old son, Pedro II, who was to reign for 58 years (1831–89).

A monarchy is not a republic and an emperor is not a president. Nevertheless, Brazil was probably fortunate at this time in having an emperor—especially one whose powers were limited by a liberal constitution. At any rate, Brazil, under Pedro, was spared the revolutions and dictators which the Spanish-American republics experienced.

The easygoing and peace-loving Brazilians were again fortunate in Pedro II as their emperor. He was a mild, progressive, intelligent, and

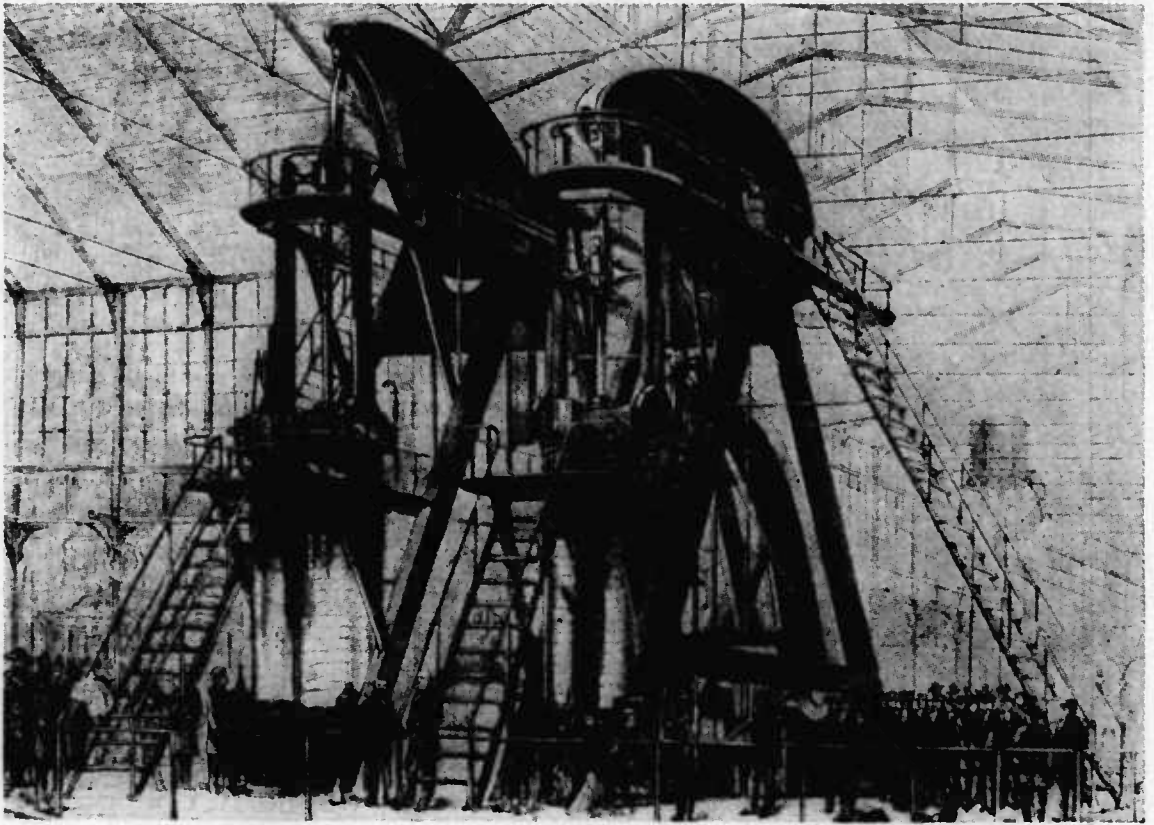
sympathetic ruler, interested in Brazil's welfare. When he visited us on the hundredth anniversary of our independence, the democratic emperor was called "Our Yankee Emperor." Brazil made unusual progress under Dom Pedro. Brazilians also learned the advantages of orderly government. Since Dom Pedro was no dictator, they had a long period in which to learn at least the A B C's of self-government. A Spanish-American president called Brazil the "crowned democracy of America."

During Pedro's long reign, a sound foundation for the nation's future was laid. Public education was developed. Immigration was encouraged. Railroads and telegraphs were widely extended. Coffee-growing was greatly expanded. Commerce was increased. The government's finances were put in order.

Despite this progress, there were growing signs of Brazilian discontent as Pedro aged. The army was dissatisfied because Pedro refused it a privileged position in Brazilian affairs. The wealthy landholders were furious when all slaves were freed without payment to the owners. When, as a last straw, Dom Pedro talked of turning the throne over to his daughter, a bloodless revolution took place. Before Brazilians knew what happened, Pedro II accepted the result "for the good of Brazil," and sailed away to Portugal. The republic of Brazil was thus established nearly 70 years after its independence.

**The republic brings stormy years to Brazil.** Our big neighbor to the





President Grant and "my brother the Emperor," Pedro II of Brazil, attend the opening of the Philadelphia Exposition marking 100 years of our nation's life. Here (left of center) the tall Emperor and the President turn the levers that start two huge engines in the Hall of Machines. (Pan American Union)

southeast became the "United States of Brazil" under its new constitution, which was much like ours. The president was to be elected by the voters. He could not succeed himself. Men able to read and write could vote. Brazil was to prove once more, however, that democratic constitutions do not guarantee democratic governments in Latin America. With the steady hand of Dom Pedro removed, the republic soon experienced revolutions and dictators.

One cause of the stormy years of the republic was the fact that the constitution gave the president more power than the emperor had enjoyed. As a result, men who

wished to use this power built up personal followings. Through election or revolution, these men hoped to gain office. Second, the army attempted to control affairs at times.

Third, the states were sometimes powerful enough to run the central government as in the days of our Articles of Confederation. Fourth, political parties were slow in developing, thus preventing the people from expressing themselves in an effective manner. Fifth, the size of Brazil and lack of adequate communication created serious problems. Finally, and most important of all, when the republic began, only about one-third of the people could read or write. As a

result, an aristocracy of officeholders developed rather than a going democracy.

The extraordinary power of the president is illustrated in the case of Vargas who became temporary president in the early 1930's, after an army-navy revolt. Sending congress home, Vargas soon became very much a dictator. He did, however, promise a new constitution. Under this, Vargas was elected president for four years. Then he permitted no more elections. According to another constitution handed down later by Vargas, the president was to rule by his own orders until congress met. But since congress did not meet, Vargas continued as dictator.

Apparently Vargas ruled by consent of the people. As a dictator he did not on the whole stand for the Hitler-Mussolini type of dictatorship. He did not push his people around; he raised no racial issue. On the other hand, he stood for one of the most advanced systems of social welfare found anywhere. He helped poor men secure farms. By encouraging public education, he increased greatly the number who could read and write. Perhaps, Brazil, like other Latin-American nations, was merely experiencing growing pains.

### *Discontent in Canada Forces the British Parliament to Grant Home Rule . . . . .*

A revolt in Canada results in the grant of self-government. Like a

contagious disease, revolutionary ideas can spread. In Chapter 4 we saw how the British lost the 13 colonies, while in Chapter 5 we read about successful revolutions in Latin America. For the most part, then, Europe had by the 1840's lost its rich empire in the Americas. The important exception to this was Canada—an area larger today than the United States—which Britain took from France a dozen years before our Revolution.

Canada, as events proved, was to have a revolution, too. But let us tell Canada's story in five parts. Part one has to do with a false move by the British Parliament. When Parliament in the 1790's divided Canada into Upper and Lower Canada, trouble was in the making. Upper Canada, centering in present-day Ontario, was English. Lower Canada, or present-day Quebec, was mainly French. Each was to have its own representative assembly, and each a governor sent from England.

Even under these arrangements, Upper and Lower Canada could not get along well together. The French and English quarreled. English Protestants and French Catholics could not see eye to eye. French Canadians and English Canadians agreed on one matter, however. They did not like the limited self-government which Parliament had granted them. Ill-feeling against the system of government led to rebellion in 1837. The revolt was quickly crushed, but the causes of the trouble remained.

Part two is the British attempt to get at the bottom of the trouble. To do this, the British government sent

a new governor to investigate. The new governor failed to understand the French Canadians. He did see the need, however, for more home rule in Canada. He recommended that Parliament try a different way of solving the Canadian problem.

Part three is Parliament's answer. It is known as the Act of Union (1840). This law united Upper and Lower Canada into one government. There was to be one Canadian parliament elected by the voters. There was to be one governor appointed by the British. He was to appoint a cabinet to help him rule Canada. Since the Canadian parliament had new powers and since a Canadian cabinet existed, this looked like more self-government.

**Parliament agrees to Canadian plans for a workable union.** Under the Act of Union there were still some flies in the ointment. On the one hand, the first governor did not think much of the ability of the Canadians to govern themselves. "I will govern as I think right," he said, "and not as they fancy." On the other hand, the French were still not satisfied. They believed that their large population entitled them to more representation in the Canadian parliament. All in all, it soon began to look as though the British Parliament had taken another false step.

Part four is Canada's own solution of the problem. By the close of our War Between the States (1865), a deadlock had resulted between the two parties in Canada's new system of government. Forced by circumstances, the Canadians—

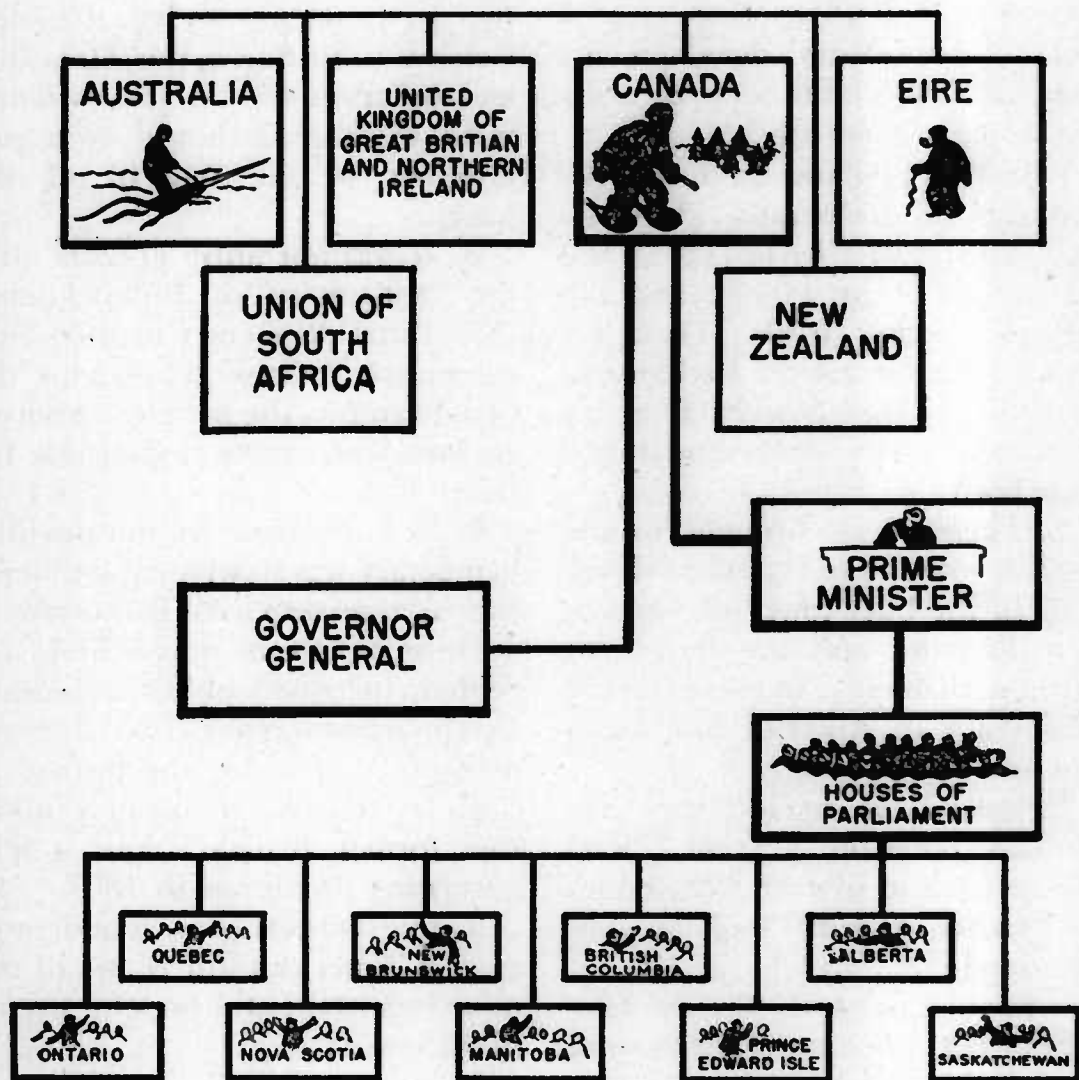
Frenchmen and Englishmen—decided to take a step on their own. They called a convention not only of Upper and Lower Canada but of the Maritime Provinces as well. The Canadians really got together in this convention. Out of it came the suggestion for a *federal* scheme of government for Canada (see chart, page 167).

They decided, in other words, to form a union of the provinces (states) and to have two types of government. (1) The central government would be a Canadian parliament which would deal with matters concerning Canada as a whole. (2) Each province would have its own legislature which would make laws for the province. This might solve the English-French problem and give each province some independence.

Part five has to do with a wise move by Parliament. When the British Parliament received these suggestions from Canada, it passed the British North America Act (1867) setting up a federal government. By this act, four provinces—Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the two Canadas, renamed Ontario and Quebec—joined to form "The Dominion of Canada." Later other provinces and territories became part of the dominion (see map, page 205). Newfoundland and Labrador, however, never joined.

England sent a governor-general to the dominion, but the Canadian prime minister was the real power in the dominion. The prime minister was to hold office only as long as the Canadian House of Commons would back him up. Under this ar-

## CANADA IN THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH



rangement the Canadians practically governed themselves. The voters—men and women—elected the Canadian House of Commons and their provincial legislatures, too.

Soon Canada was united from ocean to ocean under a workable union—one of its own selection. Today Canada, as a part of the British Commonwealth of Nations, voluntarily co-operates with the Em-

pire. It is united with the other independent self-governing nations of the British Commonwealth through a common loyalty to the British king (see chart, above).

Truly our American neighbors have made progress toward democracy. During the Second World War a Latin American could write: "Freedom, democracy, America: the three words are synonyms."



*Summary of the Unit . . . .*

In this unit—"The Idea of Democracy Takes Root and Grows in American Soil"—we have traced certain democratic developments from Old England to today's Americas. Some of these are:

1. In Old England the feeble beginnings of democratic ideals go back to *Magna Charta* (1215), the Petition of Right (1628), and the Bill of Rights (1689). These, together with the rise of Parliament, limited the king's powers. The idea of representative government had been born.

2. These ideas, brought to the English colonies in America, developed in the busy town meetings of New England and the important "little parliaments" of every colony. Democracy in America had taken root and was growing.

3. Spurred on by idea-men like Thomas Jefferson, a great liberal and spokesman of early democracy, the "rights of man" took on new meaning here.

4. Finally, out of 150 years of colonial experience came the famous

Constitution of the United States of America (1787) and the equally famous Bill of Rights (1791).

5. In 1789 Washington started the government under the new Constitution, but it was Hamilton and Jefferson who fought to determine whether it should be a government of the few or of the many.

6. It was not until 50 years after the Declaration of Independence (1776) that democracy in this country meant "of the people, for the people and by the people." Andrew Jackson was largely responsible for that.

7. In Latin America, meanwhile, democracy was slowly making headway as representative democracy—at least in form—was widely accepted. Increased public education for the masses gave Latin-American democracy hope for the future.

8. In Canada, democracy made that former British colony a self-governing dominion in 1867.

9. The 300-year growth of democracy in American soil is one of the most important and hopeful events of all history.

**WHAT DO THEY MEAN?**

Give in your own words the meaning of each of the following terms. Also give an example when possible.

- |                       |                   |                     |
|-----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1. <i>caudillos</i>   | 4. province       | 7. governor-general |
| 2. expropriation      | 5. dominion       | 8. Upper Canada     |
| 3. federal government | 6. prime minister | 9. Lower Canada     |

**WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?**

1837: Why is this a date of particular importance in Canadian history?

1867: In Canada July 1 is celebrated as a holiday—a day similar to our July

4. What is the event celebrated which goes back to this date?

1917: This is a date of particular importance to Mexico. What is the event?



**CAN YOU FIND THE ANSWERS TO THESE?**

1. In what ways do Latin-American constitutions seem to follow ours? How do their constitutions differ from ours?
2. We believe that the United States Constitution is the first law of the land and ought to be followed closely. How do many Latin Americans look at constitutions, and with what results?
3. How does the Latin-American meaning of revolution differ from our understanding of that word?
4. Why have dictators been rather common in Latin-American countries in the past century?
5. With the betterment of certain conditions in Latin-American countries, democratic ideas began to make progress. What were the factors which caused democracy to move forward in Latin America?
6. In what ways have certain Latin-American countries shown greater democratic growth than the United States?
7. Under the revolutionary Mexican constitution of 1917, how did the Mexicans propose to advance their democratic ideals?
8. Using Brazil as an example, show how it is possible under Latin-American conditions for a president to become a dictator.
9. Briefly outline the stages by which Canada became a democratic, self-governing dominion of the British Commonwealth of Nations. What has long been Canada's chief problem?
10. Under the provisions of the British North America Act the British Parliament gave approval to a workable scheme of government for Canada. What are the chief features of this scheme?
11. *Summary Question:* In what ways have the Latin-American countries and Canada appeared to follow our form of democratic government? In what ways have they differed from us?

**Activities for Unit Three****CAN YOU MAKE IT?**

1. *Poster.* Prepare a poster entitled "The Rights of Man." Jefferson or some symbol representing him might well be a part of the poster. What else should be included?
2. *Diary Notes.* Using five dates between May 25, 1787, and September 17, 1787, write entries such as a member of the Constitutional Convention might have made in his diary.
3. *Cartoon.* Draw a cartoon which will illustrate the opposite positions taken by Hamilton and Jefferson. Or draw a cartoon representing the struggle between the royal governors and the colonial legislatures.
4. *Newspaper Headlines.* Prepare newspaper headlines announcing the beginning of the Mexican revolution in 1910, or headlines on the Mexican constitution adopted in 1917. Or make headlines reporting that the British parliament passed the British North America Act in 1867. In order to give an accurate date to the newspaper, it will be necessary to find out on what day of the year the event occurred.

**I TEST MY SKILLS**

5. *Using a Document.* Turn to the Declaration of Independence in Appendix I (see page 579). (a) You will note, first, that this document is quite old. How old? (b) What evidence is there that this is a faithful copy of the Declaration? (c) In addition to the date, how can you tell that this is a copy of an old document? (d) What do we celebrate on July 4? How do you know? (e) In your opinion what phrase of the Declaration is most quoted? (f) How many grievances did the colonists list? (g) In what part of the document is independence declared? (h) Why does John Hancock's signature lead the list of signers? (i) How do some of the abbreviations for first names differ from those used today?
6. *Using Our Most-Used Document.* In Appendix II (see page 582) is an official copy of the Constitution of the United States of America. It differs from the original, however, in two ways. First, the authors have added heavy-faced numbers and statements for each paragraph. Second, footnotes explaining certain parts of the Constitution have also been added. Easy reference has, therefore, been made possible by simply referring in the text to a heavy or black-faced number. The purpose of this exercise is to find out how well you can use the Constitution without this aid. Can you find the answers to these questions? Whenever possible, indicate by article, section, and paragraph the part of the Constitution in which you found the answers. (a) How many Articles are there, and with what do they deal? (b) When was the Bill of Rights added? (c) Which state had the most signers? (d) Where do you find provision for electing the President? (e) How many Senators are necessary to ratify a treaty? (f) What provision is made for the right of Negroes to vote? (g) How long may federal judges hold office?

**WE WORK IN GROUPS**

7. *Quiz Program.* Let a committee of five, with one member serving as chairman, prepare 25 questions. Five will be on the Articles of Confederation, ten on the Constitutional Convention, and ten on the Constitution. The questions on the Constitution will be based on those parts of the document referred to in Chapter 7. With the chairman conducting the quiz program, the entire class will take part. If the class is unable to answer any question, the chairman will call on members of the committee.

**WE THINK FOR OURSELVES**

8. *Floor Talks on Co-operation.* The "little parliaments," the town meetings, the several attempts at union ending in the Constitution, and the struggles in Latin America and Canada all point in one general direction. Peoples were trying to solve their political problems through some form of *democratic co-operation*. Let three people divide this subject for floor talks and discussion. Its title might be "We Learn and Make Progress through Co-operation." Show what attempts at co-operation were made, how they succeeded or failed, and why. Although the Constitution succeeded, what early difficulties did it have? Finally, what do these attempts, successes, and failures at co-operation mean for us today? In addition to the text, any one of these books will be helpful: E. M. Tappan, *The Story of Our Constitution*, chaps. i and ii; G. Hartman, *The Making of a Democracy*,

chaps. xv-xvii; A. Mersereau, *Why is America?*, 6-48; H. Rugg, *America's March Toward Democracy*, chaps. iii and vii; H. Rugg, *Citizenship and Civic Affairs*, chap. xi; L. Huberman, "*We, the People*," chap. v; B. Brodinsky, *Our Federal Government*; A. M. Peck, *The Pageant of South American History*, chap. xxv; A. M. Peck, *The Pageant of Canadian History*, chaps. xii and xxii; H. B. Clifford, *Canada, My Neighbor*, chap. xvii. Very helpful on our basic rights and privileges are: E. McGuire and D. C. Rogers, *The Growth of Democracy*, 99-187; and these four booklets by C. S. Williams: *The Rights We Defend*; *Right of Free Speech*; *Liberty of the Press*; and *Fair Trial*.

## WE TURN TO OTHER BOOKS

### 9. *To Get More Information.*

HARTMAN, GERTRUDE, *The Making of a Democracy*. The struggle for America is traced from its Old World backgrounds to the present.

TAPPAN, E. M., *The Story of Our Constitution*. How it came to be, how the new government began, and how the Constitution was later amended.

KNAPP, G. L., *Uncle Sam's Government at Washington*. Tells the story of the City of Washington, describes our federal government, and tells about the great men who helped to make our Constitution work.

DILL, C. C., *Our Government*. The story of our government at work told by a former Senator. Simply presented, with many illustrations.

PECK, A. M., *The Pageant of Canadian History*. Canada's story from Cartier to the seventy-first birthday of the Dominion in the early 1940's.

PECK, A. M., *The Pageant of South American History*. A good background for understanding the Latin-American nations today.

### 10. *To Find Out Who's Who.*

MORGAN, JAMES, *Our Presidents*. Besides brief biographies, the highlights of each presidential term are given.

VAN LOON, H. W., *Thomas Jefferson*. A very interesting illustrated story of Jefferson, the champion of the "Rights of Man."

NICOLAY, HELEN, *Boys' Life of Alexander Hamilton*. A sympathetic account of the brilliant Hamilton, soldier and political leader.

JAMES, B. R. AND MARQUIS, *The Courageous Heart*. Well-told biography of Andrew Jackson, frontier soldier, hero, leader of the common people.

BAKER, N. B., *Juarez, Hero of Mexico*. A good account of the life of Mexico's full-blooded Indian president.

### 11. *To Read a Historical Story.*

CHOATE, FLORENCE, AND CURTIS, ELIZABETH, *Five Gold Sovereigns*. Anne Farnsworth was a neighbor of Jefferson when he was a member of the House of Burgesses.

MEIGS, CORNELIA, *Mounted Messenger*. The young messenger carrying mail between Boston and Philadelphia helped prepare the way for closer understanding of colonial leaders.

WEIL, ANN, *My Dear Patsy*. This is a novel about Jefferson's daughter, Patsy, in France and in this country.

12. *To Look at the Past in Pictures.*

*Pageant of America*: VIII, 7–37, 107–11, 144–264. Early colonial struggles, the making of the Constitution, and the presidential years of Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson.

*Building America*: II, “Our Constitution”; III, “Our Federal Government”; IV, “Civil Liberties.”

**WE SUMMARIZE THE UNIT**

13. *Time Line.* Prepare a time line for this unit, using the red-letter years listed under “Why Are These Red-Letter Years?” in each chapter. Place events occurring in the Americas on one side of the line in one color. Place events outside the Americas in another color on the other side.
14. *Study Unit Drawing.* The drawing on pages 104–05 is a unit illustration. Checking the unit title, go over each chapter and note the main ideas presented. Which are included in the drawing and which are omitted?
15. *Written Summary.* Prepare in your own words a two-page summary of the entire unit. Note carefully the summary at the end of the unit, but do not reproduce it. Your written summary should be a summary of what the unit means to you.
16. *Men and History.* Choosing five persons who played important parts in this unit, write brief accounts of their contributions to democratic progress.

**DO WE UNDERSTAND THE IDEAS OF THE UNIT?**

17. *A Political Scrapbook.* Upon the completion of this unit you should have a new interest in your federal government. You should want to continue that interest. A good way to do that is to begin a “Political Scrapbook.” Such a book should contain important information about your government at Washington: its leaders and what they do as your leaders. First, include a “Who’s Who” of government officials, with illustrations if possible from newspapers. Include the (a) President, (b) Vice President, (c) cabinet members and their states, (d) Senators from your state, (e) Representative from your district and your district’s number, (f) Supreme Court justices and their states. For these facts, see index of the *World Almanac* under “U. S., Government Departments.” Second, include *important* newspaper items concerning the activities of these officials, together with your written comment as to the importance of the activities. Perhaps you will wish to keep this scrapbook up to date for the rest of the year.
18. *Examples of Democracy.* Democracy has made much progress in the past 700 years. Can you give (a) two examples of democratic progress in England, (b) five examples in the United States, (c) three examples in Latin America, and (d) two examples in Canada? Be prepared to give reasons for each selection.
19. *The March of Democracy.* Let seven persons prepare a three-act play to be presented informally to the class. After careful planning under the guidance of a chairman, let two people be responsible for writing each act. The purpose of the play is to show the progress of the democratic idea and your understanding of the long struggle to make democracy a living thing in the Americas.

# Unit Four

## *The Peoples of the Americas Push Back the Frontier*

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10. Pioneers, Diplomats, and Soldiers Carry the Flag to the Pacific
  11. Courageous Settlers Move into the Heart of the Continent
  12. The Moving Frontier Creates New Problems for the Peoples of America
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The United States was born with a silver spoon in her mouth. Life began with a handful of people in possession of a vast region stretching from the Atlantic to the Mississippi—a land of noble forests, fertile soil, and rich mineral resources. Long before this land could ever be used, more was added. Step by step we advanced westward to the Pacific.

Such conditions made America a land of opportunity and a land of hope. There was little need for signposts reading “To the West for New Opportunities.” The sons and daughters of the East knew that their future pointed toward the setting sun. Each year saw the line of settlements move steadily westward. For almost 300 years the great task of America was the settlement of a continent.







## Chapter 10. *Pioneers, Diplomats, and Soldiers Carry the Flag to the Pacific . . . .*

*During the Revolution only two settlements of pioneers were left in Kentucky—Boonesboro and Herrodsburg. The rest of the settlers had been driven out by the Indians. Early in 1778 Daniel Boone and a few men set off for the salt springs to get their yearly supply of salt. Returning alone, Boone was captured by Indians on their way to attack Boonesboro.*

*If the Indians captured Boonesboro, Herrodsburg could not hold out. The white man would be driven out of Kentucky and the region might be lost to America at the end of the Revolution. Boone was certain that if the Indians could win a victory and capture a few white men they would lose all interest in Boonesboro. To save his settlement with its women and children, he told the Indians about the men at the salt springs. This might mean the capture and death of some of the men, but it would save Kentucky. It was a desperate chance, but he could think of no other way.*

*The Indians turned back, captured the party at the springs and set out for home. Boone played the game and pretended that he wanted to live with the Indians. An Indian chief adopted him and called him "Big Turtle."*

*When summer came the war drums began to beat along the Ohio. Once again the Indians prepared to destroy Boonesboro. Boone watched his chance and one day slipped away. He ran 160 miles to Boonesboro in four days, stopping for only one meal—a fast trip for a turtle and even for an expert long-distance runner.*

*Boonesboro prepared to withstand a siege. The Indians attacked for nine days before they were driven off. Boonesboro was saved and with it Kentucky. Boone was later tried for treachery but was quickly set free. He became a greater hero than ever among the frontier folk.*

*Not all frontiers faced the bitter fighting endured by the pioneers of Kentucky. But all of them had their share of hardships. All of them had their frontier leaders, men like Boone, skillful in the ways of the wilderness and in fighting the Indians.*



## *The American Revolution Carries the Flag to the Mississippi . . . . .*

During the war the pioneers push into the Ohio Valley. From the time when Jamestown and Plymouth were first settled, Americans had been moving westward. During the colonial period they took up the lands along the coastal plains and in the foothills of the Alleghenies. By the time of the Revolution settlers were ready to push through the mountain passes into the valley of the Ohio.

If you will look at the map, page 196, you will see that many valleys run southwestward from Pennsylvania into Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. During the later years of the colonial period, thousands of settlers moved along these valleys to take up land. Shortly before the Revolution they had founded little settlements as far south as Watauga in the northeastern corner of the present state of Tennessee.

Watauga was hardly settled before Daniel Boone and other hunters brought back news of the rich lands in Kentucky. This news led Judge Richard Henderson of North Carolina to found the Transylvania Company. It bought land from the Indians and prepared to settle the country.

Henderson's agent, Daniel Boone, blazed the first trail from Cumberland Gap into central Kentucky (see map, page 196). This was one of the few openings through the Appalachians and almost the only

one used until after the Revolution. In April, 1775, a few days before the battle of Lexington, Boone and his followers erected a fort at Boonesboro. Four years later James Robertson led another band from Watauga which founded the present Nashville on the Cumberland River.

It took great courage to move westward during the Revolution. The British continually stirred up the Indians to attack the frontier settlements. Kentucky became known as "a dark and bloody ground." The settlers, however, hung on during the war and laid the foundations of Kentucky and Tennessee.

In Chapter 4 we told how George Rogers Clark and his Virginia militia crossed the Alleghenies and captured the British posts on the Wabash and Mississippi. Clark spent the rest of the war fighting the Indians and protecting the western settlements. When the war ended, America had possession of the land. The bravery of the pioneers of Kentucky and Tennessee and the activities of Clark had done it.

**The new nation extends from the Atlantic Coast to the Mississippi River.** Fighting ended in the colonies with the surrender of Cornwallis in 1781, but it was two years later before a treaty of peace was finally signed. Some months after Yorktown the British government sent a representative to talk to Franklin, our minister to France. The British agent admitted that England had become "foolishly involved in four wars." Moreover,



Daniel Boone in this picture is shown leading a group of pioneers through the mountains into the western country. Boone helped to pioneer western North Carolina, Kentucky, and later Missouri. The painting is by George Caleb Bingham, a well-known early American painter. (The Bettmann Archive)

he said that England's financial condition was so bad that peace was "absolutely necessary."

Franklin called John Jay, our minister to Spain, to come to Paris to aid him. He and Jay, with John Adams, then worked out the terms of peace with the British representatives. Our chief demand was independence and Britain was willing to grant it.

The greatest difficulty in making a peace treaty arose over the boundary lines of the new nation. Adams, Jay, and Franklin wanted to place the western boundary at the Mississippi. Clark had won this land and Americans had settled it. We needed it for expansion. France, however, wanted Britain to cede the region between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi to Spain. After

France had entered the war she persuaded Spain to join her, and this was to be Spain's reward.

Congress had instructed the commissioners to make peace in open co-operation with France. The American commissioners, however, had no desire to see their country coop up east of the Alleghenies. When they heard of the plan, they went over the heads of the French government and dealt directly with Great Britain. Britain preferred to cede the land to the new and weak American Republic (see map, page 180) rather than to an already powerful nation of Europe. She agreed to our demands and France fell in line.

Not all of the land east of the Mississippi went to the United States. Great Britain ceded Florida



to Spain. Until we finally bought Florida, the boundary was in dispute. So also was the northern boundary, particularly that of Maine. New treaties many years later solved these problems.

### *In Two Moves We Double Our Territory . . . . .*

The Louisiana Purchase is the greatest real estate deal in history. When the United States started as a free nation, it was surrounded on three sides by foreign territory. On the north was British Canada; on the south was Spanish Florida. West of the Mississippi was the vast region of Louisiana, at that time owned by Spain.

This raised many problems, the chief one being the fact that Spain controlled both sides of the Mississippi at its mouth (see map, page 180). Settlers west of the Appalachians could market their products only by floating them down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. Somewhere in Spanish territory they must be landed and transferred to seagoing vessels. Spain could prevent this by high tariffs.

This problem was ironed out during Washington's administration by a treaty with Spain. The treaty allowed Americans to unload their cargoes at New Orleans without paying duties. As long as Spain held New Orleans, Americans were not worried. Spain was a weak nation and rapidly declining in power.

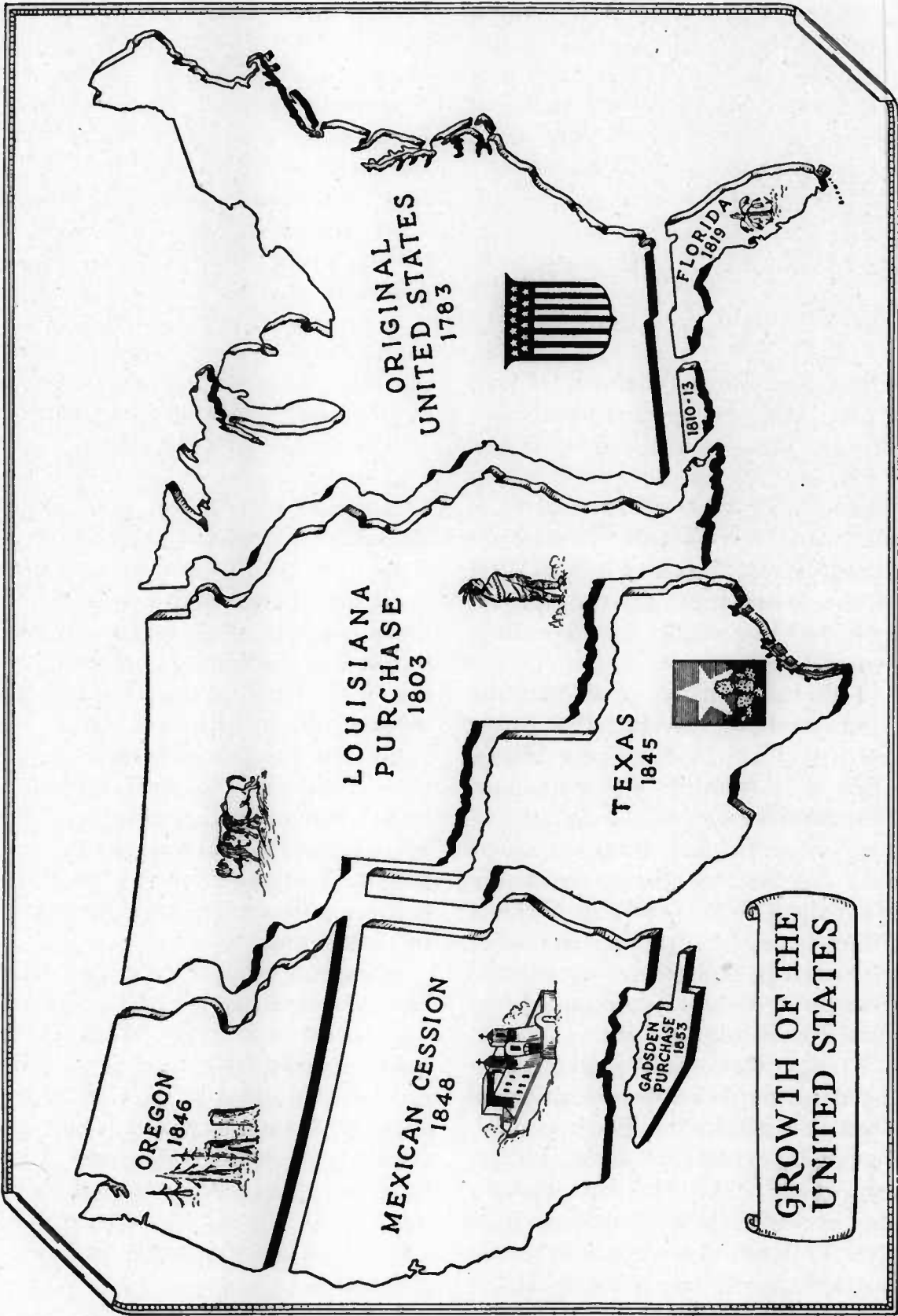
The situation, however, suddenly changed. Napoleon, head of the

French government, persuaded the Spanish king to cede Louisiana to France. Unlike Spain, France was a powerful nation. Her taking of Louisiana could mean only one thing—a desire to establish again an empire in America. Jefferson saw this clearly. Said he: “There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural . . . enemy. It is New Orleans.” If France holds New Orleans, said Jefferson, “we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation.”

Jefferson sent James Monroe to join our minister at Paris, Robert Livingston, with instructions to try and buy New Orleans. If France would not sell, they were to try to make an alliance with England. To the surprise of all, Napoleon agreed to sell. He was about to start a new war with England and he needed money. When the war came, he knew that England with her bigger navy could easily capture New Orleans. Moreover, the prospects of a French empire in America were not bright. A successful revolt in Haiti had recently ended French control in that island.

Napoleon offered to sell not only New Orleans but all of Louisiana. The price was only \$15,000,000. Jefferson had bargained for a city, but won an empire. As Livingston attached his name to the treaty, he solemnly declared, “We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our whole lives.” In December, 1803, the United States took formal possession.

Livingston could hardly overstate the importance of the purchase. It not only gave western commerce



GROWTH OF THE  
UNITED STATES

an outlet to the sea, but it doubled the territory of the United States. From it 15 states have been created in whole or in part. It supports today about 22,000,000 people.

**We move southward into Florida.** The next important addition to American territory was Florida. When England ceded (turned over) Florida to Spain at the end of the Revolution, it included not alone the present state of Florida. It also included a strip of land as far west as the Mississippi, known as West Florida. As long as Spain owned Florida there was bound to be trouble.

Few Spaniards ever went to Florida. The colonial government was weak and inefficient. Florida, as a result, became a safe place for pirates, runaway slaves, and plundering bands of Indians. During the War of 1812 England used it as a base to attack the United States. Florida remained a constant danger to this country. The weak Spanish government could not or would not do anything about it.

As the years went by Americans became more eager to obtain this region. Florida cut us off from the Gulf of Mexico and many believed that our "national boundaries" should go that far. Southern frontiersmen began to look hungrily at the good land along the coast (see map, page 180).

The purchase of Louisiana left the western boundary of Florida uncertain. Jefferson and his successors believed that it belonged to the United States. When American settlers in West Florida finally re-

volted against the Spanish government, Madison coolly annexed (attached) that region to the United States.

Spain, of course, protested, but she could do nothing. Her power in America was rapidly declining as one Latin-American colony after another declared its independence. John Quincy Adams, our Secretary of State, bluntly informed Spain that she must either establish a government in Florida strong enough to maintain law and order or else cede the region to the United States.

Spain decided to cede. By a treaty of 1819 we purchased Florida for \$5,000,000. When Congress two years later ratified the treaty, the United States included all the land east of the Mississippi from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico.

### *With a Cry of "On to Oregon" We Reach the Pacific . . . .*

**Explorers, fur traders and missionaries open the Oregon country to settlement.** The next addition of territory took the United States to the Pacific coast. American interest in the Oregon region goes back to the earliest days of our nation. Shortly after the Revolution, traders from New England and New York began to sail to the northwest coast. There they traded with the Indians for sea otter and other furs. They carried the furs to China and exchanged them for silks, tea, and Chinese dinnerware. On one of these early trips Captain Robert

Gray, sailing from Boston, discovered the Columbia River.

No sooner had Jefferson purchased Louisiana, than he sent an exploring expedition to report on the new territory. This expedition under Meriwether Lewis and William Clark followed the Missouri River to its source. Not content with exploring only the Louisiana Purchase, they crossed the Rocky Mountains and followed the Columbia to the Pacific (see map, page 210). If discovery and exploration meant anything, America had some claim to Oregon. One member of this notable party was Sacajawea (Sak'-ah-jah-wee'-ah), the Indian wife of a French guide. She is America's first famous woman explorer.

During the early 1800's British fur companies began to collect furs in Oregon. Not to be outdone, John Jacob Astor founded the American Fur Company to trade in the same region. His agents set up a post at Astoria near the mouth of the Columbia. Astor, unfortunately, lost this trade during the War of 1812.

For more than 30 years Oregon remained under the control of the British Hudson's Bay Company. Their agent, Dr. John McLoughlin, ruled the country. Americans, however, had not lost interest. Efforts were frequently made to secure a share in the fur trade, but they failed.

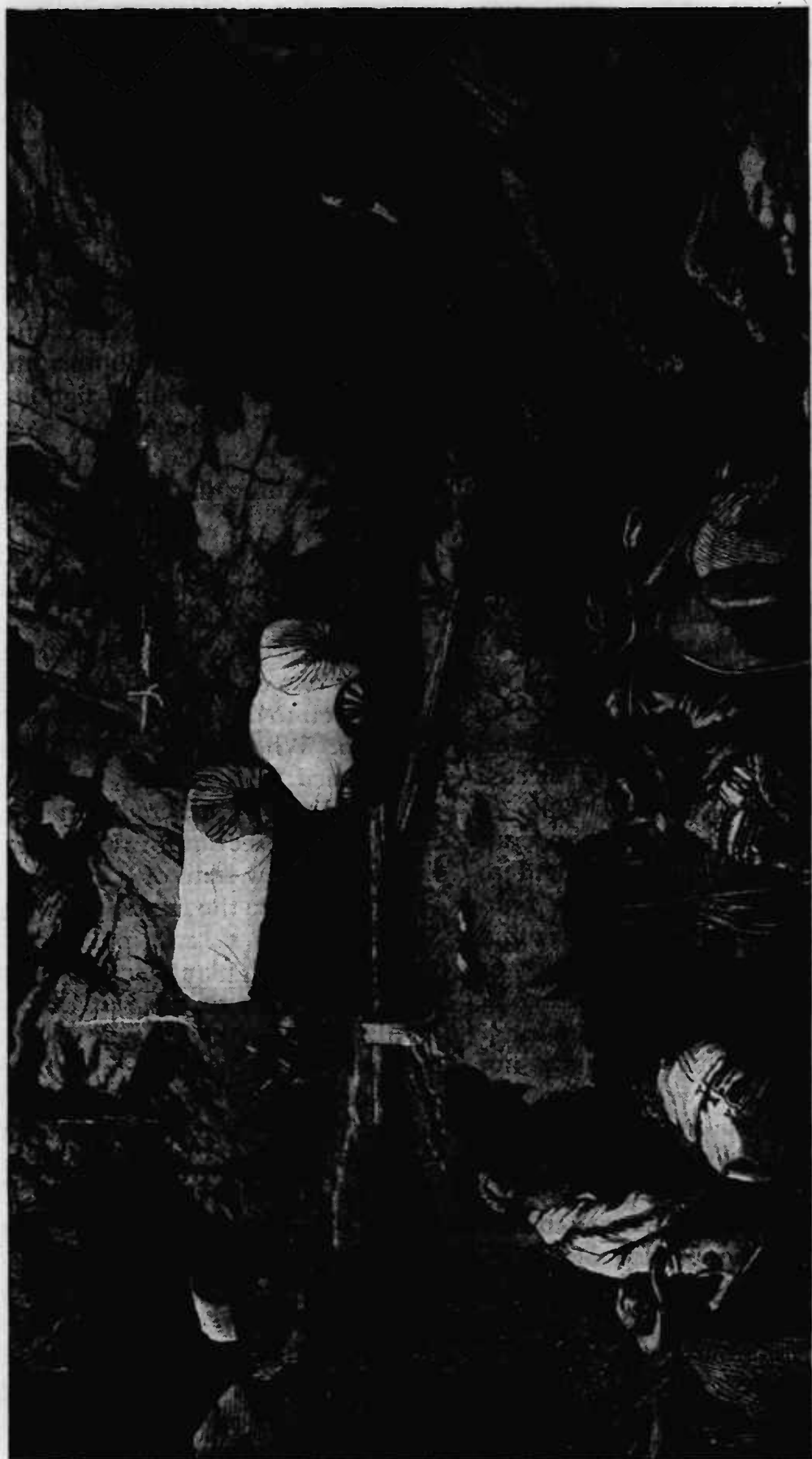
Missionaries were more successful than the fur traders. When Marcus Whitman and a few others came out in the 1830's to work with the Indians, McLoughlin allowed them to stay. Their letters to the church papers at home and their trips to

the East helped to keep alive the interest in Oregon. They did much to advertise the Pacific Northwest.

Gradually rumors of the rich land of Oregon reached the frontiersmen. A few American settlers trickled in. Then, in the early 1840's, the long trains of covered wagons began to point toward Oregon. Marcus Whitman, himself, helped to lead one of the largest groups over the Oregon Trail (see map, page 210). Shortly there were more American farmers in the new country than English fur traders. There they settled, and there they intended to stay.

**The United States and Great Britain divide the Oregon territory.** At the beginning four nations had claims to the Northwest, a region known as the Oregon country. These were Spain, Russia, Great Britain, and the United States. Spain gave up her claims to the United States at the time of the Florida purchase. Russia withdrew in favor of Great Britain by a treaty. This left only Great Britain and the United States. A treaty with Great Britain in 1818 set boundaries between Canada and the United States at the 49th parallel as far west as the Rockies. The problem of Oregon was postponed by providing for "joint occupation."

Joint occupation was hardly a true description. The only British in the country were a few fur traders. On the other hand, several thousand American settlers had actually taken up land in the region by the middle 1840's. Most of these had settled along the Willamette, a



Settlers on a "Wagon Road into the West" are crossing the Rockies on their way to Oregon or California. The trip was long and difficult and often took from early spring until autumn. The women and children must have been riding in the covered wagons. (*Harper's Weekly*)



river running into the Columbia.

By this time it was clear that some decision as to boundary must be reached. Many Americans believed that we should have all of Oregon as far north as  $54^{\circ} 40'$ . The government, however, offered to compromise at  $49^{\circ}$ . On her part, Great Britain suggested the Columbia River as the dividing line (see map, page 210).

At this point, the dispute got into politics. Western frontiersmen demanded that we take Oregon. Southerners insisted that we add Texas. The Democrats decided to fight the campaign of 1844 on the issue of Texas and Oregon. Cries of "Fifty-four forty or fight" and the "Whole of Oregon or none" became slogans of the campaign. America was in the mood to expand and the Democrats easily elected their candidate, James K. Polk.

It was now up to the Democrats to make good. Congress voted to end joint occupation. Texas, however, had just been annexed and war with Mexico followed. A war with both England and Mexico at the same time was unthinkable.

England, on her part, was not greatly concerned over Oregon. She offered to compromise at  $49^{\circ}$  with the understanding that she keep Vancouver Island. This was the line that we had earlier suggested several times. The United States accepted in 1846. The dispute ended with this country in possession of the most valuable part of the Oregon country, the great Columbia River region. Once again we succeeded in settling peacefully a boundary dispute to the north.

## *Diplomats and Soldiers Bring the Great Southwest into the Union . . . . .*

**Sam Houston** is the hero of the **Lone Star Republic**. When Americans think of frontiersmen, they usually think of men like Daniel Boone. These were the hunters, the trail blazers, the Indian fighters, and the small farmers. They were mainly poor men who did the hard work in pushing the frontier westward.

One of the most famous of all frontiersmen, however, does not fit this picture. He was Sam Houston, the father of the Texas Republic. Sam was one of nine children born into a well-to-do family in western Virginia. When Sam was 14, his father died. His mother sold the property in Virginia and with her nine children set out for the wilderness of the new state of Tennessee.

In Tennessee the family did well. Sam's brothers became prosperous merchants and planters. But Sam was different from the rest of the family. He was restless and full of the love of adventure. Farming and storekeeping did not interest him. To the horror of his family, he left them in his late 'teens and lived for three years with the Cherokee Indians. The chief adopted him as a son and christened him "The Raven." From then until his death Sam Houston remained a firm friend of the Indians. He often acted as their representative and presented their cause before the authorities in Washington.

Just before the outbreak of the

War of 1812 Sam Houston returned to live with the white men. He started a school, but after a few months enlisted as a private in the regular army. He was soon promoted and distinguished himself for unusual bravery at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. He was severely wounded, but won the notice and friendship of his commander, Andrew Jackson. Jackson, in turn, won the devotion of the young lieutenant. Jackson was Sam Houston's great hero.

**THE POLITICIAN.** Houston remained in the regular army for eight years. Then he resigned his commission, studied law, and went into politics. Sam Houston was naturally fitted for frontier politics. He was tall, vigorous, and dramatic in speech and action. All admired him for his bravery at Horseshoe Bend. More than that, he was a friend and follower of Andrew Jackson and Jackson's political star was rising rapidly.

As a Jackson man, Houston was twice elected to Congress. In 1827 Houston was elected governor of Tennessee, the year before Jackson won the Presidency. At the age of 34 his future was indeed bright. Governor of Tennessee and a favorite of Jackson, he was already talked of as the man to succeed Jackson at Washington.

While he was governor, Houston married. Three months later his wife left him. Neither of them ever gave the reasons. Shaken by this event, Houston resigned his governorship and left to rejoin his old tribe of Cherokees, then living in Oklahoma. For six years he lived

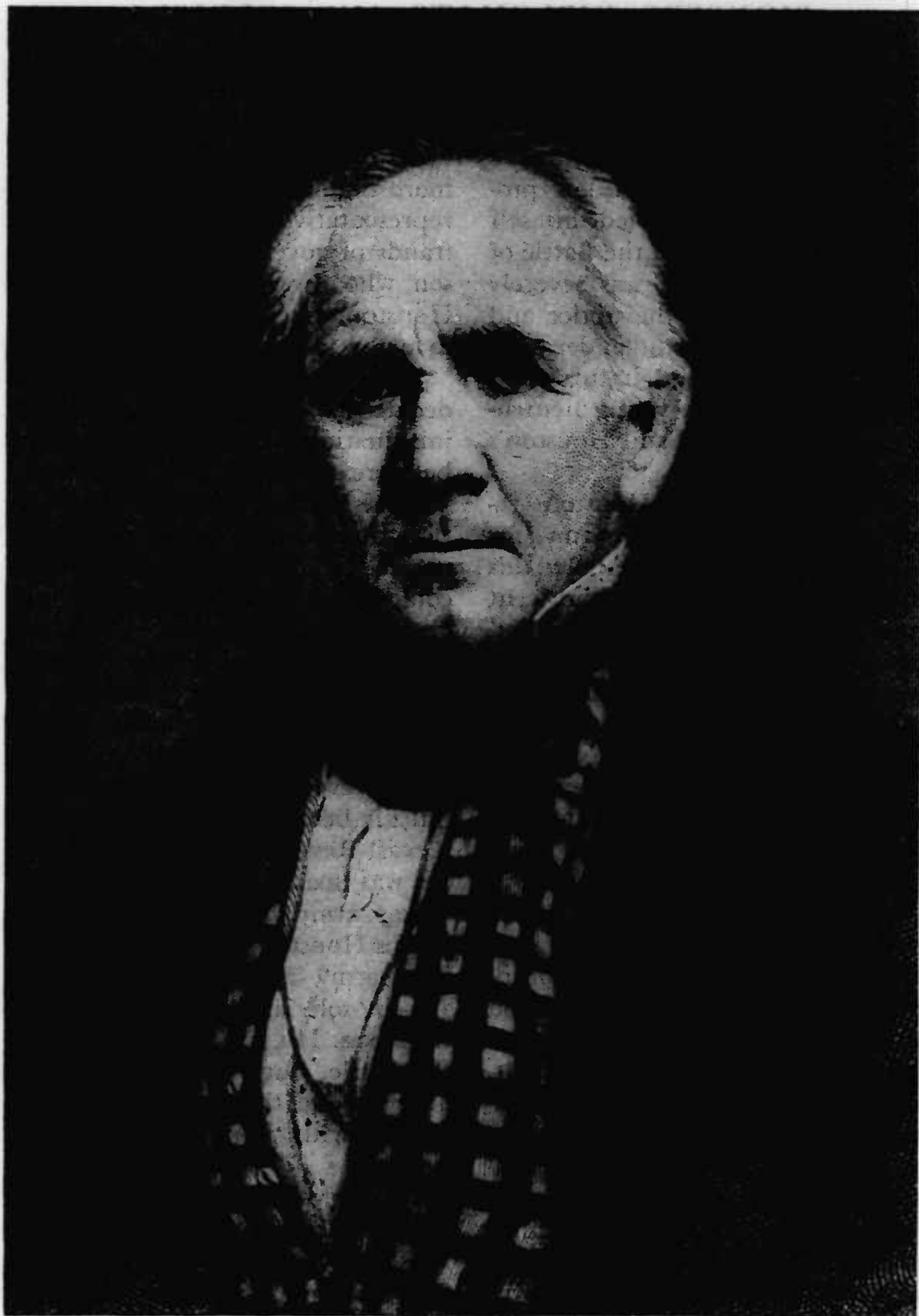
with them as a trader, adviser, and peacemaker.

While living with the Cherokees, Houston appeared in Washington more than once. He came as their representative to protest against the frauds of government agents. Jackson, who always kept in touch with Houston, asked him to go to Texas to make treaties with the Indians.

Sam Houston liked Texas and decided to remain there. He had imagination and saw that it would be a great country. Texas was then part of Mexico, but American settlers were already moving into the region in large numbers. Houston could see that American immigrants would soon be dissatisfied with Mexican rule. He believed that war would then come, and he was never a man to avoid excitement or danger.

Wherever Houston went, he quickly became a leader. When the Texas Revolution started (1836), he was made commander of the Texas army. At the head of his troops Houston destroyed the Mexican army at San Jacinto (San' Jah-sin'-toh) and ended their rule in Texas. His leg was shattered in the battle, but Houston recovered and became the hero of the new nation with its flag of a single star.

**LEADER OF THE LONE STAR STATE.** Just as Americans had turned to Washington, so the Texans elected Sam Houston as their first president. Like Washington, Houston found the problems of starting a new nation very difficult. The Texas republic was heavily in debt. Mexico would not recognize her independ-



**Sam Houston**, hero of the Texan Revolution, governor of Texas and Senator of the United States, as he looked in his later years. A born leader, Houston played an important part in the early history of the Lone Star State. (The Bettmann Archive)

ence and clashes on the border were frequent.

Houston served twice as president of Texas. His first problem was to win recognition of Texan independence from the United States and other nations. Houston's old friend, Andrew Jackson, hesitated. Finally, at the very end of his second term, Jackson advised Congress to send a minister. Other nations followed our lead. Then Houston bent his efforts to bringing Texas into the United States.

After Texas had been an independent state for nine years, she joined the United States. Houston was immediately elected one of the Senators from the new state. He remained Senator for 13 years during the stormy period before the War Between the States. Houston had worked long and hard to bring Texas into the Union. In the Senate he fought just as hard to hold the Union together.

Houston's stand was not popular with the majority of Texans and he failed of re-election. But Sam Houston was still a power in his own state. Returning to Texas, he ran for governor and was elected. As governor he tried his best to keep Texas in the Union, but failed. Then he dreamed of a new independent Texas.

Texas was strong for the Confederacy and gave more men to the southern army than any other state except Virginia. But this made little difference in its feelings toward Houston. He was the father of Texas independence; his hand had guided the state during the first difficult years. When he died in the

midst of the war, Sam Houston was still the hero of the Lone Star state.

**The Texas revolution creates the Lone Star state.** Let us now turn back and tell in more detail the story of the Texas revolution. Only a handful of Mexicans and Indians lived in the vast region of Texas when American immigrants first moved in. More than 30,000 Americans, however, had entered by the time of the revolution. From the beginning these immigrants found it difficult to live under Mexican rule.

Americans in Texas faced many problems. They found themselves part of a nation which spoke a different language and followed a different form of religion. Hard feelings arose over problems of taxation and customs duties between Texas and the United States. Texas demanded home rule, but was refused. These and other difficulties led to rebellion.

As soon as Texas declared her independence, a Mexican army under General Santa Anna moved northward to crush the rebellion (see map, page 189). At San Antonio he found less than 200 Texans ready to defend the town from the Alamo, an old fortified mission. "I shall never surrender or retreat," wrote Colonel Travis to the new Texan government. When the Mexican troops carried the Alamo by assault after a siege of eleven days, only six wounded defenders were still alive. Upon promise that their lives would be spared, they surrendered. Santa Anna ordered them shot as rebels.

In the face of Santa Anna's large army, General Houston believed it wise to retreat. Finally, when he had drawn the Mexicans into an unfavorable position at the San Jacinto River, he turned on them. With the cry "Remember the Alamo," his troops destroyed the Mexican army and captured Santa Anna.

San Jacinto won independence for the Texans. After that battle Mexico never seriously tried to win back the territory. Nevertheless, Mexico refused to recognize the freedom of the new state. Texas, as we have pointed out, was weak and heavily in debt. She needed the help and backing of a stronger nation. Above all, she desired to join the United States.

If Texas had not been a slave region, annexation would have come sooner. Northerners, opposed to slavery, prevented it for nine years. The question became a political issue and was finally fought out in the election of 1844. The victory of Polk and the Democrats brought Texas into the Union as the twenty-eighth state (see maps, pages 180, 189).

**Annexation of Texas brings a war with Mexico.** Mexico had threatened war, if the United States should annex Texas. As soon as it was done, Mexico recalled her minister and broke off relations. The war, however, did not come until a year later and then it started over a boundary line dispute. Texas claimed all the land as far west and south as the Rio Grande. Mexico, which had not even recognized

Texas independence, naturally opposed this claim.

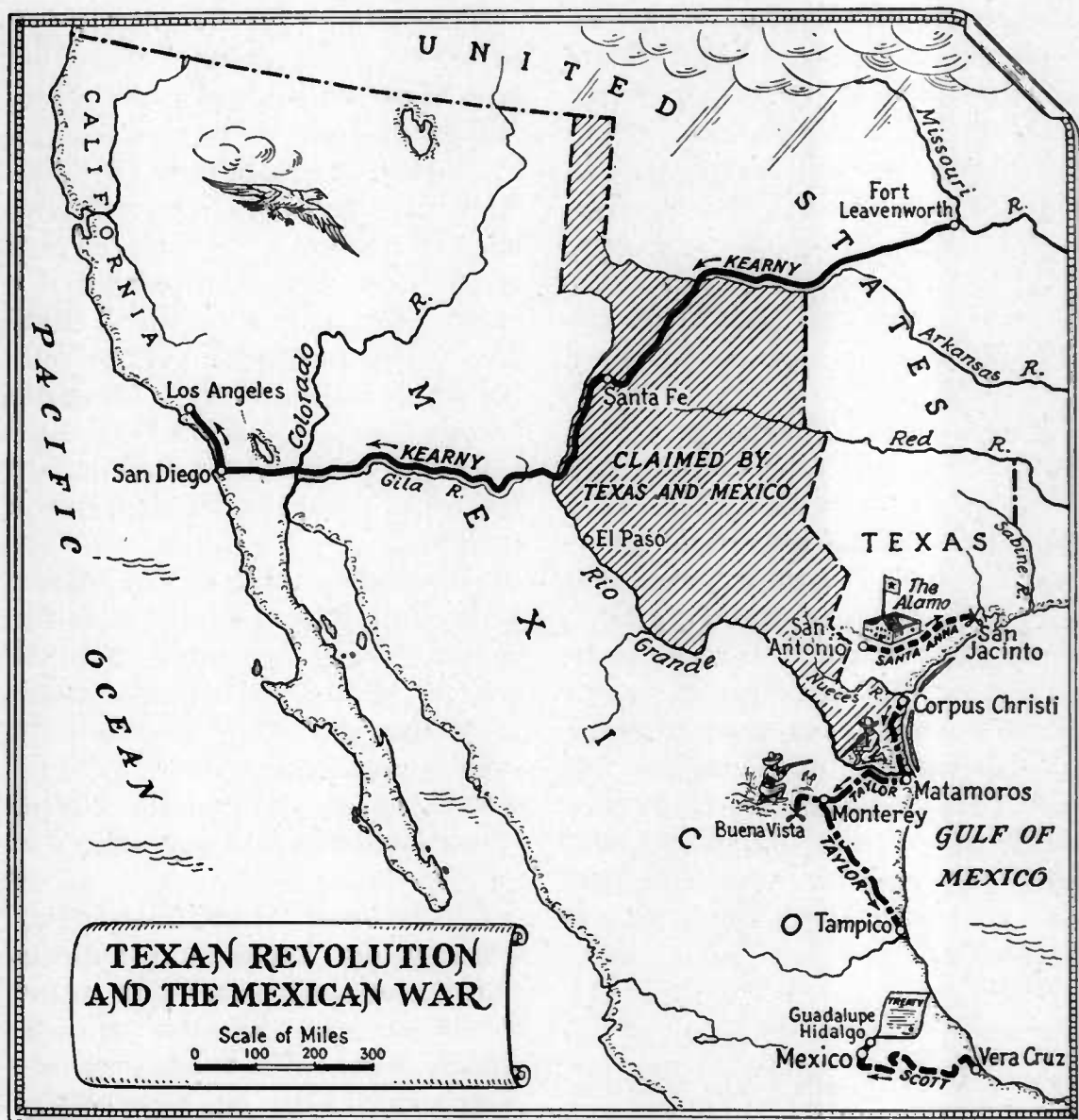
Now that Texas was part of the United States, President Polk believed that we must support the claims of Texas. He ordered General Zachary Taylor to move his troops into the disputed region. Shortly after, a force of Mexicans crossed the Rio Grande, attacked a company of Americans, and killed or captured them. President Polk immediately demanded war. The Mexicans, he insisted, had "invaded our territory and shed American blood on American soil."

Congress declared war, and General Taylor moved into northern Mexico. President Polk, however, decided correctly that Mexico could not be conquered from the north. Another expedition was planned to land at Vera Cruz and march overland to Mexico City. Orders were sent to Taylor to send half of his force to join the new expedition under the leadership of General Winfield Scott (see map, page 189).

Taylor, with his tiny army of 5,000, could do little but hang on to the few towns he had captured in northern Mexico. Knowing his weakness, General Santa Anna gathered together an army and moved northward to crush him. Taylor's army, outnumbered four to one, gave battle at Buena Vista. Santa Anna was decisively defeated and Taylor was left undisturbed until the end of the war.

While Taylor was fighting in northern Mexico, Colonel Stephen Kearny set out from Fort Leavenworth on the Missouri River to conquer the Southwest. New Mexico





was taken without a blow. Then Kearny pushed on from Santa Fe with only 100 men to conquer California. When he arrived, he found that American settlers had already started a revolution and taken over the government.

In the meantime, General Scott and his army had landed near Vera Cruz. Following the route of Cortés, they began the 250-mile march to Mexico City. The Mexicans fought bravely in many battles, but were gradually pushed back and de-

feated. Six months after Scott's army had captured Vera Cruz, it marched into Mexico City and the war was over.

**Treaties with Mexico round out our borders.** When the United States went to war with Mexico, we hoped to win the great Southwest. We had tried to purchase this region, but failed. The defeat of Mexico now made it possible. By the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (Gwah-dah-loo'-pay Ee-dahl'-go)

Mexico not only recognized the independence of Texas but ceded a large territory to the United States. This included all of the present California, Nevada, and Utah, and parts of New Mexico, Arizona, Wyoming, and Colorado (see map, page 180). In return we paid \$15,000,000 and agreed to take over any claims our citizens might have against Mexico.

The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo did not end our trouble with Mexico. The line west of the Rio Grande remained uncertain. Moreover, engineers had discovered that the only good southern railroad route to the Pacific was in Mexican territory. Our government sent James Gadsden as minister to Mexico with instructions to purchase this land. Mexico agreed to sell, and the southern portions of Arizona and New Mexico were added in 1853 (see map, page 180). The price was \$10,000,000.

### *We Plant Our Flag in the Arctic Regions . . . . .*

**We buy Alaska from Russia.** The United States had expanded rapidly since the end of the Revolution. It had added Louisiana, Florida, Texas, Oregon, the Southwest, and the region purchased by Gadsden. The original territory had almost tripled. It stretched across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Most Americans believed that the days of expansion were ended and that there was enough land to satisfy our needs for all time.

The nation was completely surprised when Secretary of State William H. Seward signed a treaty with Russia in 1867 to buy Alaska for \$7,200,000 (see map, page 191). Few Americans had the slightest knowledge of Alaska. They thought of it as an Arctic region suited only for polar bears and Esquimaux Indians. Newspapers ridiculed the country as "Seward's Folly," "Seward's Icebox," and "Johnson's Polar Bear Garden." It looked for a while as if the treaty would be laughed out of existence.

How did we come to buy Alaska? First of all, Russia wanted to sell it. It was costing her more than she got out of it. Furthermore, Russia knew that she would lose it if she ever got into war with Great Britain. She preferred that the United States should have it and offered to sell.

Unlike most Americans, Seward knew about Alaska and believed that it would be wise for us to buy it. When the Russian minister called at Seward's house one evening and said that the Czar of Russia was willing to sell, Seward refused to wait until the next day to draw up the treaty. "Gather together your assistants by midnight," said Seward, "and I will be waiting at the State Department to go to work." By four o'clock the next morning the treaty was put into final form and signed.

When President Johnson sent the treaty to the Senate, Seward had to use every argument to win approval. He gathered information to prove that Alaska was a valuable country. He pointed out that the



fishing and fur interests of the west coast wanted it. He insisted that it would promote trade with the Far East. He urged that we should buy it because Russia had been friendly to the North during the War Between the States. These and other arguments won the day and the Senate approved the treaty.

Alaska becomes important to the defense of the Western Hemisphere. The purchase of Alaska was a wise move. Its shores abound in fish, its mountains are covered with forests, its land is rich in gold, coal, and other minerals. It is true that few white Americans have gone there to settle; the white population in 1940 was only about 40,000. Nevertheless, Alaska has sent to the United States over ten billion dollars' worth of products since we bought it. This is an amount more than 1300 times its original cost.

Even if Alaska had never returned a cent to this country, its purchase was wise. The Aleutian Islands of Alaska stretch out into the Pacific almost to the shores of Asia (see map, above). Their possession is absolutely necessary for the defense of the Western Hemisphere. Any enemy holding Alaska would easily attack the United States in an age of air fighting.

Knowing their importance, Japan early in the Second World War established bases in the Aleutians. The United States replied by sending armed forces to Alaska and building airports in many parts of the country. Then she built a long military road, the Alaska-Canadian Highway, to supply the troops and airports. In 1943 the last Japs were driven from the Aleutians. Alaska is now one of the most important parts of America's first line of defense in the Pacific.

**WHAT DO THEY MEAN?**

Show that you understand the meaning or historical importance of these words or terms by using each in a sentence. When possible give an example.

- |                   |                     |                      |
|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Cumberland Gap | 4. annex            | 7. Mexican Cession   |
| 2. siege          | 5. joint occupation | 8. "Seward's Icebox" |
| 3. cede           | 6. "54-40 or Fight" | 9. Aleutian Islands  |

**WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?**

- 1803:* We doubled our territory. What was the real estate deal?  
*1819:* We rounded out a boundary. Where?  
*1836:* Sixty years after the American Revolution came this revolution. A lone star flag went up. Where?  
*1845:* A republic joins the United States. What is it?  
*1846:* We rounded out our Northwest. What is the addition?  
*1848:* In the Southwest we also reach the Pacific. What is the land?  
*1853:* It offered a pass for a future railroad. What is this area called?  
*1867:* The far-sighted saw its value. What is the distant region?

**CAN YOU FIND THE ANSWERS TO THESE?**

1. Why are pioneers like Daniel Boone thought of as men of very great courage?
2. Using the map on page 180, indicate the boundaries of the United States as a result of the Treaty of 1783. Why was Florida not included in our territory at this time?
3. Why did Jefferson wish to buy New Orleans from the French, and why did Napoleon sell the entire Louisiana Territory?
4. Can you give at least four reasons why we bought Florida?
5. Name five American leaders who were early interested in the Oregon country. What did each do?
6. Why was there a serious dispute over the Oregon boundary? How was it settled?
7. What kinds of work did Sam Houston try before going back to live with the Indians a second time?
8. Why is Sam Houston a Texan hero?
9. "Remember the Alamo" is a famous war cry. What led to the Alamo and what were the results?
10. What was the immediate cause of the Mexican War? The map on page 189 will help you.
11. Using the map on page 180, describe the boundaries of the territory secured from Mexico in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.
12. What evidence is there that our purchase of Alaska from Russia was a wise move on our part?
13. *Summary Question:* From 1783 to 1867 the boundaries of the United States mainland changed upon eight important occasions. Beginning with 1783, name the additions, tell how each was secured, and give the chief reason for each.



# Chapter 11. *Courageous Settlers* *Move into the Heart of the* *Continent . . . . .*

*Under the heading "Information" a notice was printed in January, 1786, in several Massachusetts newspapers. It was addressed particularly to veterans of the Revolution calling their attention to the fact that Congress had granted them lands in the Ohio country.*

*The notice urged veterans and others interested in settling Ohio to assemble by counties and elect delegates to meet in March at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in Boston. At that time they would organize "The Ohio Company" to undertake the settlement. The call was signed by Generals Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper, two men who had won distinction during the war and were highly respected in Massachusetts.*

*When the delegates met they listened to glowing reports of the western country. Then they formed the Ohio Company to raise money to finance the migration and to secure from Congress a block of land in southeastern Ohio. Among the directors elected was the Reverend Manasseh Cutler who was to represent them before Congress.*

*Cutler was not only an able minister but also a good politician. He quickly interested Congress in his proposition and helped their committee draw up a plan for the government of the Northwest Territory. Finally he made a deal to buy 1,500,000 acres of land for about eight cents an acre.*

*In the autumn of 1787 General Putnam was appointed superintendent and set to work to enlist carpenters, blacksmiths, surveyors, farmers, and other workers. The first group of settlers set out in November and wintered about 30 miles south of Pittsburgh. There they made preparations for the spring and built the May Flower to carry them down river to the new settlement.*

*When the ice broke in April they floated down to the Monongahela and Ohio rivers to the spot where the Muskingum River joins the Ohio. On the banks of the Muskingum opposite Fort Harmar they made their landing. There they founded Marietta, the first town to be settled in Ohio.*



**"Go West, Young Man, Go West" . . . . .**

**Families move to the West for greater opportunities.** Americans have always been a westward-moving people. No sooner were Jamestown and Plymouth founded than the march toward the West began. By the time of the Revolution settlers had covered the coastal plains and the foothills of the Alleghenies. Then they pushed through the mountain passes into the great valley of the Mississippi.

Opportunities lay toward the west. This is the main reason why Americans kept moving toward the setting sun. When new immigrants came from Europe, they found the land in the East taken up. Most immigrants wanted land and they wanted to be independent. There was nothing for them to do but move on to the frontier.

Not only the new immigrants went west, but also many who had been born here. Families were large and the farm could not support all of the children when they grew up. One of the boys might stay on the family farm, but the others must make their way in the world. It was natural for them to turn their eyes to the frontier where land was plentiful and cheap.

It was the small pioneer farmer who cleared the wilderness and broke the land for cultivation. He made it possible for the region to develop and for others to come. He was the backbone of the frontier settlements. But there were many others besides farmers who went to

the new country. Skilled workmen, merchants, and tavern keepers saw opportunities in the rising villages and towns. The new West needed ministers, lawyers, teachers, and other professional men. Like a magnet the West drew all kinds of people searching for a new and better life.

Many other reasons led Americans to move to the *frontier*, that is, to the fringe of new settlements. Some had failed and wanted a new start in life. Others were discontented with conditions in the East. The West was more democratic. A man was judged for his real worth, not for his family connections, his education, or his wealth. Opportunities were everywhere and it was easier to rise in life.

**Europeans and Easterners build homes in the Mississippi Valley.** At the end of the Revolution, only a handful of white men lived west of the Alleghenies. Most of these were in the new settlements of Kentucky and Tennessee. With the end of the war, however, the situation changed rapidly. By the thousands and then by the tens of thousands easterners and European emigrants poured each year into the region west of the mountains.

The movement began, as we have pointed out, in the late 1780's when a group of Revolutionary veterans, led by General Putnam, founded Marietta on the Ohio River. Shortly after, another band of settlers from New Jersey settled Cincinnati farther down the river. A third group from Connecticut built their cabins at Cleveland on Lake Erie.

Although New Englanders founded Marietta and Cleveland, most of the settlers in the Old Northwest (the region north of the Ohio) came from elsewhere. In these early years New England was busy settling western New York. Ohio was peopled largely by pioneers from the Middle States. Most of the settlers in Indiana and Illinois came from the South.

The region south of the Ohio, the Old Southwest, was peopled almost entirely from the southern states of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. The first wave of immigrants was composed of the typical small farmer who cleared the forest and prepared the way. Then came the cotton planters with their slaves in search of better land. The first settlers often sold out to the newcomers and then moved farther west or north of the Ohio.

Few immigrants from Europe settled in the South. They believed that they could not compete with the large plantations and slave labor. Because of this, most of them settled in the Old Northwest, a region of small farms and free labor.

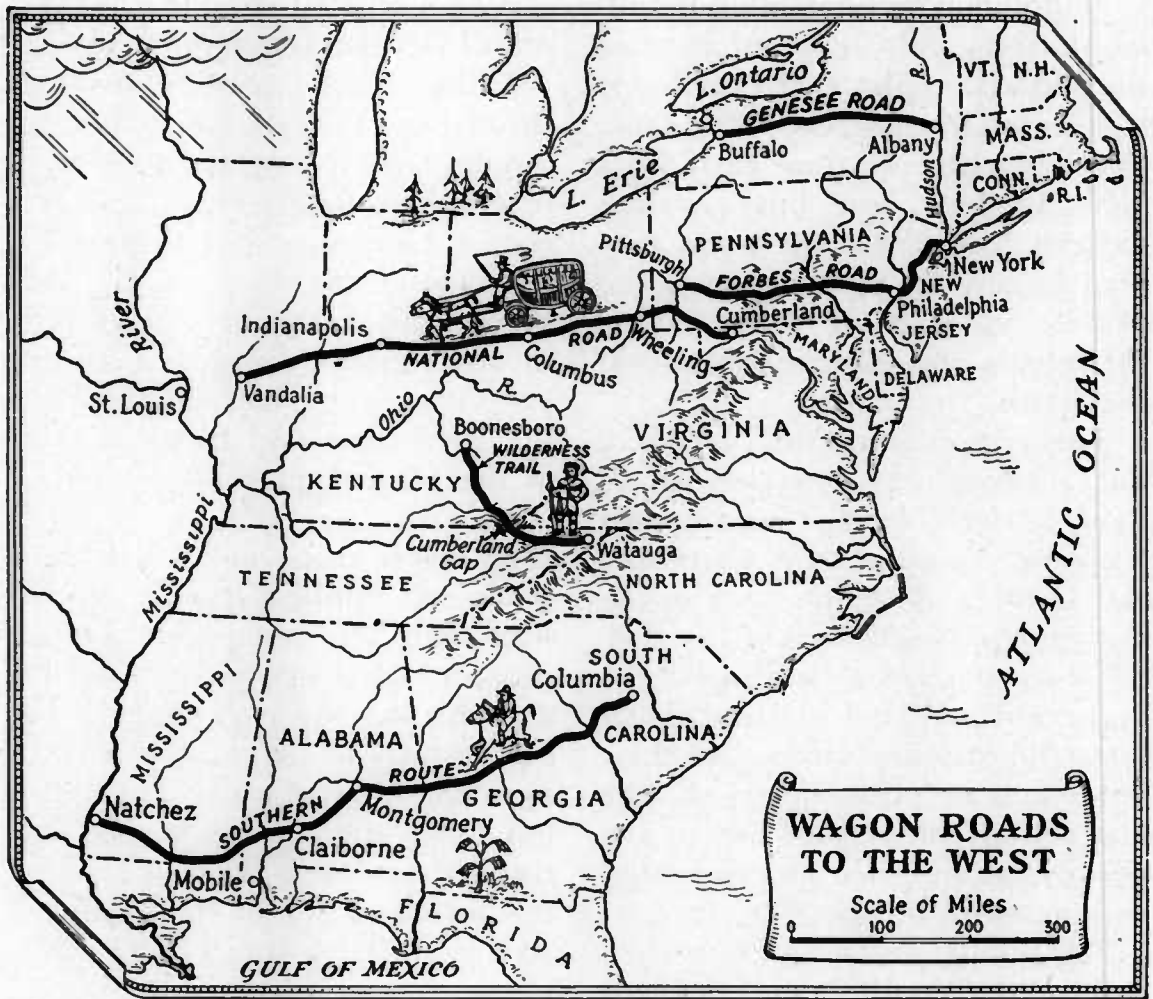
Most of the immigrants who came to America in the 1800's were Irish, German, or Scandinavian. Of these three groups, only the Irish stayed mainly in the East. The Germans, the Swedes, and the Norwegians, on the other hand, set out for the West to take up land. The Germans soon formed an important part of the population of all the states of the Old Northwest, and also of Wisconsin and Missouri. Cincinnati, Chicago, Milwaukee,

and St. Louis all became great centers of German immigrants.

Unlike the Germans who spread throughout the Old Northwest, the Swedes and Norwegians went at first mainly to Michigan and Wisconsin. Later they moved into Minnesota and the Dakotas. In 1860 there were 4,000,000 foreign-born in this country. Along with the easterners, they had helped clear the wilderness and break the sod of the Mississippi Valley.

**Over rivers, roads, and canals thousands of families travel wearily westward.** The first problem of the pioneer was to get to the new land, and this was no easy matter. The early routes to the west were little more than Indian trails. These were not good enough for wagons and the first pioneers traveled on foot, on horseback, or in some kind of river craft. Even travel by river was not very practical, until the settlers could get across the mountains and float down the streams.

The first important route to the west was the Wilderness Trail blazed by Daniel Boone through the Cumberland Gap near the point where Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee meet (see map, page 196). Along this route went most of the early pioneers into Kentucky and Tennessee. South of the Appalachians another road went westward to Mobile, Alabama, and Natchez on the Mississippi. North of the Cumberland Gap were two roads cut during the French and Indian War, one from Cumberland, Maryland, to Pittsburgh and one from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh.



During the early 1800's Pittsburgh was the great gateway to the west. If the settlers could get across the mountains to that point, the rest of the journey was much easier. Pittsburgh was a frontier town where the settlers could buy tools and other things needed on the new farm. From Pittsburgh the settlers could sail down the Ohio River on rafts or some kind of river boat to their new homes. Many rivers flowed into the Ohio from either the north or the south, and good land could be found on these rivers.

In later years the federal government helped build an excellent road from Cumberland, Maryland,

to Wheeling, West Virginia, and then westward across Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. This National Road, as it was called, was good enough for wagons. The settlers then began to travel in covered wagons and were able to move more comfortably and to take more things with them (see the map, above).

A road was gradually pushed westward in New York state from Albany to Buffalo. In the 1820's the state built a canal along this same route. This was so successful that Pennsylvania built a series of canals westward to Pittsburgh. Then Ohio built canals to connect Lake Erie

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**ILLINOIS, the Garden State of America.**

A railroad advertisement published to persuade settlers to purchase land in Illinois. The government gave land to railroad companies to encourage them to build. The railroads then sold it to settlers. This brought in money to build the railroads, and also peopled the country and provided for future business. (*Harper's Weekly*)

with the Ohio River. It was now possible to move west on canal boats, a way of travel much easier than the covered wagon.

Moving westward was a difficult task. Despite the improvement in roads and the building of canals, moving to the West was never easy. First of all, careful preparations must be made for the journey. What could a family take with them and what must they leave behind? In the early days few things could be bought on the frontier. The settlers had to drive their cattle and other livestock with them. Even after the roads were good enough for wagons, it was not possible to take much. If the family had room for food, some clothing, a few farm

tools, and one or two pieces of household furniture, they were lucky.

At best the journey took weeks. Settlers going to Oregon and California took months. As the pioneers lived mostly in the open, their comfort depended largely on good weather. There was often real danger from wild animals and Indians. Sickness, lack of food, and other hardships often increased the suffering.

One difficulty in settling the West is sometimes forgotten. This was the expense of moving and establishing a farm. Since the journey to the new home was long, the preparation and the journey itself were costly. When the pioneer arrived in the new country, he usually had



to buy his land. Then somehow he had to support himself until the first crops were harvested. Most pioneers were poor men. Either they spent a long time in saving money for the move or else they borrowed it. The average pioneer faced financial worries as well as the normal hardships of the frontier.

### *Blood, Sweat and Tears Go into the Building of the Frontier . . . . .*

**John Pioneer carves out a farm in the New West.** The first job of the pioneer when he reached the frontier was to pick out his land. Most important of all were good water and an abundance of wood for buildings, fences, and fuel. The pioneer took it for granted that if there were large trees, the soil would be fertile. If possible, he wanted his farm near a river so that he could more easily transport his products to the market.

Having picked out his land, his next task was to build a shelter for his family. In a wooded area he cut logs of the right size and notched them at each end so that they would fit together. The roof he made with split logs, shingles, or anything that would keep out the rain. Openings between logs were filled with clay.

These first log cabins were crude affairs. In his haste to get up a shelter, the settler often did not bother with a fireplace, windows, or even a wood floor. As he had time, he would add these luxuries and build a loft for the family to sleep in.

Later he might build other rooms and shelter for his livestock. Windows were a problem on the frontier, for glass was scarce and expensive.

John Pioneer next turned to his crops. First he cleared away the underbrush and girdled or cut deep rings around the trees to kill them. This let the sun through so that the corn planted around the trees would grow. Later, as he had time, he cut the trees down, but left the stumps to decay. Vegetables were planted in small cleared patches. The cattle, hogs, and horses could easily pick up enough food for themselves during most of the year. If John Pioneer was industrious and fortunate, he was able by the third or fourth year to produce surplus products for sale.

The early frontier farmer avoided the prairies. He was certain he could not get along without wood for fuel, fencing, and buildings. Moreover, he believed that land without trees was not fertile. Later on he discovered that the prairie soil might be very fertile and then he moved in.

On the prairie the settler did not have to clear forests, but he did have to break the tough sod. He did this by cutting holes in it with his axe to raise his first crop of corn. Without wood, he often built his first home with blocks of sod. The problem of lack of wood was never solved until he could bring in lumber, coal, and wire fencing from the outside.

**Mary Pioneer and the children labor by his side.** The march to the





A typical sod house of the early pioneering days in Nebraska. Some of the family seem to be dressed up for the picture. Judging from the pumpkin and squash, the season must be autumn. If the team of horses and the load of sod are really on the roof of the shed, it must have been a strong roof. (Nebraska State Historical Society)

West was not only a job of clearing the land and raising crops. It was also one of creating homes. Many of the pioneers were single men who went west alone to build a house and start their farms. Then they returned to marry the girl of their choice and bring her to the new country. Others were newly married couples who started the adventure together. Still others were families with children. No matter how the start was made, each frontier soon became a region of homes.

Mary Pioneer was the center of the new home. With her husband she did her part in turning the dense forests or lonely prairies into settled and civilized communities. Her work was much the same as that she had done before she came to the frontier, except that it was done under more crude and diffi-

cult conditions. Instead of living in a comfortable home, she must live in the early years in a rough cabin or sod house. Instead of using a stove, she must cook in the open on a newly built fireplace.

Even if one had money, stores were far away. When kitchen utensils broke, they were hard to replace. Clothing must be made from homespun cloth and buckskin. The farm or forest had to supply about everything that was needed. Luxuries were unknown; all was crude and plain and hopelessly ugly.

When the frontier was new, schools and churches were few. Mothers saw their children grow up with little or no education or religious instruction. To many this was an experience as bitter as physical hardship. Doctors were as rare as schoolteachers and ministers.

Children were born without medical assistance or physician's care. Moreover, the physical hardships of the frontier were so great that many broke under the strain. Home remedies were of little or no value. Many of the pioneers, particularly children, died.

One of the great hardships of frontier life was utter loneliness. Neighbors were few or faraway. The men were often absent on hunting trips or on work that brought them in contact with other settlers or took them to distant towns. The women were tied to their homes by small children and poor means of travel. Alone they faced real dangers, including attacks by bands of Indians.

**From groups of these pioneer families grow towns and cities.** For most pioneers the harsh conditions of frontier life lasted only a few years. If the land was good and the settler was industrious, he could soon build a better house and equip it with the comforts of older communities. Likewise, if the land was fertile, other settlers moved in around him and he was no longer alone in the new land.

As more and more settlers moved in, villages and towns grew up to supply the needs of the pioneers. These towns usually appeared where settlers were thickest or at some important point on a route of travel or commerce. A likely spot was where two roads crossed or where an important road met a river suitable for commerce.

The first business building of a new town was usually the cabin of

a storekeeper. If the town was on a river it might be a grist mill. Here the nearby farmers would come to buy their supplies or have their corn or wheat ground into flour. Soon a tavern or boarding house was established for the occasional traveler or for the farmers who came to town.

With this start, it was not long before other pioneers would come, particularly if the region seemed prosperous. A blacksmith and other skilled workers would follow the storekeeper, mill owner and tavern keeper. Then might appear a schoolmaster, a minister, and a doctor. It was not long before the little community became the commercial center of the region.

Farmers came to town to supply their needs. The town in turn developed as it was able to meet these needs. If the town was well located, its future was bright. This was particularly true if, in later years, a railroad passed through it. In this way thousands of American villages, towns, and cities grew up.

### *The White Man and the Red Man Fight It Out on the Frontier . . . . .*

**Every frontier is a battleground.** We have described the frontier as the most advanced line or fringe of new settlements. Such lines did not stand still. As each region was settled, pioneers pushed out to form a new frontier. Each new frontier had to meet many of the same problems faced by earlier frontiers.



An Indian Attack on a Stage Coach was one of the dangers of early western traveling. Regular stage travel was established between Missouri and California years before the Great Plains were inhabited except by Indians. (*Harper's Weekly*)

Among these was the danger from Indians.

Before the white man came to America, probably a million Indians occupied the region north of Mexico. Some of these Indians, particularly those on the Great Plains of the West, lived largely from hunting. The tribes living on the plains, for example, obtained their food, their clothing, and the skins to build their wigwams almost entirely from the buffalo.

Most Indians, however, were farmers as well as hunters. Like the white man, they raised corn and other foods on their plots of land and the tribes lived in little villages. Whether they were farmers or hunters or both, the Indians needed land, if they were to live. As the white man pushed in, he took the best land. When enough white men had settled a new region, the game disappeared. Then the Indians could neither farm nor hunt. Naturally they fought back to keep their land.

Each new frontier had to be won from the Indians and each frontier had its battlegrounds. Indian wars began soon after the first settlers arrived at Jamestown. More than 250 years later the last battles were being fought on the western plains. In the last chapter we told of the bitter struggle of the first settlers in Kentucky with the Indians during the Revolution. These wars were always worse when the Indians were aided or directed by the French or the British. Even when there were no wars, settlers on the lonely frontiers were in danger of Indian attacks.

During 250 years many battles, large and small, were fought with the Indians. None, perhaps, is more famous than "Custer's last stand." In 1876 Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer was ordered into southern Montana to break up a large band of unfriendly Sioux (Soo) and Cheyenne (Shy-en') Indians. After discovering them near the Little Big Horn River, he divided his regiment into three parts and prepared to attack from three directions. The Indians in greatly superior numbers drove back two detachments and then fell upon Custer and his 264 men. Outnumbered by at least ten to one and unaided by the other detachments of his regiment, Custer and his force were destroyed to the last man.

**The defeated Indian is forced back on to reservations.** Although the Indians might win battles like that at Little Big Horn, they always lost in the long run. Each defeat usually meant a treaty with the United States government in which they gave up claim to land, but were promised more further west. Then they moved westward again.

Before many years the westward-moving pioneers caught up with the Indians and again began to move into the Indian lands. The Indians would turn and try to drive them out. A new war, a new treaty, and again the Indians moved farther west. After the Louisiana Purchase the United States government decided to end further trouble east of the Mississippi by pushing the Indians into the newly bought territory. By promises of land, by





treaties, and in some cases by force this was finally done.

Pushing the Indians west of the Mississippi did not solve the problem. White settlers still followed them and the government continued to take away their land. Beginning in the 1880's the government attempted to break up the tribes by persuading the Indians to take up individual pieces of land and farm them like the white man. Indians who did this might become American citizens. The policy was not successful. The Indians preferred to

live as members of tribes on reservations or land set aside for them. The government policy seemed to them just another way of taking their land.

During the Presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt this policy was changed. The government no longer tried to break up the tribes and cut up the reservations. It now sought to preserve the tribes and the reservations and promote tribal ownership of land. It encouraged the Indians to adopt constitutions and set up local self-government.



Congress also granted funds to promote education and economic improvement. Today most of the 334,000 Indians in the United States live on reservations supervised by the Department of the Interior (see map, page 203).

Many famous Indian fighters have appeared in the long years of warfare with the white invaders. But, given an opportunity, many Indians have also proved their ability in peaceful pursuits. Among such Indians is Francis La Flesche, author and student of Indian life and for many years a member of the United States Bureau of Ethnology. Among important Indians at work today is Henry Roe Cloud, a Sioux, who is a graduate of Yale. He is superintendent of Haskell Institute and the leading expert in Indian education.

### *Canada Has Her Frontier to Conquer . . . . .*

**Fur traders push Canada's frontier to the north and the west.** The fur trade has always played a more important part in the history of Canada than in the United States. During the colonial period, when France ruled Canada, furs were almost the only export from the colony. Competition for the fur trade was a principal cause for the wars in America between the French and English settlers.

This rivalry for furs existed not only in the region of the Great Lakes and the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, but also in the area

around Hudson Bay. In 1670 the British king granted a charter to the Hudson's Bay Company giving it all the lands drained by waters flowing into Hudson Bay and, of course, a right to all of the fur trade. Since France also claimed this land, there was bitter warfare between the fur traders of the Hudson's Bay Company and those of France.

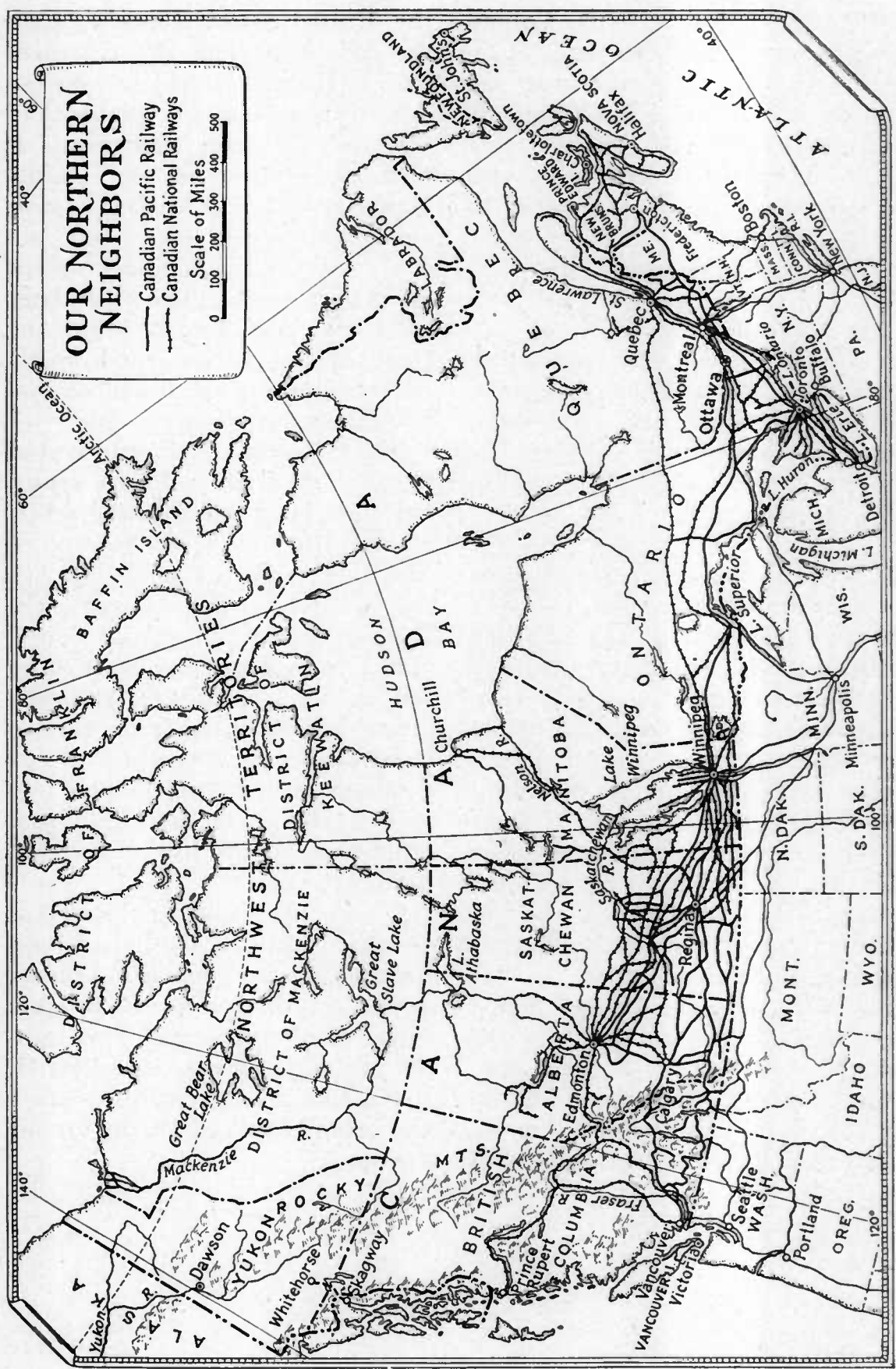
After England finally conquered Canada, the Hudson's Bay Company controlled practically all of the Canadian fur trade. This situation, however, did not last long. A new group of traders, the North-West Company, was organized. The new company was more active and more interested in exploration than the older one. Explorers and fur men of the North-West Company first crossed the Canadian Rockies, explored the western region of Canada and collected furs in the Oregon country.

Of these explorers three stand out, men as famous in Canadian history as Lewis and Clark in United States history. The first of these was Alexander Mackenzie, who discovered and explored to the Arctic the great Mackenzie River. Later, he crossed the Rockies and reached the Pacific, undoubtedly the first white man to cross the northern part of the continent. Another great fur man was Simon Fraser, who discovered the Fraser River and followed it almost to the sea (see map, page 205). One of the greatest of Canadian explorers was David Thompson. He surveyed many parts of Canada and was the first man to make a detailed survey

# OUR NORTHERN NEIGHBORS

— Canadian Pacific Railway  
— Canadian National Railways

Scale of Miles  
0 100 200 300 400 500



of the region drained by the Columbia River and its branches.

So bitter was competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company that it led to open war. Finally the two companies decided it was better to join forces, and the North-West Company disappeared. Until 1869, the Hudson's Bay Company not only controlled the fur trade, but it actually governed the larger part of Canada. All of Canada except the eastern settled provinces was leased to the company. For 200 years the fur trade played the leading part in the life of Canada.

**Farmers follow to open the great wheat farms of the West.** Canada's westward movement is much like that of the United States. Until the 1850's most white settlers in Canada lived near the eastern seacoast or along the St. Lawrence River. Few had located farther westward than the northern shores of Lake Erie. When American frontiersmen jumped the Great Plains and settled California and Oregon, we find Canadians also starting settlements around Vancouver Sound.

Canada, like the United States, was eager to join her eastern settlements with those on the west coast. Shortly after the Union and Central Pacific Railroads united to make the first transcontinental railway in

the United States, Canada began the construction of the Canadian Pacific. It was planned to join the eastern provinces of Quebec and Ontario with the settlements at Vancouver. Just as the United States gave land, loaned money, and in other ways helped our railroads, so the Canadian government aided the Canadian Pacific. In later years she also helped build the Grand Trunk Pacific which finally became a part of the Canadian National System.

These railways not only linked together the east and west coasts, but they made possible the settlement of the great wheat country of Manitoba and Saskatchewan (see map, page 205). As railroads were built into this rich prairie, immigrants from Europe, eastern Canada, and the United States followed. Just as in the United States, the Canadian railroads advertised for settlers and the government gave free homesteads of 160 acres to actual settlers who would live on the land for three years.

Canada has a northern as well as a western frontier. Unlimited lumber resources and deposits of metal, as well as agricultural land, lure the white man northward. The frontier has passed in the United States. In Canada there remains a 3000-mile frontier still advancing toward the north.

## WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

Can you use these words and terms in a sentence, showing how they have special meaning in our push to the West?

- |                  |                   |                |
|------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 1. pioneer       | 4. Old Southwest  | 7. prairie     |
| 2. frontier      | 5. National Road  | 8. sod house   |
| 3. Old Northwest | 6. "girdle trees" | 9. reservation |

## WHY IS THIS A RED-LETTER YEAR?

1876: One hundred years after the Declaration of Independence the "original" Americans took a stand. What was the event and its importance?

## CAN YOU FIND THE ANSWERS TO THESE?

1. Name at least four reasons why Americans and others turned toward the West for a new start in life.
2. Many foreign-born people helped to settle the West. What were the two leading groups, and what part of the West did each settle?
3. Using the map on page 196, name and locate the five principal routes to the West.
4. Describe at least four problems which faced the family moving westward.
5. Show step by step how John Pioneer established himself on the frontier.
6. How did Mary Pioneer and the children help in making the frontier more livable?
7. Tell how a frontier town usually developed.
8. For what two main reasons did the Indians fight the westward advance of the white man?
9. What changes in policy did our government make in dealing with the Indians? Why?
10. Alexander Mackenzie, Simon Fraser, David Thompson were three great Canadian explorers. How many of these names do you find on the map of Canada, page 205? Where on the map?
11. In what ways are the Canadian West and our West much alike? How do they differ?
12. *Summary Question:* How and why was the frontier a series of regions that had to be "conquered"?

## Chapter 12. *The Moving Frontier Creates New Problems for the Peoples of America . . .*

*In 1839 a former Swiss army captain, John Augustus Sutter, landed in California. He became a Mexican citizen and took out a grant of 50,000 acres of land. On this grant he established a great estate called New Helvetia (New Switzerland) around the location of the present city of Sacramento.*

*At New Helvetia Sutter erected a ranch house of timber and adobe brick and guarded it with 12 cannon. He trapped for furs, grazed immense herds on his lands, built forges and shops, and carried on a lively trade. Sutter was on the way to becoming one of the richest and most powerful men in California.*

*One morning early in 1848 James Marshall, Sutter's boss carpenter, rushed into the fort at New Helvetia and threw on the table a handful of gold nuggets. He had found them on the American Fork of the Sacramento River where he was building a mill. Sutter did not take the discovery too seriously, but ordered Marshall to say nothing about it.*

*The news, however, quickly got out. Before many months thousands of gold-hungry men overran his property, stole his cattle, and disputed the title to his land. Instead of riches, gold brought only trouble to Sutter.*

*A ruined man, Sutter left California for the East. He sued unsuccessfully in the courts for the return of his land. Then he petitioned Congress for a grant to make up for what he had lost, but failed. California granted him a small pension, but it meant little to the man who had once been a leader in California.*



### *The Mining Frontier Lays the Foundation for Seven Mountain States . . . . .*

Gold is a magnet drawing thousands to California. The discovery of gold was the beginning of modern California. Before that the white population of California probably did not number more than 5,000. The centers were a few Catholic missions and three or four villages on or near the coast at San Francisco, Monterey, Los Angeles, San Diego, and elsewhere. The business of the country was mainly ranching carried on by great land-owners like Sutter with the aid of Indians and Mexicans.

Marshall discovered gold on January 24, 1848. Nine days later the United States signed the treaty with Mexico which gave us California and the Southwest. Congress ratified the treaty in March. Up to this time neither Mexico City nor Washington knew anything of the new discoveries. Not until the late spring and summer of 1848 did the news of California gold reach the outside world.

When the news got out, white settlers in Oregon and California deserted their farms and stores for the gold country. They were joined by others from Mexico. The miners of 1848 were few, however, compared to the stampede of fortune-seekers who reached California in 1849.

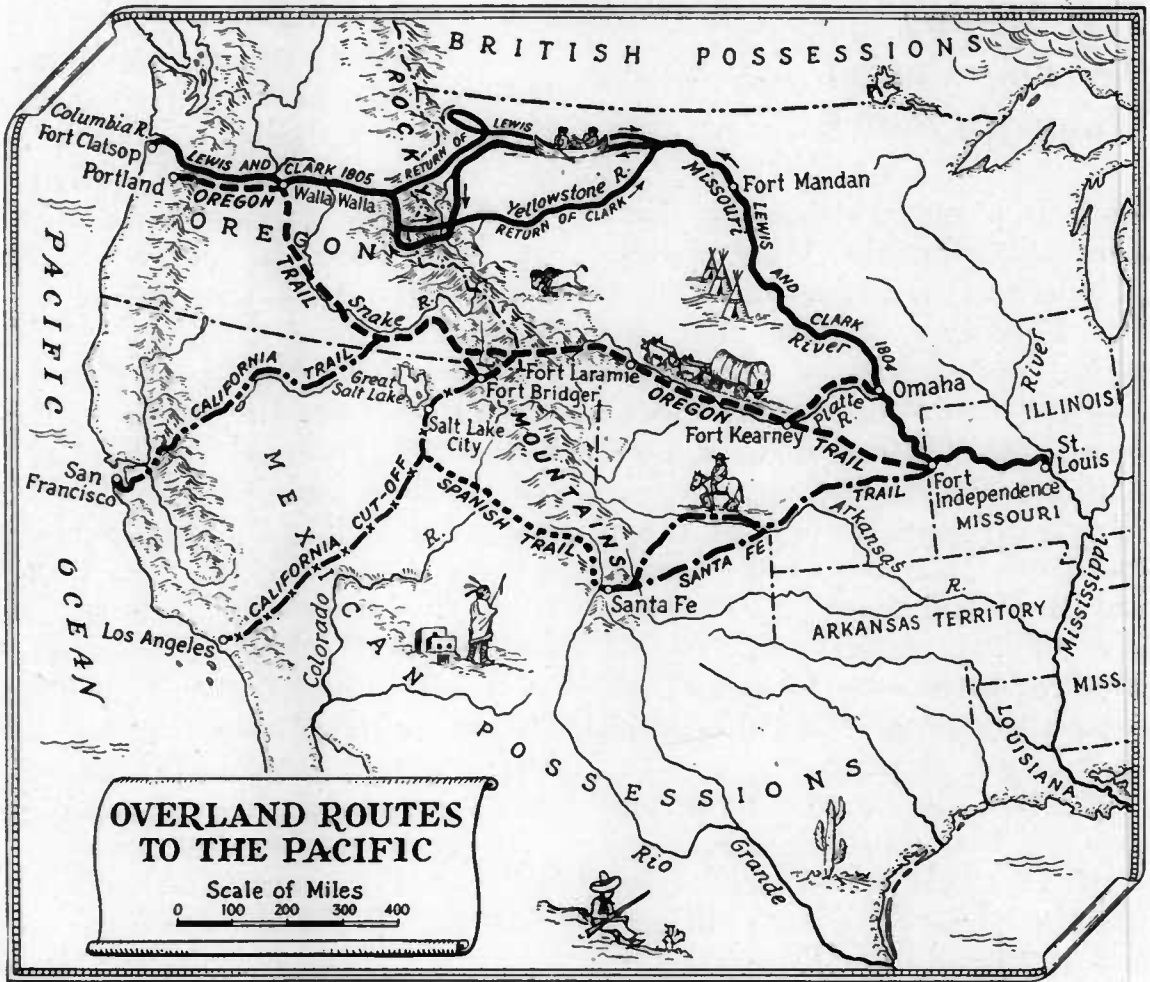
Some of the "forty-niners" came along the overland trails and through the mountain passes (see map, page 210). Others sailed to

Panama, crossed the Isthmus, and again took ship up the west coast. Others made the long trip around Cape Horn. Probably 35,000 found their way to California by land and 42,000 by sea. Thousands of others left their bones to bleach on the long overland trails or in the unhealthy forests of Panama.

The center of the gold country was on the western slopes of the Sierra Nevadas on the edge of the San Joaquin (San Wah-keen') and Sacramento valleys. Here the gold-seekers sought the precious metal from the mountain washings on the bottom of the rivers and creeks. This kind of mining, known as "placer mining," was hard work but it required little skill, experience, or money.

In placer mining three men usually worked together. One shoveled the dirt from the bank or shoals of the nearby river or arroyo (dried river bed). Another carried it to the water. The third man rocked the "cradle." The cradle was a trough with an iron sieve at the upper end, through which the dirt was sifted and washed. The dirt was washed away, and the heavier gold and black sand caught on cleats fastened to the floor of the trough. Then the most experienced miner separated or "panned out" the gold from the sand that was left.

Placer mining gave out after a few years. From then on large capital and expensive machinery were needed. Nevertheless, the gold rush brought the first great wave of population to California. Two years after the discovery of gold, California had a population large



enough to come into the union as a state.

Silver and other minerals draw thousands more to the Rockies and the Great Basin. The western slope of the Sierras in California was not the only region in the Far West rich in minerals. As placer mining began to give out in California, miners were alert for any rumor of new findings. In 1858 came news of rich deposits of the precious metal in Colorado.

With the motto "Pike's Peak or Bust" painted gaily on their covered wagons, almost 100,000 set out from the East for the Colorado gold diggings. Unfortunately for the

"fifty-niners," most of the gold was deeply embedded in the mountain rocks. Only expensive machinery could get it out. Half of the Colorado immigrants returned, but those who remained laid the foundations of a new state.

In the same year, 1859, silver and gold were discovered in the Carson Valley of the present state of Nevada. This was the famous Comstock Lode from which over \$340,000,000 worth of silver was taken in the next 30 years. Thousands of miners quickly deserted the worn-out diggings of California for the new discoveries.

Virginia City, which appeared almost overnight near the Comstock



James Marshall is shown discovering gold, while Indians and others employed by Sutter are building a mill on his estate. It is doubtful if the Indians wore fancy head dress while doing this rough work or that Marshall and some of the others wore elaborate Mexican costumes. (Brown Brothers)

Lode, was the most famous of the boom mining towns. Except for its larger size, it was typical of the early mining towns. Its population was almost entirely men. The general store provided the few needs of the miners. The saloon and the gambling house were the only places of recreation. The town literally lived on excitement; fortunes were made and lost in a single day.

When gold was discovered in the Carson Valley, the region was part of the territory of Utah. So many miners came in that the population was soon large enough for Congress to separate it from Utah and make it into the state of Nevada. Later the mines largely gave out. Then the state turned its attention to ranching and agriculture.

The story of California, Colorado, and Nevada is quite similar to that of the other states of the Rocky Mountains. Miners, chasing the rumors of new discoveries, first entered these areas in large numbers. On their heels came the storekeepers, hotel keepers, and gambling house proprietors. In fact, more fortunes were made by those who lived from the earnings of the miners than by the miners themselves. This happened mainly during the 1860's. The miners were followed eventually by ranchers and farmers. Out of this combination of various kinds of settlers the population of the mountain states grew until Idaho, Montana, Arizona, and New Mexico were finally admitted into the Union.

## *Cows and Cowboys Take over the Western Plains . . . . .*

The cow country stretches from Texas to Montana. Except for the settlers in California and the mining towns of the Rockies, few frontiersmen in 1865 had advanced beyond the 100th parallel. A vast rolling grass-carpeted plain stretched from there to the Rockies, inhabited only by buffaloes and Indians. Water was scarce and most frontiersmen believed that the land was not fertile. It was the rancher and not the farmer who first went into this region and proved how valuable it might be to the white man.

When the War Between the States ended in 1865 there was a large supply of cattle in Texas. There was also a market for beef and hides in Europe and in the rapidly growing cities of the United States. Just about this time it was discovered that the cattle could be improved and increased in size if they were driven northward to feed on the fresh grass of the prairies. If the buffaloes were destroyed and the Indians driven back, an almost limitless supply of meat could be produced.

Already the hunters were rapidly destroying the buffaloes. Soon the army pushed the Indians farther west to new reservations. Then in the late 1860's and the early 1870's the first transcontinental railroads—the Union Pacific, the Kansas Pacific, and the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe—began to build across the Great Plains. The greatest ranchers' frontier in our history quickly developed. The cattle were

bred in Texas and then driven north to fatten. Then they were collected at cow towns along the new railroads and shipped east.

The cowboy is the central figure of the ranching business. The chief features of the industry were the round-ups and the long drives. The calf round-up came in May when the cowboys rode out on the plains and drove the cattle into some central point. The cowboys then rode into the herd and pushed out the cows. Since the little calves followed their mothers it was easy to determine ownership. Once separated from the herd, the calf was lassoed, dragged to the fire, and branded like the mother.

A second round-up came in July or August when the fattened animals, particularly the yearling steers, were cut out from the herd. These cattle from various ranches were collected and started on the long drive northward to the nearest railroad point. The long drives took weeks. The chief danger was that the cattle might become frightened and stampede. If this happened, the herd was lost. To prevent it the cowboys watched them day and night. At night they rode around the herd talking and singing; it is believed that many of the cowboy songs began in this way.

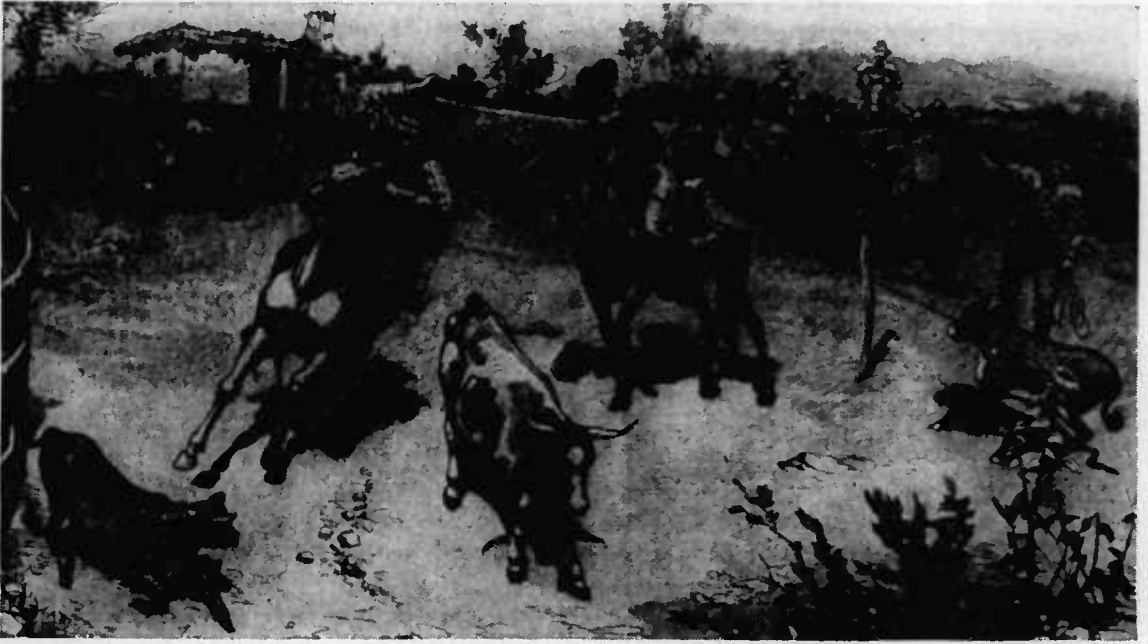
Whoopee ti yi yo, git along little dogies,

It's your misfortune, and none of my own.'

Whoopee ti yi yo, git along little dogies,

For you know Wyoming will be your new home.





**Cattle branding** was an important part of the ranching business because in this way ranchers established ownership of the calves. The cowboys sitting by the fire in the rear are waiting with red-hot irons to stamp the calves with the same brands carried by the mother cows. (*Harper's Weekly*)

Much romance has grown up around the cowboy. Actually his life was hard, lonely, and often dangerous. Generally he was poorly paid. His equipment was chiefly a horse, of which he needed a half dozen if he was busy, a lasso, and a six-shooter. The high pommel on his saddle was to hold the rope after he had lassoed an animal. His wide hat was protection from the sun, his chaps from the cactus, and his tight boots to help him slip out of the stirrup, if he was thrown.

**The farmers battle with the ranchers for control of the Western Plains.** The ranching frontier, just described, continued for about 20 years. While it lasted it was profitable. The land belonged to the government and the ranchers grazed there without payment of rent. But this could not go on forever. Under

the Homestead Act frontiersmen could obtain 160 acres free if they would live on it for five years. Railroads made it possible for them to get to the new land easily. More and more settlers were willing to take a chance on the Great Plains.

Clearly farmers and ranchers could not occupy the same land, for the roaming cattle would destroy the farmers' crops. Strong fences were necessary, if the farmers were to move out to the Great Plains. Wooden fences were out of the question for there was little wood in this country and it was too expensive to bring in. The early settlers tried to grow hedges, but they were not strong enough to keep out the cattle.

The problem was finally solved by the invention of barbed wire. The need was great and production increased rapidly. Soon it was cheap





The long drive was one of the most important aspects of the cattle business. After the calves had grown big enough to market, they were rounded up and started on the way to the nearest railroad point. Sometimes the long drive took weeks before the cattle could be shipped east. (*Harper's Weekly*)

enough for the farmer to buy. Barbed wire greatly speeded the march of the farmer across the plains. At the same time it doomed the old-fashioned ranching. As barbed wire spread across the plains it ended the long drives and grazing on the open land. The cowboys might cut the wire fences, but this was unlawful and could not continue forever. Finally the ranchers themselves were forced to take out homesteads or to buy government land and then fence off their own property. Ranching continued, but it was of a different sort from ranging on the open land.

Farmers on the Great Plains had to meet another great problem—the scarcity of water. Over the years rainfall on the plains was not enough for the kind of farming

done in the East. In some years there was enough water; in others there was a drought. Mostly there was a scarcity. Farmers had to learn how to conserve water and how to use new types of grains that required very little water and would resist drought.

This problem was in part solved by the invention of the cheap mechanical windmill. If the wells were driven deep enough, these windmills could provide for an almost continuous delivery of small amounts of water. They might not produce enough for irrigation, but they provided water for the farmer and his livestock. Barbed wire and windmills more than anything else made possible the settlement of the Great Plains and brought about the end of the last frontier.



Chilian copper mines during the Second World War worked both day and night, so great was the demand for copper. Here is the Sewell Mine of the Braden Copper Company high in the Andes and going full blast at night. A full moon helps to light up the scene. (Pan American Union)

### *South America Is Still Developing Her Frontiers . . .*

**Early frontiers jump from mining camp to mining camp.** No matter where they landed, the earliest settlers in America hoped to find gold and silver. It seemed the quickest way to wealth. The Spaniards found some gold among the natives of the West Indies. A few years later the conquerors of Mexico and Peru discovered it in great quantities. It was more than 150 years later, however, before the Portuguese in Brazil discovered gold in any large amount.

Since the adventurers of Spain were interested above all else in quick wealth, they turned their attention first of all to the mines. In

this they were encouraged by the Spanish government. The Spanish law gave many special privileges to the miners. Among them was the right to use the forced labor of the Indians under the *encomienda* system, described in Chapter 3.

Moreover, Spain was as eager to get the wealth as were the settlers. The grants of land in the New World given by the Spanish government were only for the surface. All mineral rights below she reserved for herself. Then she gave permission to mine the land on condition that she obtain one-fifth of all gold and silver produced.

The result of all this was that the first frontier of Spanish America was a mining frontier. The followers of Cortés and Pizarro, as soon as they had conquered the Indian,

began working the old mines and seeking new ones. Spanish prospectors began searching the mountains of Mexico and South America for new deposits just as miners in the United States 300 years later covered the Rockies from Canada to the Mexican border.

The yield of the mines was often beyond the dream of even the Spanish adventurers. A few years after Cortés landed in Mexico that region was producing one-third of all the silver in the world. By the middle 1500's the mines of Peru surpassed those of Mexico, and Spaniards rushed to these mines as the "forty-niners" did to California many years later. The silver treasure of Potosi in Upper Peru was greater than that of the famous Comstock Lode.

Luck followed the Spaniards. They found rich deposits and they profited from cheap Indian labor. Early in the colonial period some one discovered that mercury would quickly and cheaply separate the silver from the ore. Then mercury was discovered in great quantities in Peru. Hitherto it had been imported from Spain. It is no wonder that the early Spanish colonies grew rich and that the precious metals from the colonies helped to make Spain for many years the most powerful nation in Europe.

**Ranchers and planters push out their frontiers.** Mining may have been the first great interest of the Spaniards, but soon many settlers turned to farming and ranching. In Latin America there were few Spaniards but a vast territory to be

divided. Anyone with influence could obtain large grants of land.

The advance of the frontier in Latin America differed in many ways from that in the United States. Here the frontiersman was generally a poor man who took up a small farm and cultivated it with his own labor or that of his family. In Latin America the country was already inhabited by Indians who had been conquered and could be put to work. Moreover, the Spaniards were few and the landholdings large.

If the soil and climate were right, the Spanish colonist could turn these large holdings into great plantations. With Indian labor he could raise corn, wheat, sugar, tobacco, cotton, and many other products. If the soil was not adapted to these products, he could turn his property into great cattle and sheep ranches.

Cattle and sheep ranches were cheaper to operate than plantations. They required fewer workers. This was one reason why ranching was an important occupation of the Latin-American frontier just as it often was in our own country. The large ranch was found almost everywhere, particularly on the frontiers of Mexico, Venezuela, and the region of the La Plata River.

The methods of ranching in America were first learned by the Spaniards. Our own western ranchmen took them over. The very words of the ranching business, such as corral, broncho, lasso, and rodeo, are Spanish in their origin. The *gaucho* (gow-choh), or Latin-American cowboy, was an impor-

tant figure on the frontier of Latin America long before the cowboy appeared on our western plains.

There is another great difference between the frontier of Latin America and the United States. Our frontier of settlers generally moved from the east to the west. In Latin America it often moved in all directions. In Mexico, for example, Cortés captured Mexico City in the center of the country. Then the Spaniards moved in all directions to occupy the land (see map, page 27).

This is true also in South America. The first settlements were on the Caribbean near Panama, and then in Peru. In the present Colombia and Venezuela the settlers moved south; from Peru they moved south into Chile and east into the mountains. Asuncion, on the Paraguay River, a tributary of the La Plata and 1,000 miles inland, was founded before Buenos Aires at the mouth of the La Plata. Only in Brazil does one see a westward movement much like that of the United States. Latin Americans talk of their early frontiers but not, as we do, in terms of "the westward movement."

### *In Our Country the End of the Frontier Brings a New Age*

**The frontier ends after 300 years.** During most of American history the main business of the people has been the settlement of the great area of land between the Atlantic and the Pacific. In the United States

it began with the first settlers at Jamestown and Plymouth and has continued almost to our own day. It is still going on in Canada and parts of Latin America.

Before settlements there must be exploration. Some one must search out the new land and discover where settlers can live—where the land is fertile and the water adequate. They must find the best routes to the new land. Much of this information was obtained by fur traders and missionaries. Later our federal government sent out exploring parties, such as the famous expedition of Lewis and Clark.

Following the fur trader, the missionary, and the exploring expeditions, came the pioneer farmer—the real frontiersman. After he had opened the land, others followed and towns and cities began to develop. This westward movement of the frontier was at first very slow. It took 150 years for the settlers to occupy the coastal plains and the foothills of the Alleghenies. It took just half that time (from the opening of the Revolution to 1850) for the pioneers to reach the Mississippi and settle the states along the western bank. Some had even jumped the plains and settled in California and Oregon.

After that the frontier advance was even more rapid. By 1900 frontiersmen had covered the Great Plains and the Rockies. This was a region as large as all the rest of the nation. As ranchers, farmers, and miners occupied this region, the frontier came to an end. The first great task of our people was



finished. With the end of the frontier a new chapter in our history began.

**The new age brings pressing problems.** The end of frontier meant that most of the good land was occupied. No longer was there a frontier where the sons and daughters of the East could lay out farms and grow up with the country. No longer was there a West where European immigrants could start life anew. It was no longer so easy to escape from hard conditions at home and build a new life in a new land. Our people must now adjust themselves to new conditions.

The United States also began to pay the price of waste and carelessness. The great desire of the pioneer was to get his farm producing as quickly as possible. Trees were a nuisance and the forests were soon destroyed. As the forests disappeared there was little to hold back the water. In the end much of the good surface land was washed away or ruined by floods. On the prairies the grass sod was broken up for farming. After a severe drought heavy winds sometimes swept away the topsoil and destroyed a farm in a short time.

The West was opened with little planning and much waste. Natural resources, which could never be replaced, were rapidly disappearing. Land, which might produce indefinitely, was being destroyed. Coal, oil, and metals were inefficiently mined. Would the United States ever learn to use her wealth more carefully? Would she ever wake up to the needs of the future?

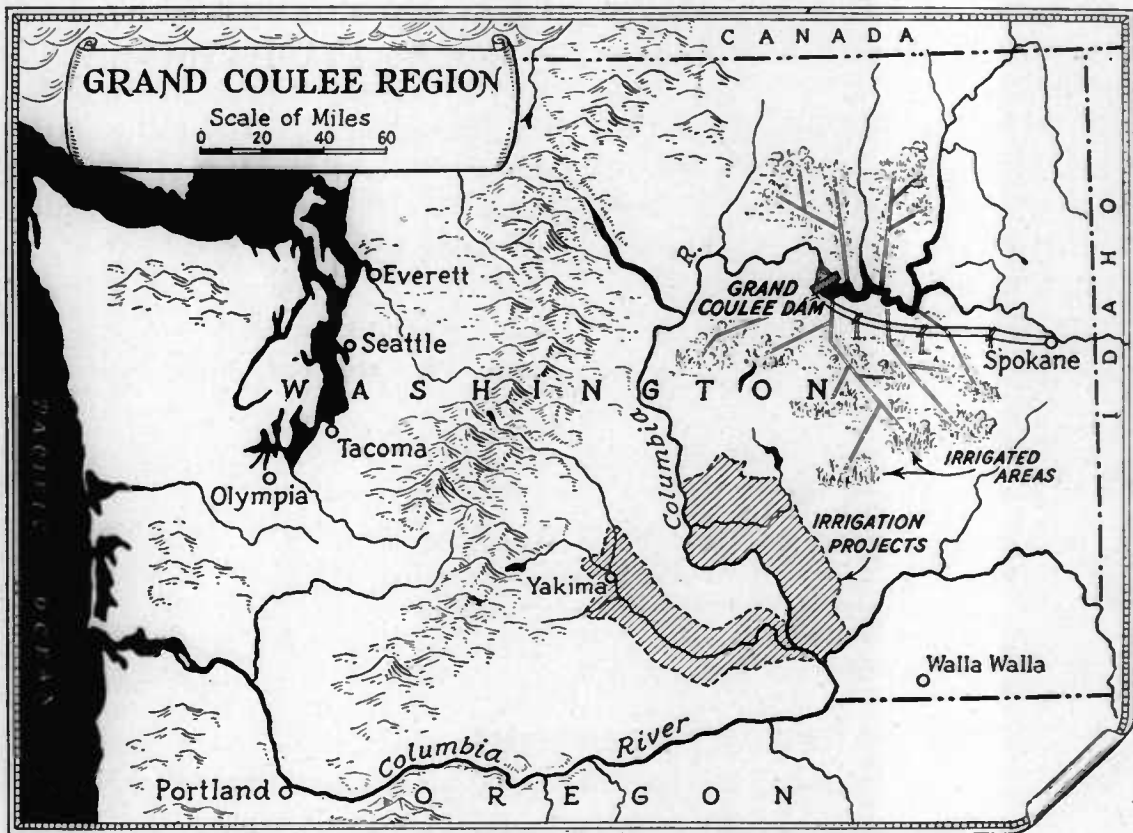
**Grand Coulee is "a fine job well done."** The questions just asked were never seriously considered until the frontier ended. Then under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt our country turned its attention to the whole problem of *conservation*, that is, the saving and more careful use of our natural resources. Roosevelt and state governors appointed conservation committees to study such questions as protection of forests and irrigation of dry land. They also interested themselves in the better use of inland waterways and rivers where electric power might be created.

As interest in conservation grew, scientists turned their attention to the more efficient use of raw materials. Safety engineers worked on the problem of saving human lives. Congress passed laws permitting the President to retain publicly-owned forest lands and water-power locations for great public reservations or parks.

Congress also became interested in irrigating the dry land of the West. Federal aid began more than 50 years ago, and has continued ever since. Although many famous dams and irrigation projects have been built, the most important were begun or completed while Franklin D. Roosevelt was President. These include the Tennessee Valley project, Boulder Dam, and Grand Coulee.

The Tennessee Valley Authority builds dams to control floods, improve navigation, and produce electric power along the Tennessee River in Alabama and Tennessee (see map, page 303). Boulder Dam





collects the water of the Colorado River for irrigation in the Southwest and manufactures electric power for that region. These are great and important projects useful to large areas.

Great as are Boulder Dam and the TVA, they are far surpassed by the project at Grand Coulee (see map, above). The Grand Coulee Dam on the Columbia River in western Washington is the greatest construction project which the world has ever seen. It has power to create far more electricity than Boulder Dam and water to irrigate a region as large as the state of Delaware. With its great electric power for manufacturing and its water for irrigating, Grand Coulee may well change the future of western Washington. In the words of President Roosevelt, it is "a fine job well done."

### *Summary of the Unit . . .*

In this unit—"The Peoples of America Push Back the Frontier"—we have traced the story of the growth of our territory and the settlement of our country. Certain facts have been stressed:

1. The Treaty of Paris (1783) placed our western boundary line at the Mississippi.
2. We doubled our territory by the purchase of Louisiana (1803) and Florida (1819).
3. Our part of the Oregon country was determined by a treaty with Great Britain (1846).
4. The Southwest was added through the annexation of Texas (1845), a war with Mexico (1846-48), and by the Gadsden Purchase (1853).

5. A few years later we added to our land on the continent by purchasing Alaska (1867).

6. This land was won by diplomats and soldiers, and also by explorers, missionaries, and settlers.

7. The typical frontiersman was a small farmer. Nevertheless, parts of the South were opened by large plantation owners. The Great

Plains were first used by ranchers, and the Rockies by miners.

8. The chief business of America for almost 300 years was the settlement of a continent. Now it is the more careful use of the land which has been settled.

9. Latin America and Canada also had their frontiers—often like ours, but sometimes quite different.

### WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

The following words and terms are of special importance in frontier history. Can you use each correctly in a sentence, explaining clearly what you mean?

- |                    |                          |                 |
|--------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. "forty-niners"  | 4. "Pike's Peak or Bust" | 7. rancher      |
| 2. "placer mining" | 5. Comstock Lode         | 8. gaucho       |
| 3. Far West        | 6. 100th parallel        | 9. conservation |

### WHY IS THIS A RED-LETTER YEAR?

1848: Why was a January day in this year a sad day for John Augustus Sutter but a day of hope for thousands of others, when they learned about it?

### CAN YOU FIND THE ANSWERS TO THESE?

1. What effects did the discovery of gold have on California?
2. How did the 1859 gold and silver discoveries in Carson Valley compare in importance with the California discovery?
3. In what ways did the ranchers' frontier change the West?
4. What part did the cowboys play in the round-ups and in the long drives? How do you explain the cowboy's outfit?
5. Tell how barbed wire and windmills made possible the settlement of the Great Plains.
6. Why was the mining frontier the most important one in Latin America for many years?
7. Name three ways in which the advance of the frontier in Latin America and in the United States differed.
8. After 300 years—by about 1900—the frontier in the United States "came to an end." What do you understand this to mean?
9. The end of the frontier brought pressing problems. Name and discuss two of the most important of these problems.
10. In the section on conservation reference is made to five kinds of conservation. What are they?
11. Using the map, page 219, describe how Grand Coulee Dam will serve the region.
12. *Summary Question:* The moving frontier in America has been a very important influence. Can you give at least five examples which will show this influence?

## Activities for Unit Four

## CAN YOU MAKE IT?

1. *Map.* Make a large map of the United States entitled "Growth of Our Country, 1783-1867." (a) Show (1) United States in 1783; (2) these additions: Louisiana Territory, 1803; Florida Purchase, 1819; Texas, 1845; Oregon Country, 1846; Mexican Cession, 1848; Gadsden Purchase, 1853; Alaska, 1867. (b) Print names and dates on the areas, and show each addition in a different color. (c) In a lower corner of the map indicate in a neat table or by a line graph the number of square miles for each area. For these facts, see the *World Almanac*. For the map, see page 180 of your textbook.
2. *Models.* Make a model of one of the following: a canal boat, a covered wagon, a log cabin, a sod house, the Alamo. Or make a model of one of these: trapper, frontier farmer, miner, cowboy.
3. *Graph.* Make bar graphs showing the height in feet of the five highest dams in the United States. At the bottom of the paper or on other side, make a chart giving the location of each dam, the river concerned, year completed, the crest length, and volume in cubic yards. See the *World Almanac* for facts.
4. *Poster.* Make a large poster with the title, "The West Is a Great Magnet." Use your imagination and originality, but be accurate as to the facts of history.
5. *Colored Drawings.* Make neatly colored drawings of the six flags which have flown over Texas at one time or another. They are the flags of Spain, France, Mexico, Texas Republic, the Confederate States of America, and the United States. All are in S. J. Johnson, *Texas: The Land of the Tejas*—a delightful little book. Add your own brief historical comment for each flag.

## I TEST MY SKILLS

6. *Making a Summary.* Suppose your teacher asked you to make a 300-word written summary of Chapter 11, "Courageous Settlers Move into the Heart of the Continent." How would you go about it to get good results? Here are four suggestions. (a) First, it is necessary to read and reread the chapter very carefully. (b) Note that the chapter is organized to help you select key ideas. There are four major sections which in turn are made up of major paragraphs with heavy-faced headings. Usually, however, you will want to add to these by making notes under each. (c) With these aids write the summary for the first time. Your purpose is to give the authors' main ideas in proper relation but in your own words. (d) Finally, revise your summary. Be sure you have used complete sentences and have cut out unnecessary words. Remember you have only 300 words.
7. *Finding and Listing References.* The first step in finding references on a topic is to know exactly on what aspect of the topic you need information. Suppose we decide to find references on this topic: "The Discovery of Gold in California in 1848." (a) Note that this topic refers to only one phase of gold, in one place and in one particular year. Where do we look? (b) First, see whether books listed under "We Turn to Other Books" on

page 223 will help. There are some, but you decide which ones. The index of each book will be the best clue. (c) Next, perhaps some of these books contain other good references. (d) Next, if you cannot find any of these suggestions, consult an encyclopedia. Will you look under "Gold," "Mining," "California," "Marshall, James," or "Sutter, John"?

(e) The second part of our assignment is to list those references that will be helpful. This is called making a bibliography. A book should be listed as this example is:

Dawson, G. S., *California: The Story of Our Southwest Corner*, pp. 145-47.

## WE WORK IN GROUPS

8. *Committee Report.* Let a committee of five conduct a meeting of the Washington Geographic Society which is receiving verbal reports of Lewis and Clark who have just returned from their explorations. President Jefferson, who will preside at the meeting, will welcome all members, especially the returned explorers. He will briefly explain why he purchased Louisiana, tell of its size and immediate value, and what he believes its future will be. He will then tell why he sent out Lewis and Clark. Finally, he will present in turn each explorer. After both have spoken, the President will honor each by presentation of the Society's medal never before awarded.

The two explorers will make careful preparations for their speeches. Lewis might report on the trip out and Clark on the return trip. They should relate their difficulties, hardships and narrow escapes, the beautiful scenery, their relations with the Indians including special praise for Sacajawea, and their opinion of the value of the land. The explorers should refer repeatedly to a large map which they and their map-maker have made, showing important places and events along the route. The committee members will take the parts of Jefferson, Lewis, Clark, the map-maker, and the medal maker. When Lewis and Clark have finished their speeches, the members of the Society—the class members—will no doubt have many questions to ask.

These books will give helpful suggestions to the committee:

J. Davis, *No Other White Men*; and R. G. Montgomery, *Young Northwest*, chap. iv.

## WE THINK FOR OURSELVES

9. *Frontiers, Old and New.* About 1900 the land frontier in the United States came to an end. No longer was there good land where one could start all over again if things had not gone well in the "East." Does that suggest that opportunity is dying a slow death in our country? The answer seems to be that there are other kinds of frontiers which science is constantly opening up. Think of the possibilities of plastics or electronics or aviation. Make a floor talk on any one of these as a future frontier of opportunity. See *Building America*: III, "Chemistry"; VIII, "Winged America: The Future of Aviation"; and "Plastics"; IX, "Electronics." Or see V. Schoffelmayer, *Here Comes Tomorrow*.

## WE TURN TO OTHER BOOKS

10. *To Get Information.*

HARTMAN, GERTRUDE, *These United States and How They Came to Be*. Chapters xi–xv and xix tell the story of men moving ever westward in search of land and gold until the end of the road is reached.

HUBERMAN, LEO, "*We, the People*." For the feel of the West, chapters vi and vii are well worth reading.

MONTGOMERY, R. G., *Young Northwest*. The Northwest of Lewis and Clark, the fur traders, the missionaries, and the Indians is vividly presented.

OTERO, NINA, *Old Spain in Our Southwest*. A descendant of an old Spanish family tells interestingly about Spanish customs that still exist in this part of the country.

CARPENTER, FRANCES, *Our South American Neighbors*. Emphasis is upon daily life, with good geographical background for the South American ways of living.

BONNER, M. G., *Canada and Her Story*. A simply told tale of Canada's past and present—fur traders, prairie life, Indians, the "mounties" included.

11. *To Find Out Who's Who.*

WILLIS, C. H., AND SAUNDERS, L. S., *Those Who Dared*. Simple stories about Boone, Lewis and Clark, Kit Carson, Stephen F. Austin, Whitman, Sutter and Marshall, and "Buffalo Bill" Cody.

DAUGHTERY, JAMES, *Daniel Boone*. The adventures of the great pioneer and man of action who blazed the trail through the Indian country of Kentucky.

EATON, JEANETTE, *Narcissa Whitman*. A thrilling but tragic story of beautiful Narcissa Whitman, missionary, and her doctor-husband in faraway Oregon.

GARST, SHANNON, *Custer, Fighter of the Plains*. The life story of General Custer and a tribute to a great Indian fighter.

LANSING, MARION, *Against All Odds*. Among the pioneer hero stories of South America are those about a New England Yankee and a Californian.

12. *To Read a Historical Story.*

McMEEKIN, I. McL., *Journey Cake*. The adventures of six motherless children traveling westward along the Wilderness Trail in the 1790's.

ALTSHELER, J. A., *Texan Scouts: A Story of the Alamo and Goliad*. Crockett, Bowie, and Santa Anna play their parts in this heroic fight.

PEASE, HOWARD, *Long Wharf: A Story of Young San Francisco*. An exciting story of San Francisco in the days of the gold rush.

BRINK, C. R., *Caddie Woodlawn*. Caddie and her two brothers have many adventures on the Wisconsin frontier.

BOWMAN, J. C., *Pecos Bill: The Greatest Cowboy of All Time*. Tall tales of times when men were men, collected from the stories of campfire and round-up.



13. *To Look at the Past in Pictures.*

*Pageant of America*: I, 5-64; II, 7-309, picture stories of the Indian of forest and plain; and the frontier in all its aspects.

**WE SUMMARIZE THE UNIT**

14. *Time Line.* Using the dates listed under "Why Are These Red-Letter Years?" in each chapter of the unit, make a time line showing important events of the frontier movement. Can you think of an original way to do this?
15. *Stamp Collection.* If you are interested in stamp collecting, you might want to summarize this unit under the heading: "The West Speaks in Stamps." Many stamps have been issued which mark events in western progress. For example, in 1936 there was the Texas Centennial Stamp, showing Houston, Austin, and the Alamo. Arrange the stamps in time order, mount them neatly, and add your brief comment on the event honored by the stamp. The pamphlet—"A Description of United States Postage Stamps, 1847-1942" (Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.—30 cents)—will be very helpful.
16. *Chart or Table.* Make a chart or table with this title: "A Comparison of the United States, Latin-American, and Canadian Frontiers." Headings might be: Kinds of Frontiers, Direction of Advance, Effects, Some Leaders.
17. *Voices of Frontier Heroes.* Prepare an illustrated booklet of famous sayings of our frontier heroes. For example, at the Alamo the commanding officer said, "I shall never surrender or retreat." The story of this and some other famous western sayings are in R. Lawson, *Watchwords of Liberty*.

**DO WE UNDERSTAND THE IDEAS OF THE UNIT?**

18. *A Letter.* As a girl on the farmer's frontier of 1860, write a letter to your cousin in the East answering her question: "Would you advise our family to leave New York for Wisconsin?"
19. *Booklet.* Prepare an illustrated booklet entitled "Military History." This will be the story of the Mexican War: causes, battles, leaders on both sides, and the results. Include a map of the war. If you started a military history booklet earlier, add this as a new chapter.
20. *Playlet.* Taking any one of the events which added to the size and power of our country, write a scene which will dramatically present the event.
21. *Frontier Language.* Do you recall the meaning of these words or terms as used in connection with the frontier: pioneer, Old Northwest, prairie, sod house, "forty-niners," rancher, gaucho, "Pike's Peak or Bust," Comstock Lode?
22. *Evidence of Ideas.* The frontier was a place where life was hard. It was also a place where hope for a better future was always strong. Turning to the unit drawing on pages 174-75, what evidence can you find that the artist has included the ideas of hardship and hope for the future?

## Unit Five

### *Changing Agriculture Produces Serious National Problems*

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13. Science and Machines Lead to a Revolution in Agriculture
  14. Differences in Agricultural Ways of Life Set the Stage for the War Between the States
  15. Hard Times in the South and West Stir the Farmers to Action
- 

Riches may bring evil as well as good. Too much wealth may lead to waste and neglect. So it was with the American land. With enough fertile soil for every farmer to enjoy prosperity and abundance, much of it was ruined by shortsighted and wasteful methods.

The history of American agriculture might have been a long story of peace and prosperity. Instead of that we find the farmers of the North and South engaged in bitter conflict, in part over the problem of farm labor. Could slave labor and the free wage earner continue side by side?

As if that was not enough, the farmers engaged in battle with railroads, manufacturers, and bankers. The soil was rich, the crops were plentiful, but the farmer had to fight to keep a fair share of the profits. Nature had done her part. Man somehow had failed to make the most of his opportunities.

THIS GOVERNMENT CANNOT  
ENDURE PERMANENTLY





# HALF SLAVE AND HALF FREE



# Chapter 13. *Science and Machines* *Lead to a Revolution in Agriculture* . . . . .

*In the 1880's Texas fever was the most serious animal disease which troubled American cattlemen. Each year thousands of fine cattle died from a weird sickness that no one understood. Today this disease is practically wiped out. One man, Theobald Smith, is responsible.*

*When young Smith graduated from medical college in the 1880's he had little interest in becoming a doctor. He wanted to be a research scientist. Without money to do graduate work or to study with scientists in Europe, he took a job with the new Bureau of Animal Industry at Washington. Its first big job was to find the cause of Texas fever.*

*The problem was this: When southern cattlemen imported northern cattle to improve their breeds, the imported cattle soon sickened and died. When southern cattle were driven north they infected northern cattle which soon died. What was the cause of the disease and how was it carried?*

*Medical science had already discovered that disease was usually caused by microbes or germs in the body passed from one person to another. Smith set out to find the germ which carried Texas fever. Then he heard that the cattlemen had a theory that Texas fever was carried by the tick, an insect that lived on cattle. It was only a hunch. No scientist at that time believed that an insect could carry disease.*

*Smith decided to follow the farmers' hunch. He studied the life history of the tick. By experiments he convinced himself that the blood-sucking tick itself carried a microbe which it injected into northern cattle and destroyed them. Southern cattle had become immune; they no longer caught the disease because of light attacks in early life. Since ticks bred on the cattle, they could be destroyed by dipping the cattle in a chemical solution.*

*Smith spent several years on this microbe hunt. When he finished he had discovered the cause of the disease and how to end it. More than that, he had shown that insects carried disease. With this knowledge other scientists could attack yellow fever, malaria, and various enemies of mankind.*



### *A Few Leaders Sell the Idea of Better Ways of Farming*

Our early farmers are slow to see the need for new methods. The settlers in the colonial period knew little about modern methods of agriculture. Europeans, it is true, had learned that land would not wear out as quickly if it was allowed to be idle every third year. They had also learned that it would remain good longer if the same crop was not raised every year on the same piece of land. That was about all they knew about improving land.

They were even more ignorant about livestock. Chickens, sheep, and cattle were little more than half the size of the best livestock today. Farmers knew nothing, for example, of how to breed cattle for greater amount of meat or greater production of milk. Livestock were expected to find their own food, and farmers often provided no shelter for them in the winter.

Farming began to improve in England during the 1600's and 1700's, but the settlers in America paid little attention to better methods. Labor was scarce here but land was abundant. Farmers found it easier and cheaper to use one piece of land until it was worn out and then open up a new field.

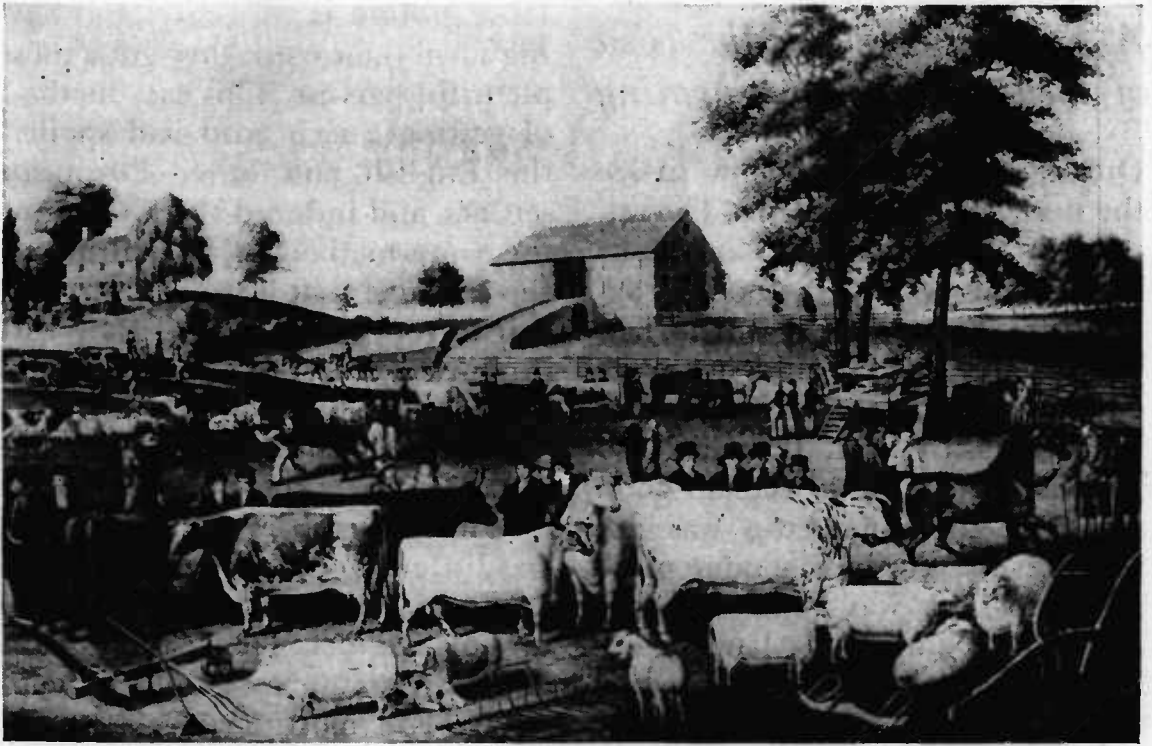
One European traveler described this very well. Writing of New Jersey farmers in the middle 1700's, he said: "They had nothing to do but cut down the wood, put it into heaps, and clear the dead leaves away. They could then immediately proceed to plowing, which in such

loose ground is very easy; and having sown their corn, they got a most plentiful harvest. This easy method of getting a rich crop had spoiled the English and other European settlers, and induced them to adopt the same method of agriculture as the Indians; that is, to sow uncultivated grounds, as long as they will produce a crop without manuring, but to turn them into pastures as soon as they can bear no more and to take on new spots of ground."

With so much fertile land, there was little to force the farmer to improve it. This was also true of his care of livestock. He let them roam in the forests and look out for themselves. For most farmers, the colonial period was an age of plenty, but it was also an age of crude and wasteful methods.

**Gentlemen farmers carry on the first experiments.** Toward the end of the colonial period a few well-to-do farmers in America became dissatisfied with the condition of agriculture. They read of new experiments and discoveries made in Europe and they determined to work on the problem themselves. Of this small group of scientifically minded men, George Washington was the most famous. He was not only the "father of his country," but the father of modern scientific agriculture in America.

Washington was one of the largest landowners of his day, and at Mount Vernon he had an excellent plantation with which to experiment. When he saw that tobacco was wearing out his land, he stopped raising it and turned to



The country fair early became a popular institution in America. This one appears to be largely devoted to prize stock around which are gathered the "gentlemen farmers" of the day. At the rear are a speaker's stand and a covered wagon. (The Bettmann Archive)

wheat. By careful selection of seed, he soon had as good wheat as was grown in America. He changed his crops to save soil; he experimented with fertilizers and tried in every way to bring back his worn-out land. One traveler after a visit said that the standing toast at Mount Vernon was "Success to the mud!"

Washington kept careful records of his experiments and corresponded with scientific farmers in England. He imported plows, animals, seeds, and other equipment from Europe. Lafayette and the King of Spain both sent to him jackasses of the best breeds and Washington was the first farmer in this country to raise mules. He improved his sheep so that they produced on an average of five and one-quarter

pounds of wool, more than twice as much as those of his neighbors. Only long absences from his plantation prevented Washington from doing more.

Thomas Jefferson, like Washington, was a scientific farmer. "No occupation," he said, "is so delightful to me as the culture of the earth, and no culture comparable to that of the garden." His plantation at Monticello was a great experimental farm. He kept careful records of his experiments in a "Farm Book" and a "Garden Book," both of which have been preserved.

Jefferson also was interested in farm machinery. He developed several devices, notably an all-metal plow. By means of mathematics he designed a plow that would offer

the least resistance to turning the soil. Over 300 letters of Jefferson are still in existence describing his agricultural experiments.

Another gentleman farmer was Elkanah Watson, who had a large estate near Pittsfield, Massachusetts. He brought the first pair of Merino sheep into Massachusetts and exhibited them in the public square at Pittsfield in the early 1800's. This exhibit aroused so much interest that it led to the founding of an agricultural society—the beginning in this country of agricultural fairs and cattle shows. Our county fairs go back to Watson and his two Merino sheep.

### *Farmers Profit from the Work of Great Government Scientists . . . . .*

**The government becomes a teacher.** Although the United States until recent years was primarily an agricultural nation, our federal government was slow in promoting scientific farming. Not until the late 1830's did Congress appropriate the small sum of \$1,000 to the Commissioner of Patents to collect information and make investigations. A Bureau of Agriculture was established during Lincoln's administration. Finally in 1889 this Bureau was raised to a Department and its head made a member of the cabinet.

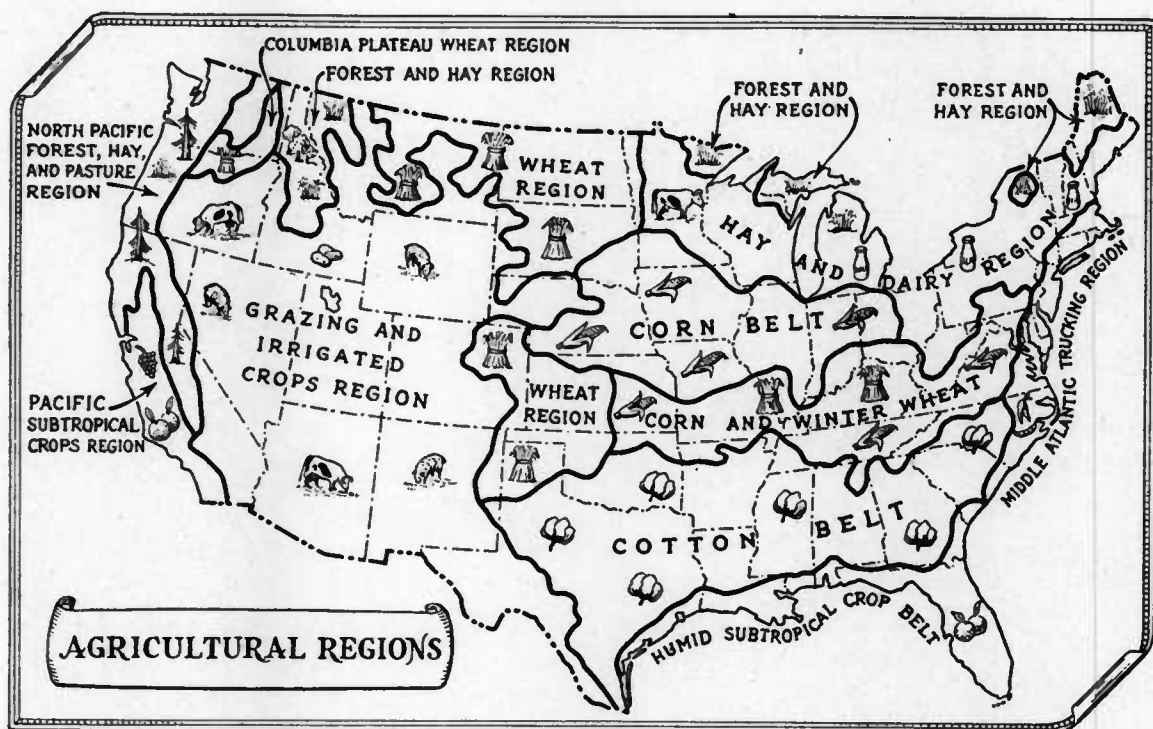
The greatest single thing which our federal government, or any other government in the world, has

ever done for scientific agriculture, was to found the "land-grant colleges." This was done in the Morrill Act of 1862, signed by President Lincoln. The act granted 30,000 acres of public land to each state for each Senator and Representative in Congress from that state. The funds from the sale of these lands were to be used to found colleges where agriculture and the "mechanic arts" should be taught.

As a result, one or more land-grant colleges have been established in each state as well as in Hawaii and Puerto Rico. In these colleges future farmers may learn the most up-to-date methods of agriculture. But the land-grant colleges are more than that. They have become the centers of agricultural education in their respective states.

These colleges have extended their educational work far beyond the college classroom and campus. They give correspondence courses and issue pamphlets on various farm problems. They hold farmers' institutes and co-operate with farmers' organizations. Professors of agriculture lecture and hold classes in farm communities.

Congress finally realized the value of this work. By the Smith-Lever Extension Act in the early 1900's grants are made each year to encourage this type of agricultural education. A little later Congress went further when it provided funds to promote the teaching of agriculture and home economics in high schools. Thus the dreams of Justin P. Morrill and other pioneers in agricultural education have been fulfilled. The United States



now has a well-rounded program of agricultural education.

**Scientists experiment with improvement of soils, plants and animal life.** Hand in hand with education has gone government interest in research. Even before the Department of Agriculture was established the federal government was collecting information and investigating agricultural problems. As the years went by one "bureau" or "service" after another has been established to aid the farmer.

What kind of scientific work is done by these bureaus? We have already told how Theobald Smith of the Bureau of Animal Industry solved the problem of Texas fever. Another example of the work of such bureaus was the wiping out of hog cholera by Marion Dorset. The Bureau of Plant Industry has introduced almost 30,000 new plants to this country. Scientists of this bu-

reau brought the navel orange from Brazil to the orchards of southern California and covered the dry farmlands of the Dakotas and Nebraska with durum wheat brought from Russia. They persuaded the farmers of Arizona to plant Egyptian cotton. Scientists of the Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine still wage war against the boll weevil, the corn borer, the Japanese beetle, and many other pests. These are but a few examples of the sort of thing done by government scientists.

The work of the federal scientists has been greatly enlarged since the Hatch Act of 1887. This act provided funds for agricultural experiment stations in the various land-grant colleges. Now these colleges not only teach agriculture but they also do a great amount of research. The research stations naturally specialize on the problems of their own sections (see map, above). In the





A government expert from the Bureau of Plant Industry of the Department of Agriculture is here checking the progress of an experiment in the hothouse growing of castor beans. Before the Second World War the United States imported the bulk of the castor beans used in this country. (Wide World)

Connecticut Valley they are particularly interested in tobacco, in Alabama in the diseases and improvement of cotton, in Minnesota in developing rust-resisting wheat, and so on.

One of the great scientists connected with these experiment stations was Stephen M. Babcock, chief chemist of the Wisconsin station. He invented the Babcock test for butter fat in milk, basic in the development of the modern dairy industry. By means of this test milk can be accurately graded and adulteration discouraged. Individual cows can be graded and better dairy herds developed.

Government scientists and government-supported experiment stations do not do all of the agricultural research. As in the days of Washington and Jefferson, individ-

ual farmers continue to carry on experiments. One of the most famous of these farmers was Luther Burbank. Burbank was a "self-made" scientist. With only a high school education, he began his experiments on a Massachusetts farm but soon moved to Santa Rosa, California. There he produced many new and valuable varieties of flowers, fruits, and vegetables. Perhaps his most important work was developing a spineless cactus suitable for cattle food in the dry lands of the West.

**This is the challenge to us: Rich land or poor land?** In the final chapter of the last unit we opened up the problem of *conservation*. This is a broad subject; it deals with the saving, the more careful use, and the rebuilding of our resources.



These include human resources, mineral and water resources, and our soil and forests. In the last chapter we described the better use of our water resources for power and irrigation. There is room here to discuss only soil and forests.

Five hundred million acres of productive land, one-sixth of the United States, have disappeared. The homes of people who once lived on these acres have gone as if the land had sunk into the sea. The places where people once earned a living and produced needed products are now regions of abandoned farms, dust bowls, deserted ranches, and cut-over forest lands.

How could this happen? One answer was the ignorance of good farming and forestry methods. With this went carelessness and a desire for quick profits. Soil is destroyed chiefly (1) by failure to rebuild it and (2) by allowing it to be washed or blown away. The same soil can grow crops for a thousand years, if it is rebuilt by fertilizers or if crops are rotated. Many of our farmers never bothered to follow either of these methods.

Soil can also bleed to death. Heavy rains can start gullies and wash the soil down to creeks and rivers which in turn may carry it out to sea. Washington and Jefferson both advised horizontal plowing of hillsides to prevent this. Patrick Henry, another great Virginia statesman, once said that "since the achievement of our independence, he is the greatest patriot, who stops the most gullies." Few followed the advice of these foresighted statesmen.

Wind gnaws away at soil as well as water. It is particularly destructive on the plains. Much land that would have supported ranching forever was plowed up into farms. A drought followed by a windstorm has blown away this soil which had taken thousands of years to build. Now there is neither good soil for farming nor grass for cattle—only dustbowls where no one can live.

Much of this waste and destruction is unnecessary. Land can be rebuilt by scientific farming. Horizontal plowing of hillsides, windbreaks, and other methods can often prevent soil from being washed or blown away. Some land can be turned back into pasturage. Scientific forestry can do much to save the forests that are left and provide for the future.

Soil conservation goes back to the first scientific farmers. Both federal and state governments have been interested in it from the time when the first bureaus of agriculture were established. It is only recently, however, that the nation has really become aware of the need. Not until the 1930's did Congress vote large amounts to help farmers save their land. Soil conservation is an important part of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, the Act under which the federal government supervises American agriculture.

**Americans finally turn to scientific forestry.** Forests are closely connected with the problems of soil. Not only do forests provide wood needed by mankind, but they also help to hold the water and prevent

floods. Nevertheless, much of our forest land has been destroyed with little thought of the future.

Real efforts to conserve forests did not come, as we pointed out in Chapter 12, until the early 1900's. During Theodore Roosevelt's Presidency a Forest Service was established. Its business is to administer the 176,000,000 acres of our national forests and protect them from fire and disease. It supervises the growing and harvesting of the timber and it also tries to control the danger of flood and soil destruction. The Forest Service of the Department of Agriculture is the center of scientific forestry in America.

### *The Age of Machines Comes to the Farm . . . . .*

**Until 1900 hand tools and horse-driven machines do the farmers' work.** The colonial period was an age of hand power. Crops were sown and reaped by hand. A spade, a fork, a sickle, and a rake, all clumsily made, were about all the farmers had. Later a few farmers constructed harrows and wooden plows that could be drawn by horses and oxen. Plows were so scarce in New England in the early years that some towns would pay a bounty to anyone who would make and keep one in repair. A single plow would be used by an entire community.

Just as the colonial period was an age of hand farming, so the 1800's were an age of horse power on the farm. The first great improvement in modern farm equipment came

with the invention of the iron plow in the late 1790's. Its inventor, Charles Newbold, spent a small fortune trying to introduce it. Many farmers, however, would not use it, claiming that the iron poisoned the soil and made the weeds grow.

Gradually this prejudice was overcome. Others improved on Newbold's plow and substituted steel for iron. By the middle 1800's a steel plow drawn by horses became standard equipment on American farms.

One July morning in 1831 Cyrus McCormick, who had been working for years on the idea of a mechanical reaper, took his crude machine to the neighboring farm of John Steele. There in the presence of a handful of people his rattling machine cut six acres of oats. It was the first public trial of a new invention which was to bring a revolution in farming.

Before McCormick and others invented the reaper grain was harvested by a sickle, a scythe, or a cradle. The reaper shifted harvesting from hand power to machine power. In later years other inventors added new features. Today there are single machines or "combines" that can cut, thresh, clean, sack, and weigh the grain without the touch of human hands.

Another great invention may be used to illustrate the shift from hand to horse power—the threshing machine. Until the middle 1800's threshing, that is, the separation of the grain from the stalks, was done mainly by the old-fashioned hand flail. Inventors both in Europe and America finally devised a method



Cyrus McCormick follows behind his reaper during the first public exhibition of his invention at Steele's Tavern, Virginia, in 1831. A few of the neighbors look on in amazement while the reaper successfully cuts a field of oats. At the rear is a covered wagon bound for the West. (Courtesy International Harvester Company)

by which flails could be attached to cylinders and driven by horses.

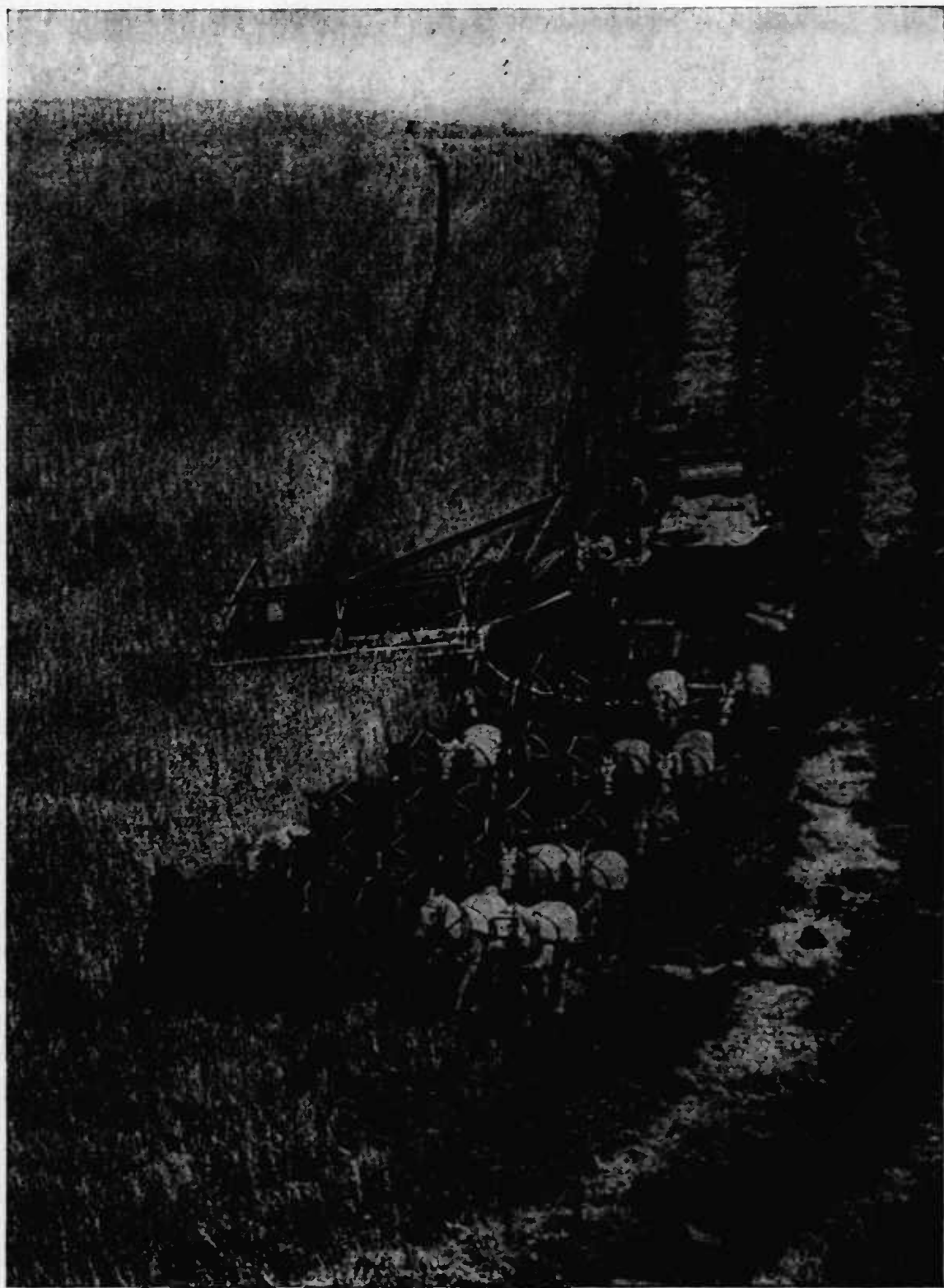
The reaper and the thresher were but two of many new devices which shifted farming from hand power to horsepower during these years. The horse hay-rake which did the work of from eight to ten men was devised. Farm mechanics also invented seed drills for sowing wheat and planting corn. All stages in farming—plowing, planting, harvesting, and threshing—now could be done by horsepower.

**In recent years power-driven machines take over the burden.** As the 1800's were the age of horsepower farming, so the 1900's were the age of power-driven machinery. Even in the late 1800's large-scale farmers were experimenting with machines

driven by steam engines. Steam engines were practical for threshing machines, when the grain could be brought to them. They were not practical for plowing, planting, and harvesting. They were so heavy that they cut up the ground. There was also the problem of supplying the engine with fuel and water.

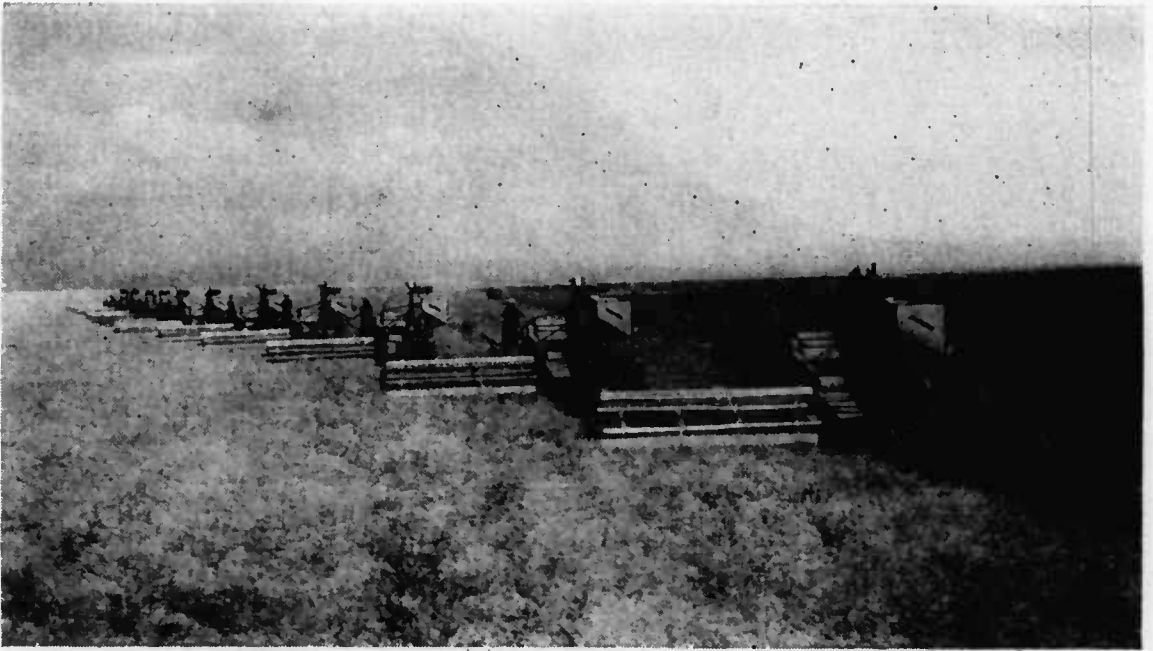
Power-driven machinery came to the farms early in the 1900's, about the same time that automobiles were developed. The internal combustion gasoline engine, the kind used for automobiles, is easily adapted to farm machinery. It is small, efficient and easily managed. Moreover, rubber tires, which also came in with the automobile, are easy on the land.

With the appearance of the gasoline engine, the old farm machinery



Horse-age agriculture reached its highest development on the great wheat ranches of the West in this combined reaper and thresher drawn by 30 horses and manned by a crew of five. Nevertheless, the machine-driven thresher handled by two men illustrated in the next picture is faster, more efficient, and cheaper to operate. (Culver Service)





Machine-age harvesting is a long development from McCormick's first reaper. Here are 12 McCormick-Deering 16-foot Harvester-threshers working in one field, cutting a swath 192 feet wide. They can cut and thresh 340 acres a day. (Culver Service)

was redesigned. The new machinery was introduced widely, particularly during the First World War when farmers were making every effort to increase their crops. The horse has not disappeared from the farms, but the gasoline engine has taken over much of his work.

Power-driven machinery has had many effects on American agriculture. We will mention here only three. First, it has released land formerly used to raise food for horses. This land can now produce food for human beings. Second, it has made it possible for fewer people to raise the same amount of food. When the United States started as a new nation, it took nine farmers to feed 10 people. Today one farmer can feed 12 people.

In the third place, machinery has turned farming into a business. The pioneer could start farming with an

axe and a few hand tools. Today the farmer must invest large amounts in machinery. Machines are as necessary to him as to a manufacturer. Without machines he cannot compete with the farmer who has them. To support them he needs good land and a good-sized farm. Profitable farming is no longer an occupation for a man without capital working on poor land.

**The use of machines leads to large-scale farming.** Farm machinery encourages large-scale farming in two ways. The farmer cannot afford machinery unless he farms on a fairly large scale. Grain farms using machinery average about 350 acres. At the same time, machinery makes it possible to expand the farm to almost any size.

Let us see how this works on the famous Campbell wheat farm in



Montana. Here is a farm of 95,000 acres. Horses have little use on such a vast farm. Its equipment includes 56 tractors, 11 threshing machines, 60 twelve-foot drills, more than 200 wagons, trucks and automobiles, and 500 plows. This equipment can plow 1,000 acres a day, seed 3,000 acres, and harvest the wheat in the few days between the time it ripens and begins to rot. This farm produces 500,000 bushels a year.

The Campbell farm has no use for the old-fashioned "farm hand." Its workers are skilled mechanics. They drive the machinery and keep the equipment in order in a great machine shop. Production of wheat, of course, is farming, but for most of the workers it is a business of operating machines.

Labor on such a farm is a problem not only for the farm itself but for the whole nation. During seed

time and harvest 200 men are employed; during the winter only 50. Three-fourths of the workers are unemployed on the farm during most of the year. The rest of the year they try to find work on other farms or in the city. The problem of getting farm labor when it is needed and at the same time of finding jobs for unemployed farm workers during slack seasons is a difficult one. We have hardly begun to solve it.

The Campbell farm is run scientifically. Every effort is made to keep the land in good condition. Only half of the 95,000 acres is planted each year. The latest discoveries of scientific agriculture are eagerly applied. Few American farms approach in size this immense outfit. All that are well run, however, depend more and more on machinery and science.

### WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

Prove that you understand the importance of each of the following terms in connection with the history of American agriculture.

- |                |                      |                               |
|----------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Texas fever | 4. government bureau | 7. "combine"                  |
| 2. immune      | 5. scythe            | 8. seed drill                 |
| 3. livestock   | 6. reaper            | 9. internal combustion engine |

### WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?

- 1831: What invention demonstrated in this year started a new day in agriculture?
- 1862: What legislation passed in this year helped to provide better agricultural education?
- 1887: How was scientific agriculture aided by an act of Congress passed in this year? What was the act?
- 1889: What happened in this year that showed the government was taking more interest in our agriculture?

### CAN YOU FIND ANSWERS TO THESE?

1. How did Theobald Smith help the farmers?
2. In what ways were the colonists unwise farmers?

3. Why is Washington called "the father of modern scientific agriculture in America"? Who were other early scientific farmers?
4. Why was the establishment of land-grant colleges so important to the development of better agricultural methods? What other steps were taken to improve agricultural education?
5. Give at least five examples of how scientists improved our farming. Who were three men famous as agricultural scientists?
6. What are two important ways by which soil is destroyed? What steps can be taken to preserve our soil and our forests?
7. Compare and contrast farming in colonial days—the age of hand power—with that of the late 1800's—the age of horse power.
8. Why are Charles Newbold and Cyrus McCormick important to our agricultural history?
9. Why were farm machines driven by gasoline engines more satisfactory than machines driven by steam engines?
10. What have been three important effects of power-driven machinery on farming? Explain and give an example of large-scale farming.
11. *Summary Question:* What changes has the agricultural revolution brought about in our farming? How has the government helped the farmer?

## Chapter 14. *Differences in Agricultural Ways of Life Set the Stage for the War Between the States . . . . .*

On September 22, 1862, while our nation was torn by a great war, Abraham Lincoln called a special meeting of his cabinet.

"Gentlemen," he said, "I have, as you are aware, thought a great deal about the relation of this war to slavery, and seven weeks ago I read you an order I had prepared upon the subject, which, on account of objections made by some of you, was not issued. Ever since then my mind has been much occupied with this subject, and I have thought all along that the time for acting on it might come. I think the time has come now."

Then Lincoln went on to say that he had written a proclamation which might free many of the slaves. He said he wished that there was a better time to do it, but he was determined to wait no longer. He said that he had decided that he would issue the proclamation as soon as the Confederates were driven out of Maryland. Now that they had retreated after Antietam, the time had come.

"I have got you together," continued Lincoln, "to hear what I have written down. I do not wish your advice about the main matter, for that I have determined for myself. This I say without intending anything but respect for any one of you. But I already know the view of each on this question." I seek advice, he said, only on details.

Then Lincoln read the Emancipation Proclamation: "That on the 1st day of January, A.D. 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State the people whereof shall be in rebellion against the United States shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free."

These were the most important words of this famous document. They gave new meaning to the war. Up to this time the North had been fighting merely to save the Union. Now it was also fighting to end slavery. The Proclamation strengthened the Union cause at home and abroad.

## *King Cotton Rises to Power in Our Southland . . . . .*

**Eli Whitney's invention makes cotton king of the South.** In Chapter 3 we described how the South in the colonial period raised tobacco, rice, and other crops on large plantations for export to England. We also told how these crops came to be largely grown by Negro slaves. This type of farming continued after the Revolution—with one important exception. Cotton rapidly became the chief crop of the South. In the 1800's the South became the "land of cotton."

The reasons for this rapid change are easy to discover. In Chapter 16 we shall tell how James Hargreaves and other inventors designed power-driven machinery to spin thread and weave cloth. This made the cost of woolen and cotton goods so much cheaper that more people could buy them. The demand for cotton goods became so great that it was difficult to find enough cotton fiber for the machines.

As this great demand grew, the South turned more and more to cotton. Much of the land in the South was suitable and the climate was ideal. More than that, there were Negro slaves to supply the labor. Only one thing held back the South—the difficulty of separating the seeds from the cotton fiber. This had to be done by hand. Even with slave labor it was so costly that there was little profit in raising cotton.

The problem was solved by Eli Whitney, a Connecticut Yankee. Graduating from Yale a few years

after the Revolution, Whitney set out for Georgia to teach school. While visiting friends on a plantation near Savannah, he heard several planters discuss the need of a machine which would separate the seeds from the cotton.

Whitney gave up the idea of teaching school and turned his attention to inventing such a machine. Said he in a letter to his father: "I made one before I came away which required the labor of one man to turn it and with which one man could clean ten times as much cotton as he can in any other way before known and also cleanse it much better than in the usual mode. The machine may be turned by water or with a horse, with the greatest ease, and one man with a horse will do more than fifty men with the old machines. It makes the labor fifty times less, without throwing any class of People out of business."

Whitney's first crude machine was little more than a cylinder equipped with projecting teeth which drew in the cotton fiber, leaving the seeds behind. A second roller equipped with brushes to free the teeth from the lint, turned in the opposite direction. Operated by hand, the machine would clean 50 pounds a day; harnessed to water power it would clean 1,000.

**Southern life swings around the cotton plantation.** Whitney's cotton gin (1793) seems very simple in our age of machinery. Nevertheless it was America's first great contribution to the age of machinery. More than that it had a tremendous in-



**Cotton raising** immediately after the War Between the States changed but little from the days of slavery. In this scene of the 1870's, the Negroes are picking the cotton by hand and taking it away in a wagon. Methods of cotton production have improved greatly in recent years. (Culver Service)

fluence upon Southern life and history.

First of all, it made cotton the "King of the South." With factories in Europe and in the northern states crying for cotton, southern planters turned from other crops to it. They enlarged their old plantations and opened up new ones until the entire South was white with cotton fields. When Whitney invented the cotton gin the planters raised about 4000 bales. When Lincoln became President, the crop was almost 4,000,000 bales.

Whitney's cotton gin had another great effect upon the South. It increased the speed of the westward movement. With a growing market, planters were eager to open up new land. They pushed into western

Georgia and Florida, and across the mountains into the rich land of Alabama and Mississippi. Then they moved across the Mississippi into Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas. Soon the states of the Old Southwest became the center of the cotton kingdom (see map, page 232).

One important influence of the cotton gin was that it lengthened the life of the slave system. By the end of the 1700's slavery had become unpopular in the South. For one thing, it was no longer profitable. Washington once said, "Were it not that I am principled [guided by a belief] against selling Negroes as you would cattle in the market, I would not in 12 months be possessed of a single slave." Upon his death he freed his slaves.



As the planters enlarged their cotton fields, they needed more labor. Instead of freeing their slaves, they bought more. Slave labor was now in demand and slaves became more and more valuable. Many in the South now defended the slave system, for they felt that it was necessary to produce their most important crop.

The cotton gin also strengthened the plantation system. The South continued to be a land of large plantations raising crops for sale. Instead of tobacco, as in the colonial period, cotton became the great crop. It was the crop that sold in the outside market and brought wealth to that section.

The cotton planters owned the slaves and the best land. They became the important men who had wealth, power, and influence. The cotton plantation became not only the center of the wealth, but of the social life. With power and influence, the cotton planter quite easily took the leadership in the political life of the South.

**Ways of life are different in the North and West.** While agriculture and the plantation system continued in the South, the Northeast was rapidly changing. Here the Industrial Revolution, described in Chapter 16, got its start. Factories sprang up on almost every river to take advantage of water power. The first factories mainly produced cotton and woolen goods, but soon inventions made possible the manufacture of metal products—iron, steel, farm machinery, engines, and all sorts of things.

As these factories appeared, emigrants from Europe went to work in them. Many young men and women from the farms, instead of moving west, sought jobs in the nearest factory. Towns and cities grew up around the new factories. The Northeast was still a region of small farms, but more and more people now lived in cities and worked in factories.

Factories started the rapid movement to the cities, but other influences also helped them to grow. Stores, hotels, and banks appeared to take care of the needs of the people. The rising cities became commercial and financial centers. Theaters, libraries, and schools helped them to become centers of culture and learning.

The Old Northwest also had its growing towns. By the 1860's Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Chicago were good-sized cities. But much of the region was as yet a frontier and still being settled. It was mainly a region of small farms.

The Old Northwest was a land not only of small farms, but also of *free labor*. Instead of slavery, free men worked for wages. When Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance soon after the Revolution to regulate settlement north of the Ohio, it forbade slavery. As a result, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan grew up as free states.

In brief, the North and South differed in their way of life. The Northeast was a section of small farms worked by free labor, but turning more and more to manufacturing and city life. The Old Northwest was like the Northeast except

that manufacturing and city life had not developed to the same extent. The South remained almost entirely agricultural. It had many small farms but also great plantations worked by Negro slaves.

*Differences between the North and South Lead to the Battle-field . . . . .*

**Louisiana Territory:** shall it be free or slave? Perhaps the greatest difference between the North and South was the use of slave labor. Having found slavery of little use on the small farms of the North, the northern states abolished it. Since they did not need slaves, they found it easy to condemn slavery as unjust. Southerners, who believed that they must have slaves, defended the system.

However people might feel, the slavery question was considered settled at the time the Constitution was adopted. The problem did arise, however, over the new lands added by the purchase of Florida and Louisiana, the annexation of Texas, the Mexican War, and the Oregon Treaty. Should slavery be permitted in these new regions?

Little debate arose over Florida or over the southern part of the Louisiana Purchase, that is, the present state of Louisiana. Slavery already existed in these regions when the United States secured them. The system was taken for granted. It was not until the people of Missouri asked Congress for ad-

mission as a slave state that the question became important.

The country quickly divided over the issue. Many in the North believed that slavery should not be extended into the new territory. Frontiersmen in the Northwest believed that the Louisiana Purchase should be kept open for small farmers and free labor. They did not want to compete with slave labor and the plantation system.

Many southerners, on the other hand, believed that the plantation system and slave labor must expand into the new region. The North was growing in population more rapidly than the South and already had a majority in the House of Representatives. If the South was to protect its own interests, it must have at least an equal number of Senators.

When the debate over Missouri arose, there were 11 free and 11 slave states. Whichever side won Missouri, that side would have a majority of Senators. In the long battle in Congress neither North nor South was willing to give in. Finally a compromise was worked out. Maine (now separated from Massachusetts) was admitted as a free state and Missouri as a slave state. A further provision prohibited slavery in the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase north of 36° 30', the southern boundary of Missouri.

The Missouri Compromise (1820) solved for the moment the problem of slavery in the Louisiana Purchase. But it soon appeared again, not to be settled until the War Between the States. Far-sighted states-

men understood the political danger of the slavery question. Jefferson likened it to "a fire bell in the night" which "wakened and filled me with terror." It is the most dangerous question, he said, "which has ever yet threatened the Union."

**The Mexican War again raises the question of slavery in a new region.** During the years following the Missouri Compromise anti-slavery sentiment in the North increased. How strong it had become was clear when Texas applied for annexation to the United States. Slavery had become such a hot political issue that annexation was delayed for almost nine years. When Texas was annexed (1845), she came in as a slave state.

The annexation of Texas resulted in the Mexican War. In turn, the Mexican War brought to this country a new bloc of territory (see map, page 180). Should this new region be slave or free? The question had to be settled at once. Gold had brought thousands of "forty-niners" to California and the new settlers requested statehood without slavery.

The great statesmen of the time believed that the very life of the nation depended on the right solution of the problem. All of them took part in the debate which lasted for months during 1850. Henry Clay of Kentucky, who had run for the Presidency three times and had done much to bring about the Missouri Compromise, began the debate. His three-day speech was a strong plea for "harmony and peace" as against "heat and pas-

sion." The Union, he urged, must not split over the slavery issue; each side must be willing to give up something.

Clay was followed by John C. Calhoun of South Carolina. Too ill to stand, Calhoun had his speech read by a fellow-Senator. If the Union was to be saved, insisted Calhoun, the North must recognize the rights of the South to slavery in the new territories. The North must stop agitating against slavery. The North had become stronger than the South and the stronger side should be willing to give in. Otherwise there could be no Union.

A third great statesman, Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, followed Clay in urging compromise. Webster was the greatest orator of his time and the nation listened closely to his plea for unity. He warned that if the South should leave the Union, a war would surely come.

Clay, Calhoun, and Webster had been in Congress for 40 years. They had seen the 13 states grow into a strong nation. They were the great political leaders of their sections. When they urged unity, the nation listened.

The long struggle ended in the Compromise of 1850. California was admitted as a free state. The rest of the territory obtained from Mexico was to come into the Union, free or slave, as the settlers in that region should decide. The slave *trade* in the District of Columbia was abolished. A strict law was passed providing for the return of runaway slaves. Few were satisfied with the compromise, but it

did put off the War Between the States for ten years.

**The planters of the South have great power in the national government.** Calhoun had pointed out in his speech that the North was growing stronger than the South. This was true. The North had a larger population. It produced greater wealth from its farms, factories, and mines.

Despite this fact, the national government was largely controlled by southern leaders during the 20 years before the War Between the States. By that time the South was almost solidly behind the Democratic party. The Democrats also had strength in the North, particularly in the Old Northwest. Here the small farmers sold much of their grain and pork to the plantation owners of the South. A combination of the South and the Northwest won most of the national elections.

Not only were the Democrats in power, but the party itself was largely controlled by the southern wing. The political leaders of the South were the great plantation owners. They had wealth, education, and power, and they had the time to devote to politics. Able and skillful politicians, like Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, became important Democratic leaders.

The Democrats might elect Presidents from the North, but Democratic leaders from the South were the power behind the throne. This is important. It did not make so much difference if the North was stronger so long as the South con-

trolled the national government.

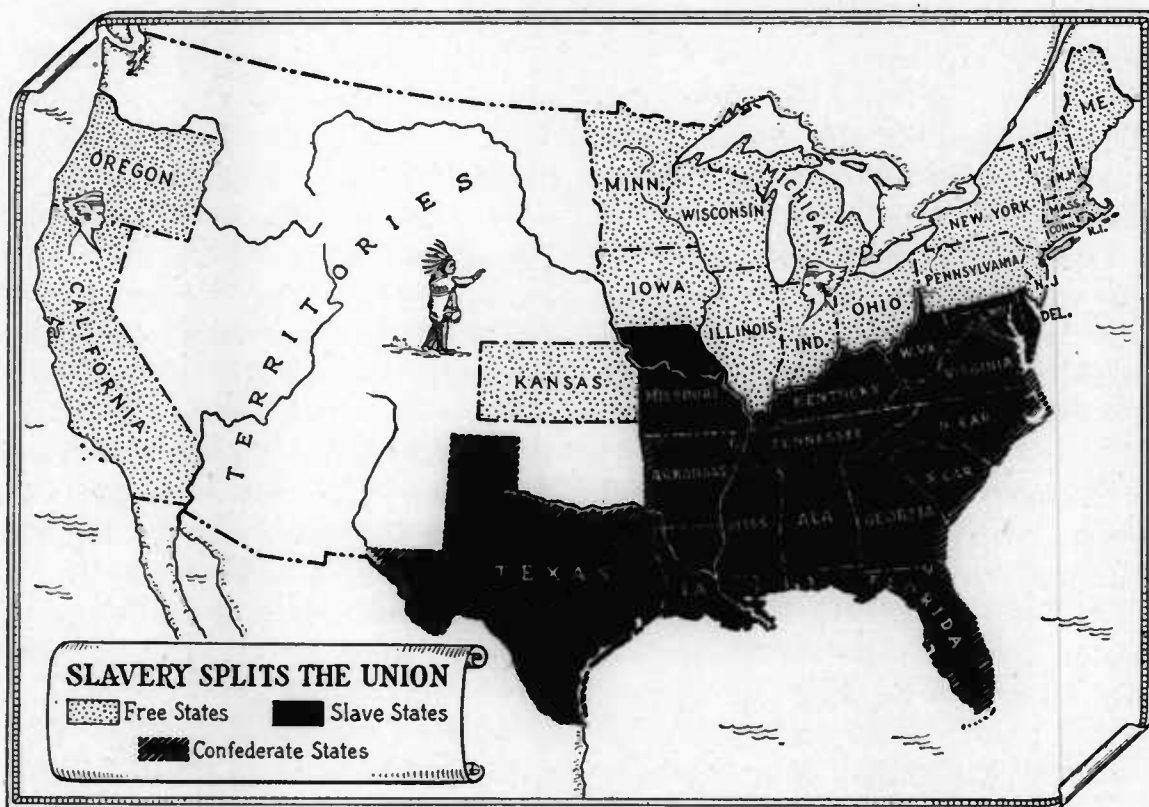
With southern leaders in control of the Democratic party, they could defend slavery and other southern interests. They could pass laws which would benefit the South. There was no need to leave the Union. The War Between the States finally came, as we shall see, when this control was broken.

**When Abraham Lincoln is elected President, the South withdraws from the Union.** After the Compromise of 1850 the nation breathed a sigh of relief. Many hoped that the struggle over slavery in the new territories would die down. The Missouri Compromise had settled the question in the Louisiana Purchase; the Compromise of 1850 had taken care of the land won from Mexico. An act of Congress had banned slavery in the Oregon country (see map, page 180).

Those who hoped that the slavery conflict would die down were soon disappointed. The whole picture changed when Stephen A. Douglas, Senator from Illinois, introduced the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854. Congress had organized most of the region west of Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota into the Territory of Nebraska. Under the Missouri Compromise this territory was free from slavery. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill provided that the region be divided into two parts—Kansas Territory and Nebraska Territory—and that the settlers should decide for themselves whether or not they wanted slavery.

If passed, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill would upset the Missouri Com-





promise. The South saw an opportunity to win another slave state and supported the bill. The North bitterly opposed it. The whole slavery struggle blazed up again. In the end, Douglas, with the aid of the President, pushed the bill through Congress.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act led directly to the War Between the States. From the moment it was passed until the South left the Union, the slavery issue became increasingly bitter. Northern settlers rushed into Kansas to make it into a free state. Southerners went in to win it for slavery. Soon there was bloodshed on the plains of Kansas, a sign of a greater war soon to come.

Northerners, deeply stirred over the Kansas situation, determined to organize a new political party. Its main platform would be opposition

to the further extension of slavery. Under the name "Republican" it nominated John C. Frémont for President in 1856. With its slogan, "free soil, free speech, free men and Frémont," it won 40 per cent of the popular vote in its first national election.

Encouraged by this showing, the Republicans four years later nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois as their presidential candidate. They promised protection to eastern manufacturers, free land to settlers, and a railroad to the Pacific. They opposed admitting more slave states to the Union. Although Lincoln failed to carry a single southern or border state, he won the election.

With the Republican victory the Democratic South lost control of the national government. Southern-



ers had threatened that the South would leave the Union, if Lincoln was elected. Led by South Carolina, 11 states finally broke away and formed the Confederate States of America (see map, page 248). They drew up a constitution and elected Jefferson Davis president.

### *The War between the North and South Saves the Union*

**Lincoln and his generals map a plan to conquer the South.** The fate of the Union depended largely on Abraham Lincoln. Would he let the southern states "depart in peace"; or would he try to save the Union? Lincoln was brought up on the frontier of the free state of Illinois and he disliked slavery. Nevertheless, he had no intention of interfering with slavery in the states where it already existed.

Lincoln was a patient man and slow to act. He knew that the Union could be saved only by war, and he hesitated to plunge the nation into a bloody conflict. A month after he became President he finally made the fateful decision. He announced that reinforcements would be sent to relieve the small garrison at Fort Sumter in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina. Fort Sumter was one of the few military posts in the South still in the hands of the national government. Immediately the Confederate government ordered an attack on the fort. Sumter fell, and on the following day Lincoln issued a call for volun-

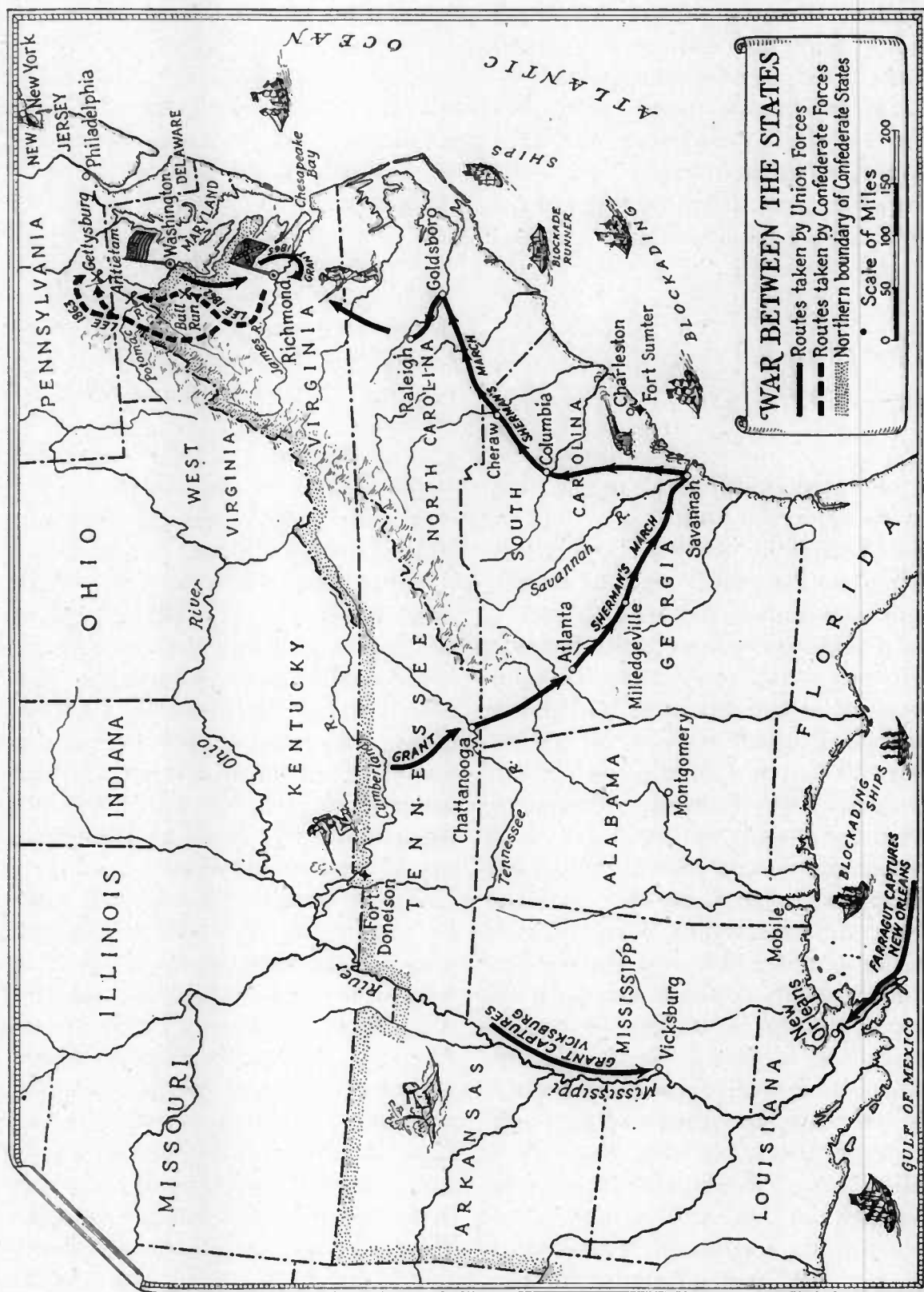
teers. The War Between the States had commenced.

Lincoln had once fought against the Indians. Years before he also had served one term as a Congressman. But he knew little of military campaigns or the ways of Washington politicians. He had had no executive experience. Nevertheless the responsibility of directing this bitter four-year war (1861–1865) fell on his shoulders. He took the responsibility and proved equal to the task.

His first work was to hold the border states in the Union. This he did by keeping the slavery issue in the background and emphasizing the one principle that the Union must be saved. By skillful politics and quick military action he prevented Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri from joining the Confederacy. Encouraged by Lincoln, the western counties of Virginia broke away from Virginia and were organized into the state of West Virginia, loyal to the Union.

The Union could be saved only by conquering the South. Lincoln and his generals developed a plan which they followed throughout the war. First, the Union navy was to blockade the southern ports. This would prevent the South from selling cotton in Europe and bringing in arms and other needed supplies. It became the main job of the navy.

The plan for the army was to invade the South both in the East and the West. In the East the Union army was to capture the Confederate capital of Richmond, Virginia. In the West it was to cut the South in two at the Mississippi River. The



western plan aimed to separate Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas from the rest of the South and prevent supplies from reaching the East. A combined blockade and invasion would squeeze the South into submission (see map, page 250).

**Grant and Sherman break the South into three parts.** Fortunately for the Union, the western campaigns were successful. Although the Confederate soldiers bitterly contested every important point, they were gradually driven backward. In the second year of the war (1862) General Grant captured Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River. With other Union commanders he occupied Kentucky and western and central Tennessee. In the meantime Admiral Farragut destroyed the Confederate ships defending New Orleans and occupied the city (see map, page 250).

The Union plan for 1863 was to capture Vicksburg and Fort Hudson on the Mississippi. Then the armies were to move against the railroad center of Chattanooga, Tennessee. After a brilliant campaign Grant penned one Confederate army behind the fortifications at Vicksburg. Vicksburg surrendered after a six-weeks' siege and Fort Hudson a few days later. Vicksburg gave the North control of the Mississippi and shut off Texas beef, Louisiana sugar, and Mexican arms from the Confederacy.

While Grant was besieging Vicksburg, another Union army captured Chattanooga. But the war in Tennessee was not yet over. The Confederates established strong po-

sitions near Chattanooga and prepared to besiege the city. Grant arrived in the autumn and rescued the Union army after hard battles.

After Chattanooga Grant was put in command of all the northern armies. He left for the East, putting General Sherman in command. Sherman proposed that during the next year he move southeast against Atlanta, an important railroad and manufacturing center. From there he would march through Georgia to Savannah on the coast. This would cut the South again and prevent supplies from Georgia reaching the Confederate armies in Virginia (see map, page 250).

This was risky business, but Lincoln and Grant finally gave their consent. After weeks of fighting Sherman occupied Atlanta in the midsummer of 1864 and reached Savannah in December. Then he turned northward to join Grant in Virginia. Wherever his army went, they left a trail of wrecked railroads, burned bridges, and ruined crops. Nothing can be said for this destruction except that it hastened the end of the war.

**The Union navy cuts the South from the outside world.** Two weeks after the fall of Fort Sumter Lincoln declared the southern coast from Virginia to Texas under blockade. The purpose, as stated earlier, was to strangle the South into submission. At the beginning the blockade was not very successful. The Union navy was too small to watch a coastline 3,500 miles long.

As the war went on, however, the Union navy increased in size. Most



In the battle of Gettysburg the most dramatic moment occurred on the second day when General Pickett led his famous brigade across open land in an effort to drive the Union soldiers from Little Round Top. His failure was the turning point of the battle and of the war itself. (Brown Brothers)

of the shipyards were in the North and they could easily outbuild the South. The Union navy became strong enough to capture New Orleans and aid in the victory at Vicksburg. Finally it established a real blockade which did much to bring a Union victory.

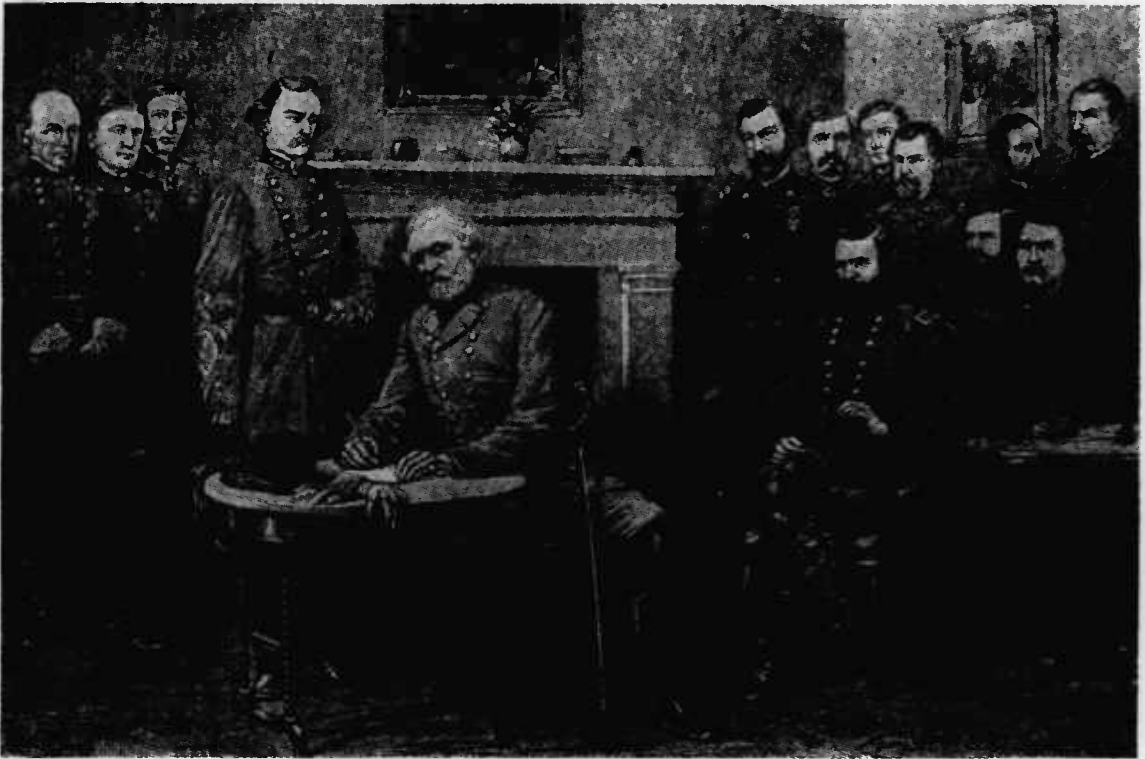
Although at a disadvantage on the sea, the South kept up the fight. Hundreds of its low-built swift-sailing vessels slipped through the Union blockade. Almost to the end of the war they brought needed supplies to the Confederate army. The Confederate government also bought war vessels in Europe which destroyed much northern commerce.

The South made one famous effort to break the blockade. They raised the old sunken warship, the *Merrimac* (renamed the *Virginia*), and covered her with iron plate.

Starting out from Norfolk she destroyed two wooden ships and spread fear throughout the Union navy. Fortunately for the Union, her triumph was short. The next morning a strange craft, the iron-clad *Monitor*, looking like a "cheese-box on a raft," steamed out and gave battle. Both vessels survived the battle, but the *Monitor* saved the Union navy. The battle also made clear that the day of wooden warships was ended.

**For four years the Union and Confederate armies fight for victory in the East.** War in the West was a succession of major victories for the North. The war in the East was quite different. Here the Union armies fought for four years before they could capture the Confederate capital of Richmond and destroy the southern armies. On their part





Lee signs the terms of surrender at Appomattox Court House. Said General Grant, who sits a little behind Lee to the right, I "felt like anything rather than rejoicing at the downfall of a foe who had fought so long and valiantly and had suffered so much for a cause." (Culver Service)

the Confederates under Robert E. Lee, Joseph E. Johnston, and "Stonewall" Jackson defended Virginia and twice attempted to invade the North.

The eastern war began in earnest in 1862. A Union army under General McClellan got to within a day's march of Richmond when it was halted in a seven-days' battle. Lincoln finally ordered the army to withdraw. A few weeks later the Union armies were badly defeated at Bull Run.

Lee believed the time was ripe to invade the North. A successful invasion might separate Maryland from the Union, allow him to capture Baltimore and Washington, and dictate peace. Advancing into

Maryland, Lee was stopped by McClellan's Union army at Antietam Creek and forced to retreat (see map, page 250). Later in the year the Union army moved southward only to be defeated at Fredericksburg. After ten months of hard fighting and four major battles the military situation in the East had changed but little.

The next year began with a severe Union defeat at Chancellorsville. Lee decided again to invade the North. This time his main army got as far north as Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. There he was again halted in a three-day battle and forced to retreat. Although General Meade and the Union army failed to destroy Lee, Gettysburg was the turning



point of the war. Gettysburg along with the victories at Vicksburg and Chattanooga in the West made it clear that the Confederates could not win.

Nevertheless the Confederates fought on bitterly for almost two years. Grant took command of the eastern armies in 1864 and early in May advanced toward Richmond. Lee contested every step, fighting major battles at the Wilderness, Spotsylvania Court House and Petersburg. It was not until April, 1865, that Lee finally gave up the hopeless contest and surrendered at Appomattox Court House.

Both sides fought the war with equal courage and devotion. The South had fought for independence and its way of life, the North to save the Union. Both sincerely believed they were right.

### *The War Between the States Results in a New South and a New North . . . . .*

**The war frees the slaves and changes the Old South.** The North fought the war mainly to save the Union. There were, however, many in the North who were strongly opposed to slavery. They believed that it was wrong and that it must be ended. They pointed out that the South had left the Union to preserve slavery. A northern victory, therefore, must accomplish two things—save the Union and free the slaves.

Lincoln finally took this point of view. Shortly after the northern vic-

tory at Antietam, as we noted at the beginning of the chapter, he issued his famous "Emancipation Proclamation." It stated that all slaves held in any state still in rebellion on January 1, 1863, should be freed. This could not take effect, of course, until Union armies had conquered the southern states. A northern victory made it possible.

After the war Lincoln's policy was written into the Constitution in Amendment XIII [98]. This Amendment not only freed the slaves in the states which had rebelled against the Union, but also wherever slavery existed in the United States.

The war ruined the planters of the South and ended the old plantation system. The planters still owned their land, but they had no labor to work it. They solved the problem by cutting their plantations into small plots and renting them to their former slaves. The Negroes became *share-croppers*. That is, they paid for the use of the land by sharing their crop with the owner.

The South continued to be the land of cotton, but the cotton was raised in a different way. Instead of on plantations and by slave labor, cotton was now grown on small farms by free labor. The end of slavery also prepared the way for a rapid growth of industry. The South had rich resources in lumber, water power, iron, and other minerals. Now it also had plenty of free labor. Helped by northern money, factories, iron mines, and power stations were started. The South decided to risk its future on industry as well as agriculture.

**The war leaves the North supreme.** The War Between the States was fought almost entirely on southern soil. It destroyed much property and ruined many a plantation owner, farmer, and business man. It took many years for the South to recover and regain her strength.

Both North and South suffered by the death and ruined health of tens of thousands of their best young men. But the war did not destroy the farms and factories of the North. On the contrary, industry grew rapidly during the conflict to supply the needs of war. Farmers

also were prosperous as they increased food production to supply the army and the busy workers in the war plants.

While the war went on the North found time, money, and labor to build railroads and open new industries. Immigrants continued to come from Europe; frontiersmen kept on opening new land. In the Rockies gold and silver miners laid the foundations of new states. While the South lost on the field of battle and saw much of its wealth destroyed, the North increased in wealth and power.

### WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

Show that you understand the meaning of the following terms by using each in a sentence.

- |                |                 |
|----------------|-----------------|
| 1. free labor  | 3. anti-slavery |
| 2. slave labor | 4. emancipation |

### WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?

- 1793:* What invention in this year makes it important in the history of southern agriculture?
- 1820:* Why was this a key year in the development of the slavery problem?
- 1850:* What important compromise was made in this year?
- 1854:* What proposal in this year again revived the slavery issue?
- 1861-65:* Why should every boy and girl remember these years?
- 1863:* This year is particularly important to the Negroes. Why?

### CAN YOU FIND ANSWERS TO THESE?

1. What effects did Whitney's invention have upon the South?
2. How did the economic life of the North and West differ from that of the South?
3. How did the problem of slavery arise again after the adoption of the Constitution? Give two examples.
4. What were two important compromises made in regard to the admission of states and the question of slavery?
5. Explain how the South controlled the national government in the 20 years before the War Between the States.
6. Why did the South leap to the support of Senator Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska Bill? Was it passed?
7. Why did Lincoln's election bring about the withdrawal of the southern states?

8. Why did Lincoln's decision and the actions of the Confederacy lead to war?
9. Using the map on page 250 as well as the text, explain how the Union forces proposed to separate the South two ways. Why were the battles of Vicksburg and around Chattanooga of key importance in the war? Was Sherman's march wisely carried out?
10. How did the Union turn its navy to the disadvantage of the Confederate states?
11. What were the plans of the Confederate armies in the East? Of the Union armies? Why was the battle of Gettysburg considered the turning point of the war?
12. When and where did the final surrender take place? What effects did the war have upon the South? on the North? on the Negroes?
13. *Summary Question:* Why could the War Between the States be considered as a struggle for control of power by the leaders of two different ways of life?

# Chapter 15. *Hard Times in the South and West Stir the Farmers to Action . . . .*

*Good-bye, My Party, Good-bye*  
(Air: "Good-bye, My Lover, Good-bye.")

*It was no more than a year ago,  
                    Good-bye, my party, good-bye,  
That I was in love with my party so,  
                    Good-bye, my party, good-bye.  
To hear aught else I never would go;  
                    Good-bye, my party, good-bye.  
Like the rest I made a great blow;  
                    Good-bye, my party, good-bye.*

Chorus:

*Bye, party, bye, lo; bye, party, bye, lo;  
Bye, party, bye, lo; good-bye, my party, good-bye.*

*The old party is on the downward track,  
                    Good-bye, my party, good-bye.  
Picking its teeth with a tariff tack,  
                    Good-bye, my party, good-bye.  
With a placard pinned upon his back,  
                    Good-bye, my party, good-bye.  
That plainly states, "I will never go back";  
                    Good-bye, my party, good-bye.*

*When the discontented farmers of the South and West broke away from the old parties and organized the Populist party, this was part of their favorite campaign song. It was so often sung that some believed it was responsible for victories in Kansas. It gives little hint of the reasons the farmers left the old parties. But it does express strongly their disgust with them.*

## *The Farmer Struggles against Great Odds after the War . .*

Nature is both friend and foe to the farmer. Farming, like other occupations, has many problems. It is far more than simply planting the seed and reaping the crops. Nature can be very harsh as well as very kind. If the soil is good, the temperature right, and there is sufficient sunshine and rain, crops will grow abundantly.

Unfortunately this happy combination often does not exist. A single winter frost in southern California may destroy a large part of the fruit crop. A late spring frost in the North may ruin the early vegetables and fruit. A summer hail storm may cut the broad tobacco leaves in shreds and can destroy an entire crop in a few minutes.

Too much rain may wash away the topsoil or rot the crop. If there is too little rain, the crops will not grow. A long period without rain sometimes destroys not only the crop but the farm as well. Three times during the 1930's parts of the nation were hit by a long drought. Crops withered and cattle died of thirst. Winds picked up the dry topsoil and blew it far and wide. Thousands of farms were no longer fit for cultivation.

Heat, frost, hail, drought, and other weather conditions are not all the farmer must contend with. Insect pests attack his crops and diseases strike down his animals. Every plant and every animal have their enemies. The cotton farmer must fight the boll weevil and the

corn farmer the corn borer. The rancher must watch for cattle fever and the dairyman for tuberculosis among his cows. Wheat farmers have seen the sky suddenly darkened with a swarm of grasshoppers which have destroyed their crops within an hour.

Science has helped the farmer meet some of these problems. We told in Chapter 13 how scientists have found ways to battle diseases of plants and animals. That chapter also told of steps taken to lessen the evils of drought and flood. But there are many things that science cannot do. The weather man may predict a frost and help the farmers prepare for it, but he cannot prevent it.

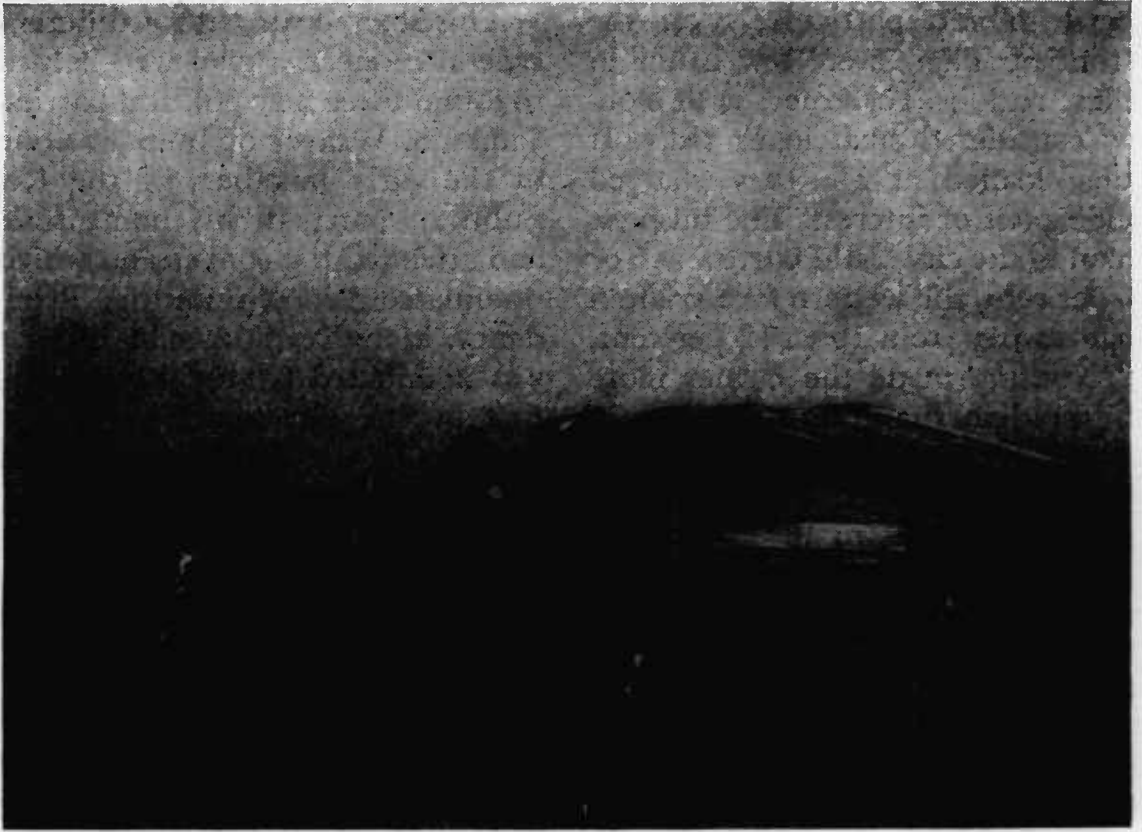
Farming is a gamble. It is full of risks no matter how skillful and industrious the farmer may be. But this is only half the story. Even if the sun shines and rain comes in the right amount and at the right time and the weather is perfect, there are other problems. Even if the farmer does not have to fight pests and animal diseases, his business is not an easy one. This part of the story will now be told.

### **Hard times press upon the farmer.**

The years following the War Between the States were difficult ones for the American farmer. During the war there was increased demand for farm products to meet the needs of the army and civilian population. Prices of farm products shot upwards and the farmer enjoyed a few years of prosperity.

Encouraged by high prices, many farmers enlarged their farms and





The drought of 1936 was followed by winds that whipped up the topsoil and destroyed large areas of farm lands. Here a farmer and his two sons in Oklahoma are walking in the face of a dust storm so thick that it has almost blotted out the sun. (Farm Security Administration photograph by Arthur Rothstein, from a negative now in the Library of Congress)

bought new equipment. They usually did it on borrowed money. This would have been all right if the demand for their products had continued and prices had remained high. Unfortunately for the farmers, the demand for wheat, pork, and other farm products declined at the end of the war. As the demand declined, prices went down.

Now the farmers found themselves in a difficult position indeed. They must keep their farms going, meet the interest on their debts, and pay off the money they had borrowed. But they had to do it at a time when their own income was decreasing. This was often more than they could do, and thousands

went bankrupt and lost their farms.

One thing that made the situation more difficult was the prices which the farmer had to pay for the things which he bought. When he sold his corn or wheat, he had to sell at a low price. When he bought clothing, furniture, farm equipment, or other things which he and his family needed, he must pay high prices. The farmer believed that he had discovered the reason for the high prices. Big business concerns, as we shall see in Chapter 17, had banded together to control prices.

As the condition of the farmer grew worse, he needed desperately to borrow more money to tide him over the hard times. But money was

hard to get, particularly on the frontier. There were few banks in these regions. Easterners with money considered such loans risky. If they loaned at all, they charged high rates of interest. The business man in the city could borrow at 5 or 6 per cent, the western farmer often had to pay from 10 to 12 per cent.

Nothing made the farmer more bitter than the abuses of the railroads. The farmers were absolutely dependent on the railroads to transport their crops to the market. If the railroads gave good service at reasonable rates, the farmer might get along. If they did not, he might be ruined.

Instead of setting reasonable rates, the railroads often overcharged the farmer. Since the railroads had no competition, they could charge what they pleased. Not only that, but they could charge one farmer more than another, or the people in one region more than those in another. And they could give any kind of service they pleased. The farmer suffered from all these abuses.

### *The Farmers Organize New Parties to Right Their Wrongs*

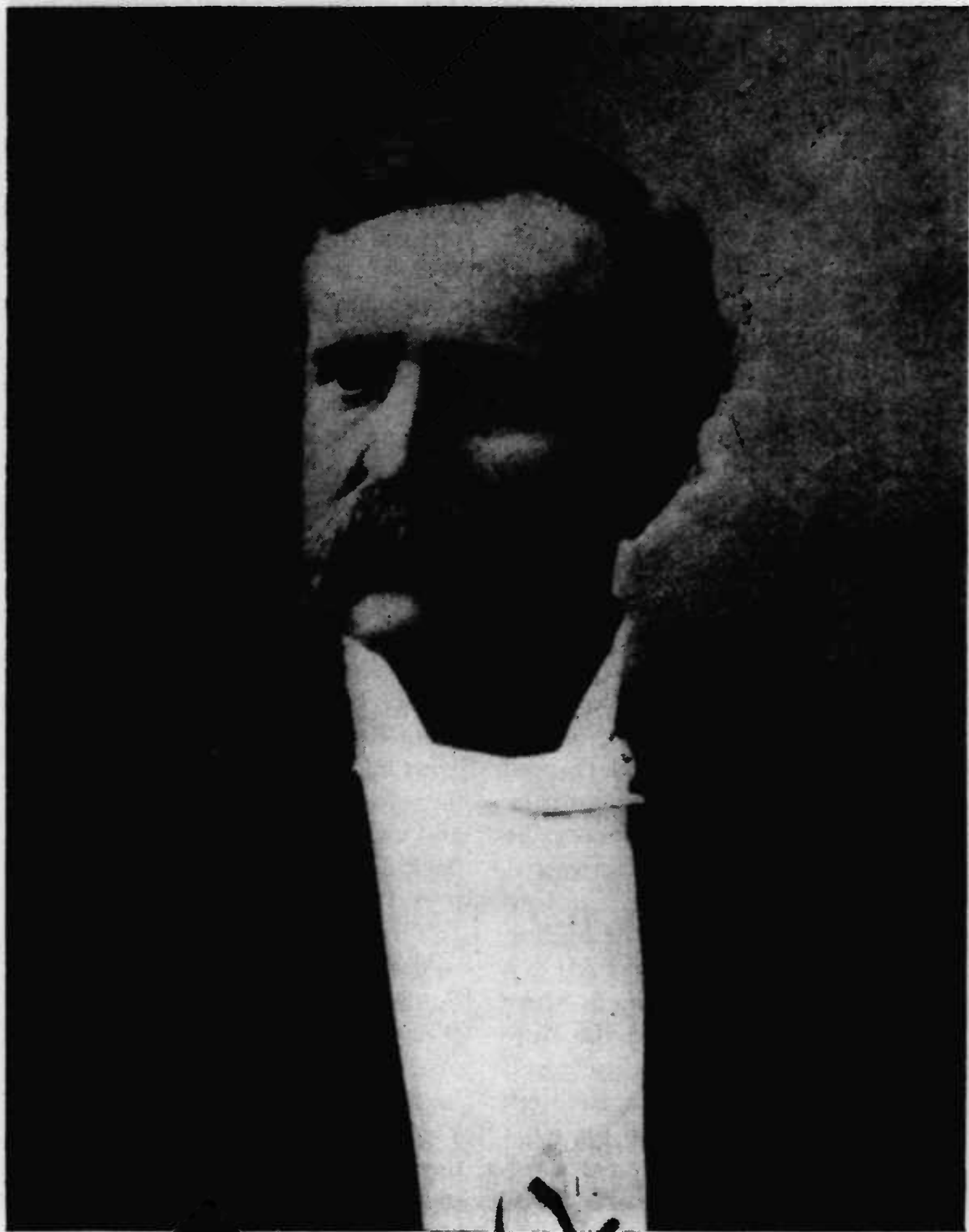
**James B. Weaver, son of the West, leads a farmers' party.** Many types of pioneers have helped to build America. Daniel Boone, the trail blazer, was one type and Sam Houston, hero of the Texas Revolution, was another. Eli Whitney, the inventor, and Theobald Smith, discoverer of Texas fever, were pioneers in science.

This story deals with a different type of pioneer, a man who helped to found three new political parties. James B. Weaver of Iowa was one of the early members of the Republican party in his home state and attended the convention which nominated Lincoln for the Presidency. Many years later he himself was nominated for the Presidency first by the Greenback party and later on by the Populist ticket. He became the great leader of the farmers' revolt.

Weaver knew well the problems of the western farmer. He was born on the frontier of Michigan and when he was two his parents moved to the frontier of Iowa. There he grew to manhood in a typical pioneering community. His first school book, an elementary speller, he obtained from a pioneer merchant by exchanging a coon skin for it.

Weaver had not even finished the country school before he was carrying government mail on horseback over the roadless prairies and bridgeless streams of frontier Iowa. Like many another frontier lad, he was excited over the gold discoveries in California. Finally he set out with three companions to drive a herd of cattle over the plains and mountains to the gold country. After a brief try at mining, Weaver returned to Iowa and began the study of law.

The young lawyer started his political life as a Democrat, but he joined the Republican party soon after it was founded. He said he was converted to free soil ideas by reading *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the editorials of the *New York Tribune*.



James Baird Weaver, lawyer, soldier, Congressman, and twice a candidate for the Presidency, represents the best leadership in the farmers' revolt. He also represents the type of progressive politician and public officeholder who constantly urged many needed reforms. Iowa in the years after the War Between the States considered him one of her most distinguished citizens. (From *The Populist Revolt* by John Hicks, University of Minnesota Press)

Soon he was riding the prairies of Iowa speaking for Frémont, Lincoln, and other Republicans.

**SOLDIER AND POLITICIAN.** When Lincoln's first call for volunteers reached Iowa, Weaver was one of the first to enlist. His company elected him a lieutenant. When his enlistment ended three years later, he left the army a Brigadier General. During most of this time he commanded the Second Iowa, one of the famous regiments of the war.

Weaver deserved his rapid promotions. He was the perfect soldier. Calm in battle and utterly fearless, he led his regiment to one victory after another. As the best officer in the regiment he won the confidence of rank and file. He won their devotion also, for he always put the welfare of his soldiers above his own.

When Weaver returned to civil life, he could hardly escape politics. As one of Iowa's military heroes he was known to everyone. He was respected as an able lawyer, a powerful orator, and a man of the highest principles. Courteous and kindly, he was personally well liked. More than that, he understood the difficulties of the farmers. He knew well the abuses of the railroads, the high prices which farmers paid for what they needed, and the low prices received for what they sold. He knew about high interest rates. He had once paid  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent for a loan to go to law school.

After the war Weaver went into politics as a Republican. He sought the nomination for Congressman and then for governor. Both times he was beaten by political trickery.

The common people wanted him but the railroad interests which controlled the party did not. Weaver was already well known in the West as a believer in railroad regulation.

**GREENBACKER AND POPULIST.** Despite his popularity among the people and the popularity of his views, Weaver saw that the Republicans would never nominate him for any important office. If he was to fight for his principles, he must join a third party. In the late 1870's Weaver joined the Greenback party. This was a party which demanded many reforms including an increase in the amount of paper money (greenbacks) in circulation.

The people of Iowa elected Weaver to Congress three times on the Greenback ticket. They could hardly have found a better representative. When the bosses in Congress tried to ignore or silence him, he refused to be brushed aside. He also ran for President on the Greenback ticket and was easily the most prominent man in the party.

The Greenback party disappeared in the 1880's and its place was taken by the Populist party. Again Weaver was the most distinguished man of the party and ran for President in 1892. His running mate for the Vice-Presidency was James Field, a former Confederate general who had lost a leg in the war. A ticket headed by a former Union general and a former Confederate general made dramatic appeal. They won over 1,000,000 popular votes and carried four states. Four years later the Populists joined with the Democrats to back William Jennings Bryan. The Populists soon disap-

peared as a party, and Weaver retired from politics.

Weaver was one of the great pioneers in American politics. He supported the regulation of big business and the government ownership of railroads. He urged the adoption of an income tax and a system of postal savings banks. He demanded an eight-hour working day and legislation to improve factory conditions. He would ban child labor in industry. He spoke eloquently for many political reforms which will later be described in Chapters 25 and 26.

All these reforms and others which Weaver supported were considered wild and impractical by most of the voters. Cartoonists pictured him a jackass braying in Congress while his fellow Congressmen stopped their ears to keep out the noise. Only lunatic farmers from the West, they said, paid any attention to him.

But Weaver was no lunatic. He was a hard-headed and practical man. Within a few years either the Republican or Democratic party came out for almost all of his reforms. Within 25 years these reforms, except government ownership of railroads, were written into law. Weaver was a man ahead of his time, a pioneer who pointed the path for many to follow.

**The Populists join with the Democrats to stage their greatest battle.** The life of General Weaver is clear proof that the American farmer will not suffer injustice without fighting back. When Farmer Jones found it was cheaper to burn his corn for

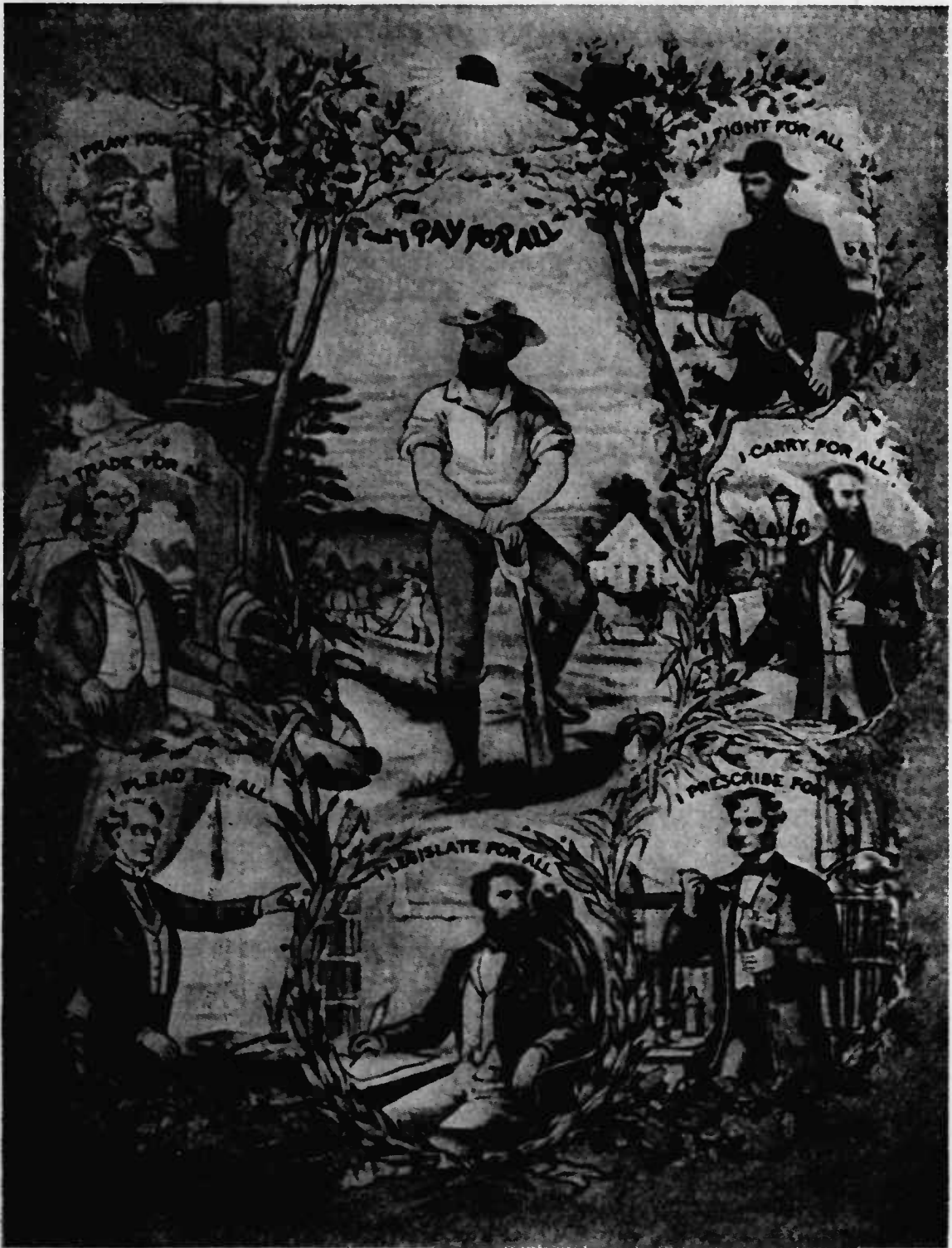
fuel than to sell it, he was fighting mad. When he was convinced that bankers, railroads, and big business overcharged him, he determined to do something about it. In a democracy it is possible to remedy abuse by the ballot box and legislation, and the farmers turned to these weapons.

The first farmers' party after the war was the Greenback party. Although their chief demand was more paper money (greenbacks), they urged other reforms to help the farmer. When the Greenback party disappeared in 1880, its place was soon taken by another party. Hard times and discontent continued in the South and West. As a result, farmers' organizations, known as Farmers' Alliances, appeared to meet the situation. The Farmers' Alliances finally united in 1890 to form the Populist party. Two years later they nominated Weaver for the Presidency.

Never was the West so stirred in a political campaign. All of the anger over the injustice of the past years came to the surface. A great crusade swept the western plains to drive the old parties from power. Drive from Congress the representatives of the railroads, big business, and gamblers in western land; replace them with representatives of the farmers! This was their cry. The campaign was like a great religious movement.

Naturally the financial interests of the East were scared. They condemned the Populists and made fun of them. It is true that if the Populists had won the election, they might have brought great changes.





Farmers believed that the wealth created from the soil supported the whole structure of society. This cartoon which appeared in a farm journal during the "farmers' revolt" shows the farmer surrounded by the clergyman, soldier, merchant, railroad man, lawyer, politician, and doctor. All of them, according to the cartoon, lived on the wealth produced by the farmer, no matter what they might do. (Reproduced from *The Chronicles of America*. Copyright Yale University Press)

Like the Greenbackers, they would have increased the money in circulation. The Populists wanted to do it with silver instead of paper money. Their platform included almost all of the reforms demanded by General Weaver which we have already mentioned.

Perhaps the East had a right to be scared. The Populists elected seven Congressmen and six Senators. It had become a strong party. It took away so many votes from the Republicans in the West that it helped elect Cleveland, the Democratic candidate for President.

So impressed were the Democrats that in the next presidential campaign they took over some of the main Populist demands. When the nominating convention met in 1896, western and southern Democrats threw out Cleveland and the easterners from control of the party. They nominated William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska and decided to fight the campaign on Populist principles. The Populists could do little else but endorse Bryan. This ended the Populists as an important political party. Many of their demands, however, were adopted by the Democratic party, and some of them later even by the Republicans.

### *The Farmers Make Their Voices Heard in the State and National Capitals . . . . .*

**The farmers force the government to regulate the railroads.** Although the Greenback and Populist parties

stood for many things, regulation of railroads by the state and national governments was always one of them. In fact, the demand for railroad regulation came before these parties were organized. The reasons for this demand have already been stated.

The first state laws to regulate the railroads came in the 1870's and are known as the Granger Acts. The name comes from a farmers' organization, commonly known as the Grange. The Grange was founded as a social organization but it was also interested in helping the farmers with their problems. It had no political program. Nevertheless, it could hardly avoid turning its attention to the railroads.

As the Grange brought pressure upon the state legislatures, the states in the Middle West began to pass laws to control the railroads. In general, these laws set up rates beyond which the railroads could not go. They forbade charging more for a short haul than for a long one. That is, the railroads must charge the same rate per mile whether the distance for hauling freight was short or long. The laws tried to prevent special rates for favored customers and they forbade free passes to public officials.

The railroads, of course, fought these laws, insisting that the states had no right to pass them. They pointed out that the Constitution gives the federal government, and *not* the states, the power to regulate interstate commerce. Since most railroad transportation is from one state to another, only the federal government can pass such laws.



Many Grange meetings like this one were held at the time of the farmers' revolt against low prices of farm products, high railroad rates, and other abuses. On the banners are such slogans as "Free Trade and Farmers' Rights," "President \$50,000 a Year, Congressmen \$7,000 a Year, Farmers 75 cts. a Week," and "Brothers, Let Us Organize, Educate for Knowledge and Power." (*Leslie's Weekly*)

After many legal cases, the courts finally agreed with the railroads. Then the people turned to Congress. After much pressure Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act (1887). It tried to do what the state laws had attempted. Rates must be just and reasonable. The railroads must charge the same rates to all; they must not give favored rates to certain people or certain places. Congress established an Interstate Commerce Commission to enforce it.

The Interstate Commerce Act failed. The railroads fought it and the courts did not enforce it. About 20 years later a new law, the Hepburn Act (1906) was passed. The new act widened the power of the Commission in many ways. Under the old act the Commission, if it

believed a railroad rate was unfair, must go to the courts to prove it. Then it must get from the courts an order for the railroad to change its rates. This was hard to do, particularly if the court judges were not sympathetic.

Under the new act the commission could order a change of rates. The railroads must obey—unless they could prove to the courts that the Commission was wrong. This was also hard to do. The change seems small, but it made all the difference in the world. The railroads gave up and obeyed the law. Since the Hepburn Act, public regulation of railroads has been a real fact.

The government shows more concern over the farmer. The influence of the Greenback and Populist



**A Granger cartoon** published when the farmers were demanding government regulation of railroads. It shows a state legislature completely controlled by the railroads. While one railroad politician orates, another sits in the front row with a bored expression. Notice the sign on the front of the speaker's desk describing the nation as "The Railroad States of America." The Grangers tried to break this sort of control. (Thomas Nast in *Harper's Weekly*)

parties had its effect upon Congress. So also did such farmers' organizations as the Grange. The government showed increased interest in agricultural education and scientific farming, as explained in Chapter 13. It passed laws to regulate railroads. As we shall see in Chapter 17, it also passed laws to regulate big business in an effort to keep prices down.

Another great problem remained—the difficulty of borrowing money at reasonable rates of interest. The farmer, like most business men, needs more money at certain times of the year than at others. The farmer, particularly, needs money in the spring when he must buy seed, fertilizer, and farm equipment, and hire labor. He may also need more in the fall when he reaps



his crops. After the crop is sold, he can repay the money.

The farmer faced greater difficulties than the city business man in getting this needed money. There were few banks in the country districts and particularly in the frontier regions. The farmer needed money for longer periods than the city man and the banks hesitated to loan for more than a short time. We have already shown that agriculture is a risky occupation. If the bankers loaned money to farmers they wanted high interest, sometimes twice as much as they charged business men in the cities.

In brief, the problem of the farmer was, first of all, to get money; second, to get it for the right length of time; and finally, to get it at a reasonable rate. It took many years before the nation understood that this could be done only through government action. The first efforts came during the Presidency of Woodrow Wilson, when both political parties agreed that the nation's banking system should be reorganized.

When the Federal Reserve Act was passed, it provided that national banks might lend money on farm mortgages. That is, they might loan money to farmers for long periods with the farms as security. They also might make short-term loans for as long as six months.

During the Presidency of Wilson Congress also passed the Federal Farm Loan Act. This set up special banks for the farmers backed by the government. Farmers could obtain loans from these banks at lower rates of interest than they could

usually get elsewhere. This program of financing farmers was later extended, particularly during the Presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt. By this time the government had done much to help the farmer meet his problems. The worst abuses had been ended.

### *Summary of the Unit . . . .*

In Unit Five—"Changing Agriculture Produces Serious National Problems"—we have told the story of American agriculture and some of its effects upon our national life.

1. The abundance of land encouraged wasteful methods with only a few scientifically-minded farmers struggling against them.

2. Then the government responded to the will of the people with the Morrill Act (1862) to promote agricultural education and the Hatch Act (1887) to encourage scientific research.

3. With the invention of new machinery, agriculture shifted from hand tools to horsepower and then to steam power and gasoline engines.

4. Whitney's cotton gin (1793) turned the South to cotton. Slavery and the plantation system controlled southern life and politics.

5. The North and West, however, remained a land of small farms and free labor.

6. Conflict between these two types of agriculture came to a head over the question of slavery in the new territories.

7. The Missouri Compromise



(1820) settled for a while the question of slavery in the Louisiana Purchase, and the Compromise of 1850 the problem of slavery in the land won from Mexico.

8. The Missouri Compromise, however, broke down with the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854) and the slavery issue did much to bring on the War Between the States (1861-65).

9. The War Between the States ended slavery but left untouched many other problems of agriculture.

10. Farmers faced difficult problems in the years after the war—low prices for farm products, high prices for the things they bought, high interest rates for the money they borrowed, and abuses of the railroads.

11. Led by James B. Weaver the farmers rose in revolt and tried political action through the Greenback and Populist parties.

12. In the end the farmer won relief through railroad legislation, new banking laws and other government action.

## WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

Explain the relationship of each of the following terms to the cause of the farmers.

1. Greenback party
2. Populist party
3. Grange

## WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?

*1887:* What important attempt to help the farmers was made in this year?

*1890:* What new party was formed in this year?

*1906:* What act of Congress passed in this year helped the farmer?

## CAN YOU FIND ANSWERS TO THESE?

1. Explain how the uncertainties of nature make farming a risky business.
2. What were four economic difficulties that farmers faced after the War Between the States?
3. What qualifications did James B. Weaver have as leader of farm groups? Why did Weaver change political parties?
4. For what ideas did Weaver the politician fight? Explain: "Weaver was ahead of his time."
5. How did the farmers propose to remedy what they considered to be abuses against them?
6. Why were the eastern politicians alarmed at the third-party movements in the West? What did they do to safeguard their position?
7. How did the interests of the Grange and of the railroads come into conflict? Why were state laws regulating railroads unsatisfactory?
8. What did the Interstate Commerce Act provide? Why was this not a satisfactory solution to the farmers' difficulties with the railroads?
9. What did the Hepburn Act provide? Did this settle the problem of railroad regulation?

10. What steps did the federal government take to help the farmers borrow money?
11. *Summary Question*: Why did the farmers turn to new political parties and the government for help?

### Activities for Unit Five

#### CAN YOU MAKE IT?

1. *Map*. Using the map on page 232 as a guide, prepare a map showing the farming regions of the United States. Notice that in some regions there is a mixed agriculture. Or make a map that shows the Union and the Confederate states in the War Between the States (see map, page 248).
2. *Headlines*. Select two outstanding events from each chapter and make headline statements for them. To get the spirit of the times, see Sylvan Hoffman's *News of the Nation*, Nos. 18-23.
3. *Cartoon*. Draw a cartoon to illustrate one of the following: (a) the tractor and the combine replace the horses for farm power, (b) Missouri—slave state or free?, (c) Weaver in Congress demands laws to help the farmer, or (d) southern political leaders control the national government.
4. *Letter*. Imagine that you are a farmer living in Iowa in the 1890's. Write a letter to your Congressman explaining the troubles of the farmers. Urge your Congressman to take action. Read again pages 258-66 for an understanding of the farmers' troubles.
5. *Poster*. Make a poster for one of the following: (a) Lincoln calling for 75,000 volunteers, (b) Negroes listening to the Emancipation Proclamation, (c) the government aids the farmer, and (d) the southern cotton plantation.
6. *Models*. Make a bust of either Lincoln, Jefferson Davis, General Grant or General Lee. Or make a model of a large modern farm showing how crops are rotated. Pictures of different types of farm machinery might be displayed around the model.

#### I TEST MY SKILLS

7. *How to Reason*. Reasoning is difficult. Many people are unwilling to judge facts. They find it difficult to think beyond surface statements to find out why things are so. This exercise is to test your reasoning skill. Read the description of the Compromise of 1850 starting on page 246. Answer these questions on that agreement: (a) Was the admission of California a victory for the North or for the South? Why? (b) Were the conditions governing the admission of states from the remainder of the Mexican Cession a victory for the North or the South? Why? To answer that question you will need to answer these first. (1) Was this territory likely to be settled by people from the North or South? Why? (2) Was it suitable to plantation and slave farming? Why? (c) Did the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia please the North or the South? Why could a person keep slaves there if he already owned them? (d) Who was pleased by the strict law providing for the return of runaway slaves? Why?
8. *Interpreting Figures*. Following is a table of figures. Answer the questions that follow the table.

AVERAGE PRICES RECEIVED BY FARMERS

<i>Date</i>	<i>Hogs per 100 lbs.</i>	<i>Wheat per bu.</i>	<i>Cotton per lb.</i>	<i>Potatoes per bu.</i>	<i>Eggs per doz.</i>	<i>Butter per lb.</i>
1925	\$ 9.31	\$1.62	\$.22	\$ .70	\$.49	\$.41
1930	8.80	1.07	.16	1.37	.38	.40
1933	2.68	.33	.06	.37	.21	.21
1936	8.91	.92	.11	.65	.23	.33
1939	6.96	.57	.08	.65	.19	.25
1942	10.55	1.06	.17	.98	.31	.36

(a) In what year do all but one of the above products reach their lowest price? (b) Suppose that you had the same yield in 1933 that you had in 1930. How many times greater would have been your income in 1930 than in 1933 if your crop had been wheat? cotton? potatoes? butter? (c) Do these figures indicate that the farmers' income is certain, or uncertain?

### WE WORK IN GROUPS

9. *Radio Play.* Write and produce for the class a radio play using the theme "Western Farmers Demand Action." The central character might be James B. Weaver, though this play should not be a biography of his life. You will need a director, authors, sound engineer as well as actors. The class could discuss the details to be included. Let the committee of authors write the script. When it is completed and corrected, then select the cast. Hold at least two rehearsals before staging. Suggested episodes are: (a) Iowa about 1890 showing the unrest of the farmers over their conditions, (b) the announcement of Weaver as a candidate for President on the Populist ticket giving his platform, (c) the fear of the Democrats and Republicans of this new power in the West—they ridicule Weaver, (d) election scene announcing Weaver's defeat and what the farmers might think about it.

### WE THINK FOR OURSELVES

10. *Round Table Discussion.* Have a group of six pupils show how the modern farmer continues to have many problems faced by the old timers. One person will act as chairman. He will ask the following questions of the other members of the Round Table: (a) What have been some of the problems of the past that have bothered farmers? (b) Are farmers scientific in their work? Do they make the best use of their resources? (c) Is the farmer better off today than he was in the late 1800's? Why? (d) What are some steps the farmers have taken to improve their position? What changes are farmers making in the way they conduct their farms? (e) How has the government helped the farmer? For information consult your text. Excellent additional material can be found in five *Building America* pamphlets, I, "Food"; II, "Conservation"; III, "Our Farmers"; VII, "Cotton"; and IX, "Dairying." We suggest that each person on the Round Table choose one of these pamphlets from which to get ideas to contribute to the discussion.

## WE TURN TO OTHER BOOKS

11. *For Further Information.*

RUGG, HAROLD, *The Conquest of America*. Pages 377-97 tell about the cotton kingdom and the effects of the War Between the States upon it.

RUGG, HAROLD, *America's March Toward Democracy*. Pages 234-44 describe life in the cotton kingdom before the War Between the States, 247-67 tell of the rise of the slavery trouble, 281-313 give the campaigns of the war and the problem of rebuilding the South.

SCHOFFELMAYER, VICTOR, *White Gold*. An excellent little book telling about cotton land.

BAER, MARION, *Pandora's Box*. The story of the conservation movement in our country.

GAER, JOSEPH, *Men and Trees*. This interesting little book tells the story of forestry and the United States Forest Service.

12. *To Find Out Who's Who.*

DAUGHERTY, JAMES, *Abraham Lincoln*. An excellent biography with interesting pictures of one of America's great men.

HAMILTON, J. G. DE R. AND M. T., *Life of Robert E. Lee for Boys and Girls*. The story of one of the South's finest gentlemen and great generals.

BEATY, J. Y., *Luther Burbank, Plant Magician*. The story of a man whose life was devoted to improving plants.

NOLAN, J. C., *The Story of Clara Barton of the Red Cross*. The biography of one of the great women of America with emphasis upon her work during the War Between the States.

BURLINGAME, ROGER, *Whittling Boy; The Story of Eli Whitney*. An interesting account of the man who invented the cotton gin.

NOLAN, J. C., *The Little Giant, The Story of Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln*. An interesting book that shows the rivalry and friendship of these two outstanding leaders from the Middle West.

13. *To Read a Historical Story.*

SWIFT, H. H., *Railroad to Freedom; A Story of the Civil War*. Harriet Tubman escapes from slavery and then helps more than 300 of her people to freedom by way of the underground railway.

ROSS, M. I., *Morgan's Fourth Son*. Tom Morgan scorned farming until he suddenly found himself manager of a farm. The story also shows the activities of the 4-H movement.

SCHMIDT, S. L., *New Land*. The Morgan twins and their father make a fresh start on new land in Wyoming.

SINGMASTER, ELSIE, *Swords of Steel; The Story of a Gettysburg Boy*. John Deane sees and hears the conflicts of opinions in the days of the War Between the States.

KJELGAARD, JIM, *Forest Patrol*. A thrilling story packed with adventure by a boy who learns about the forest service.

14. *To Look at the Past in Pictures.*

*Pageant of America*: III, 69–296, the story of American agriculture from early days up to modern times; VII, 9–181; IX, 9–43; and VII, 282–327, the story of the War Between the States, of slavery, and of Lincoln's part in these critical years.

*Building America*: I, "Food"; II, "Conservation"; III, "Our Farmers"; VII, "Cotton"; and IX, "Dairying."

**WE SUMMARIZE THE UNIT**

15. *Time Line.* Prepare a time line from 1790 to 1910. On one side mark the years when Washington, Jackson, Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt were Presidents. On the other side place the events listed under the red-letter years of each chapter in this unit. Answer the following questions based upon the time line: (a) During whose Presidency was the cotton gin invented? (b) During whose administration was the reaper invented? (c) Under what President were the land-grant colleges established? (d) How many compromises concerning slavery are listed? (e) What President issued the Emancipation Proclamation?
16. *Booklet.* Make a booklet entitled "Military History." In this show by the use of maps the chief plans of both the North and South in carrying on the war in the West, in the East, and on the sea. List two important commanders on each side. Mention three key battles and tell why each was important. Make an attractive cover for your booklet.
17. *Using the Summary.* Turn to page 268 where the summary of the unit begins. Which sections of the summary are directly related to the title of the unit? Are the others indirectly related? How? Each part of the summary points out an important idea or mentions important dates and acts. Give an example of how an abundance of land encouraged wasteful methods. Give an example of a "scientifically-minded" farmer. How did the Morrill Act promote agricultural education, and the Hatch Act encourage scientific research? In a similar manner explain or give an example of the ideas and facts mentioned in the remainder of the summary.

**DO WE UNDERSTAND THE IDEAS OF THE UNIT?**

18. *Choosing Words.* From the "What Do They Mean" lists in each chapter of this unit select ten words that deal with the farmer and explain how they apply to farming or the farmers' interests. List three words that apply to the Negroes and explain their use.
19. *Using the Unit Drawing.* Turn to pages 226–27 and study the unit drawing. Of the many problems caused by changing agriculture, which has the artist chosen to illustrate? What people and symbols has the artist used to represent the Union? the Confederacy? Some of the characters represent real people. Which of these can you recognize?
20. *Men of the Year.* Select from this unit the names of eight outstanding men. In two or three sentences tell why each is important to the ideas of this unit or was a man of the year.





## Unit Six

### *The Machine Age Creates a New Way of Life*

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- 16. The Industrial Revolution Ushers in the Machine Age
  - 17. The Misuse of Power by Big Business Leads to Government Regulation
  - 18. The Machine Age Forces Labor to Organize into Unions
  - 19. Our Country Grows Smaller as Man Conquers Distance
- 

Modern times began when the spinning wheel moved from the home to the factory. The steam engine speeded the change. Thousands of inventors and scientists created the machine age. The 100 years after 1840 saw greater changes in our ways of life than in the whole period since the coming of man.

As the machine age develops, we see the little shop change into the big factory. The sailing boat becomes the great ocean steamship; the stage coach the modern streamliner. Men are no longer bound to the earth; they now fly from continent to continent.

With machinery have come other changes. Little villages have grown into great cities. Little business has grown into big business. Small groups of workers have joined together into great unions. Our way of life changed rapidly and keeps on changing.



GOMPER DEBS

MORSE



ORVILLE  
EDISON WILBUR WRIGHT

BELL



# Chapter 16. *The Industrial Revolution Ushers in the Machine Age . . . . .*

*In 1798 Eli Whitney of New Haven, Connecticut, the famous inventor of the cotton gin, was given an order by the government for 10,000 muskets to be delivered in two years. At the end of the two years he had produced only 520, despite financial aid from the government and friends.*

*Whitney asked for more time and money. The government hesitated. Why had he taken so much time and why had he spent so much money? Why had he not produced more muskets? Only Whitney could give the answer. On the floor of a government office he dumped a large box of gun parts. Then from this pile he put together ten perfect guns. Officials were amazed. Was this magic? Who had ever heard of such a thing before?*

*Whitney explained how it was done. Until now, he said, guns have been made by skilled workmen. They have made each little part by hand and slowly built the gun into a finished product. But skilled mechanics are hard to find. Most of them have left for the West.*

*I decided to build machines, said Whitney, that would make the parts—machines so perfect that each part would fit perfectly into any gun. The skill would go into building the machines, and, said he, I built many of them with my own hands. When the parts are turned out, unskilled mechanics can piece them together. The job of the worker is largely to follow simple directions. It has taken time to build the machines, but now the work can go on more rapidly.*

*Under this system, each part is so perfect that it can be used in any similar product. Whitney was the first man to use the system in a practical way. It took time and money to make his machines. When they were once made, the whole process of production was much faster and cheaper.*

*This system is the parent of mass production—large-scale manufacturing. Workmen no longer make products by hand. Machines now make the parts; workmen put them together. If you will visit any large factory today you will see how this works.*



## *Manufacturing Means Making by Hand . . . . .*

Every colonial farmer is a little manufacturer. It is hard today to understand a time when almost every man was his own manufacturer and every farm was its own factory. Yet this was the situation on the American farm in colonial days. Most colonists were small farmers. Not only were they farmers, they were also manufacturers. That is, they produced on the farm most of the things which they needed—tools, clothes, furniture, and many other things.

Farmer Smith, his wife, and children were not manufacturers because they wanted to be but because they had to be. After the frontier days were over, most farmers had enough food, clothing, and other necessary things, but they had little cash. If they were to buy, they must also sell. It was possible to raise more products on the farm than were used, but it was difficult to get them to market. Roads were poor, distances were long, and the products were heavy and bulky. Most farmers lived far from stores.

In such a situation there was only one thing for them to do—manufacture what they needed. Farmer Smith often had to build his own house and construct his own fireplace. He made his own furniture, harnesses for his horses, and many of his own tools. With the exception of iron, he could find the materials for all these on his own farm. The iron he must buy from outside, but he soon learned

to work it into tools. In brief, Farmer Smith was his own carpenter, mason, blacksmith, cooper (barrel maker), and saddler.

While Farmer Smith did this rough outside work, Mrs. Smith found plenty to do. Besides the usual housework of cooking, cleaning, and bringing up a family, she made the clothing for the family. Almost every farmhouse had a spinning wheel and a loom to weave cloth. After making the cloth, Mrs. Smith sewed her own and her children's clothes. She also canned fruit and vegetables and preserved the meat for the winter. She prepared the soap and dipped the candles.

Needless to say, the little Smiths did their part. There could be no idle hands when so much had to be done. Little girls learned how to spin and weave before they learned to read and write. Boys knew how to work with wood and leather before they ever saw a school. If a family was to live at all, at least on the frontier, it must learn to do many things.

**Little shops spring up in colonial towns.** The picture of the colonial farm gradually changed as population increased and villages appeared. More and better roads were built. It became possible for the farmer to take his extra products to market and exchange them for goods which he needed. He could exchange his wheat, corn, and meat for a better axe, a new sleigh, finer furniture, or whatever else he might want.

With enough people in the villages and towns, it was possible for



The age of hand labor and the small shop is shown well in this picture. Here the blacksmith and his helper shoe horses and do various metal jobs with only a tiny forge and a few hand tools. (The Bettmann Archive)

some men to give their whole time to manufacturing. Grist mills appeared where farmers brought their wheat and corn to be ground. Saw-mills were set up to saw lumber. Blacksmiths took over the task of making metal tools. Soon there was work enough for one man to give his whole time to the making of shoes and harness, furniture and other articles.

By the end of the colonial period little craftsmen had set up their mills or little shops in many villages. We know that their work was good and sometimes artistic. Lovers of antiques today fill their houses with colonial furniture. Furniture makers now imitate the simple but beautiful lines of early beds, cabinets, and chairs. The village crafts-

men of colonial times would be amazed at the prices his products bring today.

As the means of transportation improved, the farmer himself sometimes manufactured for the outside market. During the winters there was not so much to do on the farm. In his spare time he could make barrels for the fishing, rum, and sugar trade. He could make shingles, wooden hinges, and door latches. Sometimes he bought iron, and set up a little forge in his kitchen and made nails.

Two things should be remembered about this early manufacturing. First of all, it was done on a small scale. Seldom in these little shops was there more than a single man, or an owner with one or two

helpers. Second, the products were handmade. Machinery and factory production had not yet appeared in America.

### *The New Industrial Revolution Means the Change from Hand to Machine Production*

The invention of simple machines shifts manufacturing from the home to the factory. Human beings have lived in our world for a long time, at least 200,000 years. Gradually during this long period they learned how to use metals and manufacture tools, clothing and other things which they needed. Until recently, however, all manufacturing was done by hand. This was the situation in America during the colonial period. It was less than 200 years ago that mankind began to invent machinery.

The machine age began in the textile industry in the spinning of thread and the weaving of cloth. The colonial housewife made her thread in her own kitchen by means of a simple spinning wheel. Her method was to draw from a roll enough wool to make a thread and then run it over a good sized wheel. This wheel she kept in motion by her hand or by working a treadle with her foot. The thread was then run through a small wheel or spindle which twisted it and gave it strength. The big wheel made the little one spin with great speed.

The spinning wheel was, of course, a crude form of machine. It

was run, however, by human power. The thread was made by the skillful fingers of the housewife. The first important step toward machine production came in England in the middle 1700's. A certain James Hargreaves improved the spinning wheel and increased the amount of yarn that could be spun. He invented a machine by which eight spindles were connected by a belt to a wheel, which could be turned by hand.

Hargreaves's machine made it possible to spin eight threads instead of one. A few years later another inventor built a machine to turn the wheels by water power rather than by hand. This had many effects. First, it ended the use of man power in spinning. The machine now made the thread. Man simply tended the machine. Second, it made possible the spinning of more thread. Water power is greater than man power. Instead of one thread at a time spun by a housewife, hundreds of threads could be spun on one machine run by water power. Third, it made thread cheaper.

What happened in spinning soon spread to weaving and other industries. New machinery was invented and water power took the place of hand power. One of the most important effects of all this was the development of the factory system. The new machines were large and expensive. They must be set up near rivers where there was water power. Since the new machines produced goods more cheaply, they put the little spinning wheel and the hand loom out of business. Spinners

and weavers left their homes or little shops to seek work tending the big machines in the factories.

**James Watt invents a practical steam engine.** No invention did more to bring in the machine age than the steam engine. It introduced a new kind of power. From ancient times men had known that water turned into steam expanded to create power. But it was not until 1769 that Watt, a Scotch engineer, showed how to use steam in a practical way.

Watt discovered how steam could be used over and over again to force a piston back and forth. The backward and forward motion of the piston could be applied to the turning of wheels or the driving of a hammer. It was now no longer necessary to build factories on streams where there was water power. They could be built anywhere. A steam engine could drive the heaviest machinery.

Perhaps the greatest effect of the steam engine was in transportation. Less than 50 years after Watt invented his practical engine, other inventors harnessed it to paddle wheels to propel boats. A little later they applied it to wheeled vehicles, and steam railroads began. This, as we shall see in Chapter 19, brought a new age in transportation.

**Samuel Slater is the "father of American manufactures."** The inventions just described were made in Great Britain. The machine age and the factory system began in that country. Great Britain, in fact, had

a 50-year start over the rest of the world in machine production. She became the greatest manufacturing nation in the world.

Naturally Britain did not want to lose these advantages. She passed laws forbidding the export of the new machinery. She tried to keep the inventions secret. She even attempted to prevent workmen in the new industries from moving to other countries.

Since America was eager to learn about the new machinery, it was impossible to keep the inventions secret. Machinery was smuggled out of Great Britain. Workmen, who knew the machinery well, slipped out of England. When they came to America, they built new machines from memory. The most famous of these immigrants was Samuel Slater, called by President Jackson "the father of American manufactures."

Slater had been a foreman in important English textile mills. When he came to America he offered his services to two Rhode Island merchants who were already experimenting with textile machines. Slater built from memory his own spinning machines and by 1790 he had started his first mill. Slater's first mill was a tiny affair. Only nine little children tended the machines. It marked, nevertheless, the beginnings of the American factory system.

**Clever Yankee inventors spread the industrial revolution.** The first inventions which started the Industrial Revolution, as we have just read, were made in Great Britain.





But Britain did not have all of the brains. When Americans once learned of the new machinery, they set themselves to improve it. More than that they invented new machines, inventions which have done much to change our way of life. One of these, the cotton gin, invented by Eli Whitney, we described in Chapter 14.

Of the many thousands of American inventions, there is room at this point to mention only three. Englishmen invented the first machinery for the spinning and weaving of cloth. But it was a Yankee mechanic, Elias Howe, who constructed a machine to put this cloth into quicker use. In 1846 he patented his sewing machine.

The sewing machine was a great help to the housewife in making and repairing clothes for the family. More than that the sewing machine made possible the factory production of dresses and men's suits. The making of clothes shifted from the home to the factory. Finally sewing machines were invented which would sew leather as well as cloth. Then shoemaking also moved from the home or little shop to the big factory.

A few years before Howe invented the sewing machine, another clever Yankee, Charles Goodyear, discovered how to make useable rubber. Before Goodyear, rubber was of little use; it would melt in hot weather and harden and crack in the winter. Goodyear worked on this problem for years. Finally he discovered that if he mixed sulphur with rubber and heated it, the final product could be used at any time.

Goodyear's discovery was the beginning of a great industry.

Even more important to modern life than rubber is steel. It is hard to think of a machine age without plenty of good cheap steel. Mankind had known for hundreds of years how to make steel, but the process was long and costly.

In the 1850's an American, William Kelly, and an Englishman, Sir William Bessemer, discovered about the same time a new and cheaper way of making steel. The process was simple. After the iron was melted, a blast of air was forced through it. This burned out the impurities. Once the iron was pure, the right amount of carbon or other material could be added to make a hard and yet elastic steel. Steel is a much better metal than iron. It has greater strength and is less brittle.

The Kelly-Bessemer process made steel as cheap as iron had been. Before this process steel had been manufactured by the pound. Now it was turned out by the ton. Instead of three months, it now took only half an hour to make steel. Thousands of useful products which before had been too costly were now within reach of all. With good cheap steel, the machine age could develop rapidly.

### *Little Shops Grow into Great Factories . . . . .*

**The War of 1812 and a growing country increase the number of small factories.** It was more than 20 years after Slater set up his first lit-

the spinning mill before America really turned to factory production. Since England had a 50-year start on us in manufacturing, she had machinery and skilled workers. Therefore she could make products more cheaply than we could.

Most Americans in the early 1800's were farmers. They raised food, cut lumber, and produced other raw materials. These were sent to Europe and sold. With the money merchants bought manufactured goods which they brought back and sold in America. In this way each continent met the needs of the other.

This two-way trade might have gone on much longer if it had not been for a war. England and France with their allies were engaged for about 25 years in a life-and-death struggle. Finally in 1812 the United States was drawn into this war against Great Britain. One important result was to interrupt our trade with Europe.

When the war cut off our supply of manufactured goods from Europe, we turned to making them ourselves. As foreign commerce stopped, wealthy merchants and shipowners put their money into manufacturing. Small factories sprang up like mushrooms, particularly along the little rivers of New England. These were mainly textile factories, but other products were also manufactured. The most famous of these factories was built by Francis Cabot Lowell at Waltham, Massachusetts. Here, for the first time in the world, all the processes of spinning and weaving were brought together in one factory.

War or no war, America was bound some day to be a great manufacturing nation (see map, page 283). She had everything necessary for large-scale industry. First of all, the people of the United States wanted to buy manufactured goods. There was a sure market in this country. America was large and her population was increasing rapidly. Frontiersmen already had pushed over the Alleghenies and were occupying the great Mississippi Valley.

Besides a market, America had a vast store of raw materials. Few nations had so much of so many things. An abundance of power, water, coal, and oil could turn the machinery. Millions of acres of fertile farms could produce many needed materials. Beneath the ground were iron, copper, sulphur, limestone, and many other materials.

**Another war speeds the growth of the factory system.** Although the number of factories grew, the chief interest of the nation continued to be agriculture. England could still produce manufactured goods more cheaply and sell them in the American market. Even if we did manufacture, it was hard to get the goods to the market. Railroads had not yet been built, and goods had to be carried long distances over poor roads. There were rivers, of course, but generally they flowed in the wrong direction. Most American rivers start in the north and run in a southerly direction. People, on the other hand, were moving west. If the manufacturer was to reach

the market, he must follow the westward-moving frontiersmen. Many raw materials were also found in the West. These must be brought east to be manufactured.

Two influences in the middle 1800's helped turn America into a great manufacturing nation. The first was the building of railroads. Railroads made it possible to ship manufactured products quickly and cheaply to the West. They also brought back farm products and raw materials to feed busy people and machines.

The second great influence was the War Between the States. This lasted four years (1861-65). At one time or another several million men were in the army. As in every war, the demand for food, clothing, arms, and munitions greatly increased. The government gave large orders to almost every factory that could produce goods needed by the army or navy.

Hundreds of thousands of farm boys enlisted during the war, and farmers bought machinery to do their work—the new machinery described in Chapter 13. The army needed food, and meat packing became one of the most important American industries. The woolen industry more than doubled during the war. By the end of the conflict America had turned very definitely to manufacturing.

In the great industrial advance during and after the war, steel was the key industry. The war demands started the development; the Kelly-Bessemer process made it possible. Eight times as much steel was produced in 1880 as in 1860. About 12

times as many workmen were engaged in making it. Before 1860 most steel mills were in western Pennsylvania. The mills now spread south into Alabama and west into Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and elsewhere. Steel was the foundation stone upon which America built the Industrial Revolution (see map, page 283).

### *Today the Machine Age Means Mass Production . .*

**From Eli Whitney to Henry Ford, industry moves toward mass production.** In less than 30 years after the War Between the States had ended, America had taken England's place as the greatest manufacturing nation in the world. We turned out more factory products than Great Britain and half as much as all Europe put together. Raw materials and Yankee cleverness, of course, made this possible. Also important was the fact that America first learned the secret of modern manufacture.

What was this secret that gave America leadership? It was the knowledge of how to produce goods cheaply by means of *mass production*. Eli Whitney, as we know, first got the idea. No one has explained it better than Whitney's friend, Thomas Jefferson. Said Jefferson: "He has invented molds and machines for making his locks [for guns] so exactly equal that, take 100 locks to pieces and mingle their parts and the 100 locks may be put together by taking the pieces which come to hand."





The Ford Rouge Plant at Dearborn, Michigan, shown in this picture, gives some idea of the tremendous size of just one of the Ford Motor Company plants. Large scale industry with mass production and the assembly line has resulted in factories like this one. (Courtesy Ford Motor Company)

This idea does not seem very exciting to us. Products have been made this way so long that we hardly think of any other way. Nevertheless, it was new 150 years ago. Only gradually did manufacturers adopt it.

Before Whitney a single workman made the entire product. Can you imagine a single workman making an airplane today? One machine stamps out the body, other machines make the engine, still others turn out the wheels, spark plugs, batteries, wires, and so on. Sometimes a single factory gives its whole time to making a small part of a big machine. A factory in Akron, Ohio, may make the tires which go on a plane made in Detroit, Michigan.

If one workman or factory gives its entire attention to making a single part, the product can be made more rapidly and more cheaply. Although many skilled mechanics

are still employed, most workers simply tend machines that produce the parts or assemble the parts after they are made. The "assembly line" has become an important part of modern factory production.

The assembly line means fast production. It makes possible "mass production"—the turning out of many units. When Henry Ford started mass production in 1907, he planned to turn out 10,000 cars a year. Fifteen years later, as he gradually perfected the assembly line, he was turning out 5,000 a day.

A typical modern car has as many as 4,000 parts. A powerful machine first drives 30 or more holes in an engine block. The engine is then placed on a conveyor. As the conveyor moves down a long room, various parts of the automobile are added to the engine. Sometimes a single workman adds only a few bolts or tightens a few screws. Finally the completed job rolls out



This assembly line shows both a line of tanks (right) and a line of tank destroyers (left) as they near completion. The picture was taken in the Fisher Body Division of the General Motors Company at Grand Blanc, Michigan. (Ewing Galloway)

of the factory. Since fewer skilled workmen are needed, the assembly line also means cheap production.

**The machine age changes greatly our way of life.** The machine age has changed our way of life in many ways. Before the Industrial Revolution almost all of the people lived in the country or in small towns. When machinery was invented, workers moved to live near the factories. When the United States began as a nation, only one person in 20 lived in a town of 2,500 or more. Today over half of our people live in such towns or cities (see chart, page 289). This movement to the cities is true of all industrial nations.

Machine products, as we have already said, can be made more cheaply. This means that more people can have more things. A well-

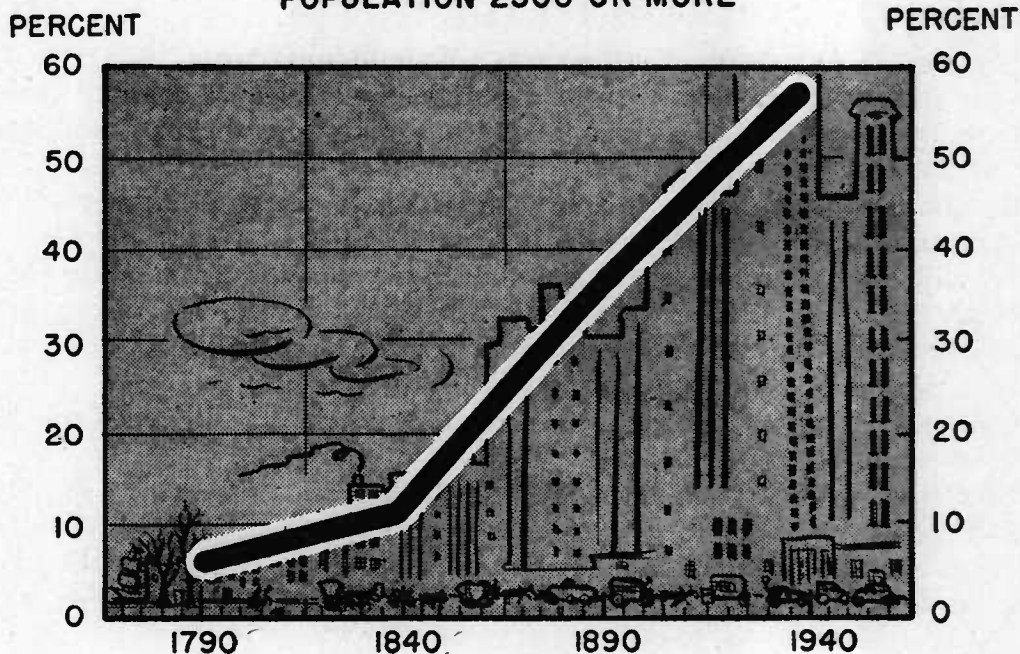
paid workman today can obtain more things and live in greater comfort than a king in earlier times. Machinery, mass production, and the assembly line have raised the standard of living for most people.

The effects of machinery, however, are not all gain. Machines tend to control man rather than man the machines. The man on the assembly line must keep up with the conveyor. He must keep a certain pace day after day. Instead of really building a machine as in earlier years, he does only one tiny operation day after day, year after year. He becomes in a sense a tiny cog in the great machine of production. The machine has taken him prisoner. There is little in this sort of work to stir the mind. It is a deadly routine.

Machinery has done more than that. It has set a pattern of life

**GROWTH OF TOWNS AND CITIES**

POPULATION 2500 OR MORE



which we are all likely to follow. Factories turn out clothing of the same style. We begin to dress alike whether we live in New York or in a little village in Kansas. We rush to offices and factories at the same time to produce or distribute the products of the new machinery.

When we turn on our radios at night millions listen to the same music or laugh at the same jokes at

the same time. Millions listen at the same time to the same speaker who tries to make us think as he does. People in New York and Los Angeles read in the newspapers the same articles on the same day. Telegraphs, cables, and radios have made this possible. Whether for good or ill we come more and more to work, play, and think in the same way.

**WHAT DO THEY MEAN?**

Explain the meaning of each of the following terms in relation to our industrial development.

- |                    |              |                           |
|--------------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| 1. manufacture     | 3. craftsmen | 5. Kelly-Bessemer process |
| 2. mass production | 4. antiques  | 6. assembly line          |

**WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?**

**1790:** Why is this date important in our industrial history?

**1846:** What invention in this year completely changed the textile industry?

1907: What process was introduced in this year, making possible mass production of automobiles and later applied to other industries?

### CAN YOU FIND ANSWERS TO THESE?

1. Explain: "Every colonial farmer was a little manufacturer."
2. Why did industries begin to spring up in shops even in colonial times?
3. Give two examples of British inventions that were the basis for the Industrial Revolution.
4. In what industry did the machine age have its start? What were at least four improvements made in this industry?
5. Why did Britain try to keep ideas about new machines from going abroad?
6. What American inventions and improvements on old inventions helped to spread the Industrial Revolution?
7. How did the War of 1812 affect our trade and manufacturing?
8. Show the effects of the new railroads and of the War Between the States upon manufacturing.
9. How does work on the assembly line differ from the work of the skilled mechanic?
10. From the map on page 283, list five states where you would find many manufacturing plants. In what states would you find oil refining, textile manufacturing, meat packing, and lumbering?
11. The machine age has several important results. What has been its effect upon: (a) towns and cities, (b) the cost of finished products, (c) workers, and (d) the way we live?
12. What contributions did each of the following make to the industrial development of America: Francis Cabot Lowell, Samuel Slater, Elias Howe, William Kelly, and Henry Ford?
13. *Summary Question*: What is the new way of life that the machine age has brought?



# Chapter 17. *The Misuse of Power by Big Business Leads to Government Regulation . . .*

*In the early 1900's two men had control of all the railroad routes from the Mississippi to the Pacific. Edward H. Harriman controlled the central and southern routes and James J. Hill through the Northern Securities Company the northern routes. This was a company set up to control the three great railroads serving the Northwest—the Northern Pacific, the Great Northern, and the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy.*

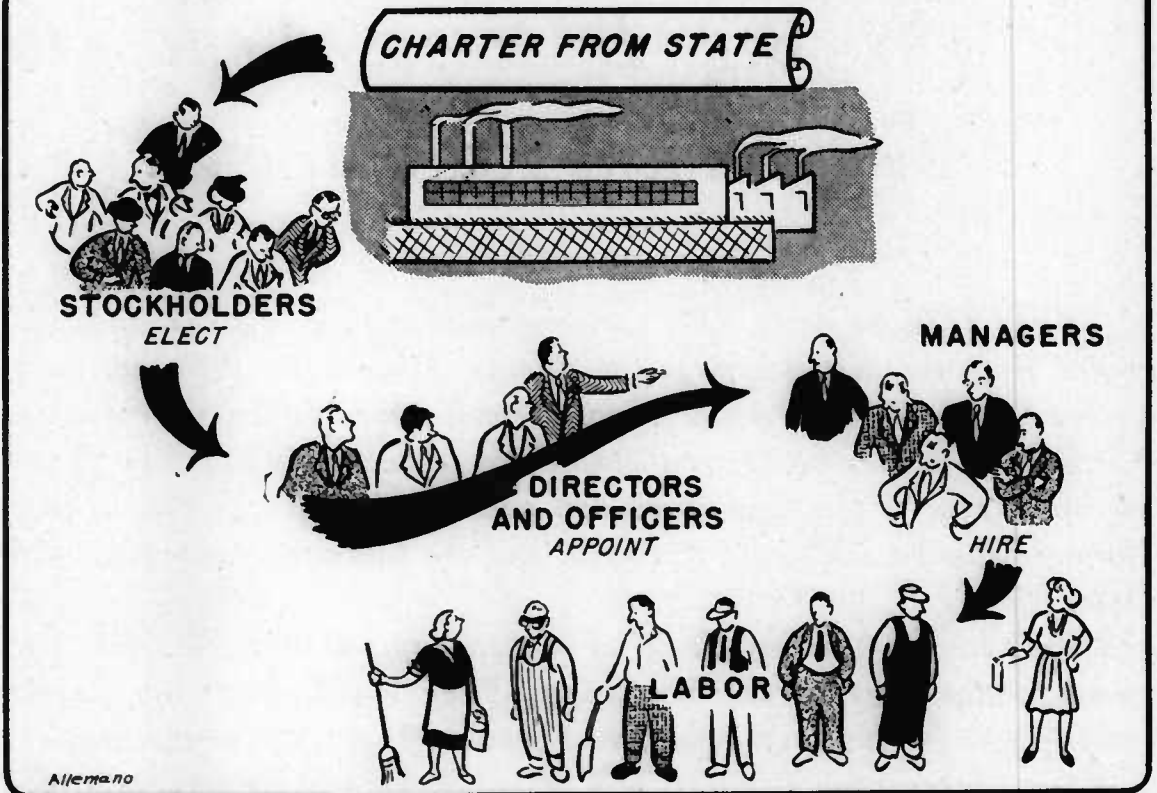
*These two men and their financial backers enjoyed complete control of transportation west of the Mississippi. They could determine freight rates, passenger fares, and quality of service. They had no competitors.*

*A few years earlier Congress had passed an act making such practices illegal. When the people of the nation understood the situation in the West, they demanded action. President Theodore Roosevelt decided to remedy this situation. He would ask the Attorney General to bring the Northern Securities Company to court because it was set up for one purpose—to unite the three great railroads serving the Northwest under one control.*

*When J. Pierpont Morgan, the financial backer of Hill, heard of Roosevelt's intention, he rushed to Washington. "If we have done anything wrong," said he to Roosevelt, "send your man [meaning the Attorney General] to my man and they can fix it up." "That can't be done," said the President. Added the Attorney General, who was present at the interview, "We don't want to fix it up, we want to stop it." Greatly disturbed, Morgan inquired, "Are you going to attack my other interests, the Steel Trust and others?" "Certainly not," replied the President, "unless we find out that in any case you have done something that we regard as wrong."*

*Evidently the Supreme Court believed that the Northern Securities Company had done wrong in the eyes of the law. The court declared it to be a monopoly and ordered it to go out of business. "If Congress has not," said the court, "described this and like cases [in the Anti-Monopoly Act], it would . . . be impossible to find words that would describe them."*

## A CORPORATION AT WORK



### Many Business Companies Unite in Great Corporations

Today the corporation is the most important form of business organization. In the last chapter we discussed the coming of the machine age. We also noted the development of big factories and mass production. Heavy machinery and large factories are very costly. In fact, a great manufacturing plant usually costs more money than any single person has to put into it. As a result, great companies of many persons are formed to carry on the business.

These great companies are called *corporations*. The railroad companies and the Northern Securities Company mentioned at the begin-

ning of the chapter are examples. They operate under state laws and under charters obtained from a government. A corporation charter is simply a permission granted by the government to a group of people to carry on a business. The charter allows this group to do certain things. The most important right that it grants is the power to raise money by selling shares in the corporation to the public.

After a charter is obtained and the corporation started, the holders of the charter decide how much money they need. Then they try to get it by selling *shares* in the corporation. A share in such a corporation is known as a share of stock. If a corporation needs \$100,000, it may sell 1,000 shares of stock at \$100 a share. The person who buys

one share of stock then owns 1/1000 of the company. If the company makes a profit, he has a right to 1/1000 of the profits.

This way of raising money has many advantages. First of all, many people can usually provide more money than a few. The American Telephone and Telegraph Company has more than 600,000 stockholders; the General Motors Company has more than 200,000. Almost all great corporations have thousands of stockholders.

Another advantage is that a man of small income may invest his savings in a great and prosperous company. He may not have enough to start a company of his own, but he can buy shares in corporations. Moreover, he can put as much or as little in the company as he pleases. If he feels that it is too risky to put all in one company, he can buy shares in various companies.

As a part owner of the company, a stockholder has the right to vote for the directors of the company. If he goes to the annual stockholders' meeting, he can debate and vote on policies. Each share of stock usually entitles him to one vote.

One reason why the state government grants charters to corporations is to encourage people to do things which the government itself does not want to do. The government, if it cared to, could use the taxpayers' money to build railroads, telephone lines, and great factories. In America it has preferred to let private individuals do these things. A corporation is a type of business organization which makes this possible (see chart, page 292).

**John D. Rockefeller, oil king, sets the pace.** The purpose of granting charters to form corporations was to benefit the country. Sometimes these corporations have become so powerful that they have harmed as well as helped the nation. They have sometimes grown so large as to control an entire field of business. When a corporation has such powers it is known as a monopoly or "trust."

The first great monopoly in this country was the Standard Oil Company. Its founder was John D. Rockefeller. Rockefeller was born in 1839 on a farm in central New York. Later the family moved westward to Cleveland, and there Rockefeller got his first job at the age of 16. After three years as a clerk in a wholesale produce company, he and a partner started their own firm. This concern was so successful that Rockefeller, by the time he was 23, had made enough money to invest in an oil refinery.

The oil business, which Rockefeller entered, was still in its infancy. Scarcely three years had passed since Drake had bored the first well in Titusville, Pennsylvania. Young as it was, the industry was growing rapidly. People were turning from candles and whale oil to petroleum to light their houses.

The center of early oil production was northwestern Pennsylvania. Much of it was refined in Cleveland. Rockefeller while on business trips had visited the booming oil towns and had studied the business. Oil, he was convinced, had a boundless future. He had barely reached his middle twenties



**John D. Rockefeller** by the time he had reached middle age had created a monopoly in oil refining and was branching out into railroads, industry, and banking. Already he had planned large gifts for research and education. This painting by Eastman Johnson, owned by the University of Chicago, shows Rockefeller in middle age at the height of his business activity.



before he was dreaming of controlling the entire industry.

**ROCKEFELLER ENTERS THE BUSINESS OF REFINING OIL.** As Rockefeller studied the oil industry, he saw that refining was the most important part of the business. Oil is of little use unless it is refined. Whoever could obtain a monopoly of refining could control the whole industry. Producers would have to sell to the refiner and consumers would have to buy from him. A refining monopoly could pay what it pleased to oil producers and charge what it pleased to consumers. Rockefeller determined to gain a monopoly of oil refining.

During the War Between the States Rockefeller made his first venture into oil. He bought stock in a little refinery producing ten barrels a day. Ten years later he and his able partners had control of most of the refining in Cleveland, the largest refining center in the world. Then they pushed out to capture the refining business in New York, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh. Rockefeller and his partners were wealthy and they offered to buy rival refineries at high prices. Most of the owners sold, but a few refused and fought back. If they refused to sell, Standard Oil crushed them by every means, fair or foul.

One method of crushing competitors was to find out who their customers were, and then sell to the same customers at lower prices. Standard might have to take a temporary loss, but later it could raise prices and recover its loss. Another method was to cut off the oil

from their rivals by buying up the pipe lines. Still another method was to get the railroads to give Standard better rates for transporting oil than their rivals could get.

Rockefeller's most famous triumph was a victory, not over little oil men, but over the mighty Pennsylvania Railroad. A certain Joseph D. Potts, owner of a pipe line, persuaded the Pennsylvania Railroad to back him in his fight against Rockefeller. With the help of Pennsylvania money, he purchased refineries in New York and Philadelphia. Potts and the Pennsylvania now had transportation from the oil regions and refineries on the seacoast.

Rockefeller met the challenge. He persuaded the New York Central and the Erie to cut the cost of transporting oil and then he reduced the price of refined oil. Unluckily for the Pennsylvania, a severe railroad strike tied up their lines in 1877. Between the strike and the competition with Rockefeller, the Pennsylvania lost millions. It gave up the fight and forced Potts to sell both pipe line and refineries to Rockefeller.

Twenty years after Rockefeller had started in oil he had control of nine-tenths of all the refining business in the country. Standard Oil also owned most of the pipe lines. It had set up storage tanks in the chief cities and had its own sales force to market its products. It not only manufactured kerosene but by-products—paraffin, naphtha, vaseline, and lubricating oils. It sold even more in foreign countries than at home.

ROCKEFELLER GIVES AS WELL AS RECEIVES. The Standard Oil monopoly lasted for at least 30 years. Throughout these years it was bitterly criticized. Time and again the courts tried to break the monopoly. Finally, other large concerns came in to share the business. In the meantime, it made the Oil King the richest man in the world.

Rockefeller was quite heartless in driving out competitors and charging whatever he pleased. His competitors looked upon him as a villain. The public criticized him; the press attacked him for years. He did, however, do many good things. For one thing, he believed strongly in giving money to good causes. As a youth he had contributed regularly to his church. By the time he was 60 he had given away more wealth than any person who had yet lived. And these gifts were wisely distributed.

His first great donation was to found the University of Chicago. Altogether he gave the University \$45,000,000. With his help it became one of the world's great centers of learning. Later he established a General Education Board to distribute money to many schools and colleges. These gifts were usually made when the colleges themselves agreed to raise certain amounts.

Rockefeller was interested in other types of education, particularly research. His largest donations went to the Rockefeller Foundation, which finances research of all kinds. He set up a special foundation, the Medical Institute, for the laboratory study of diseases. When

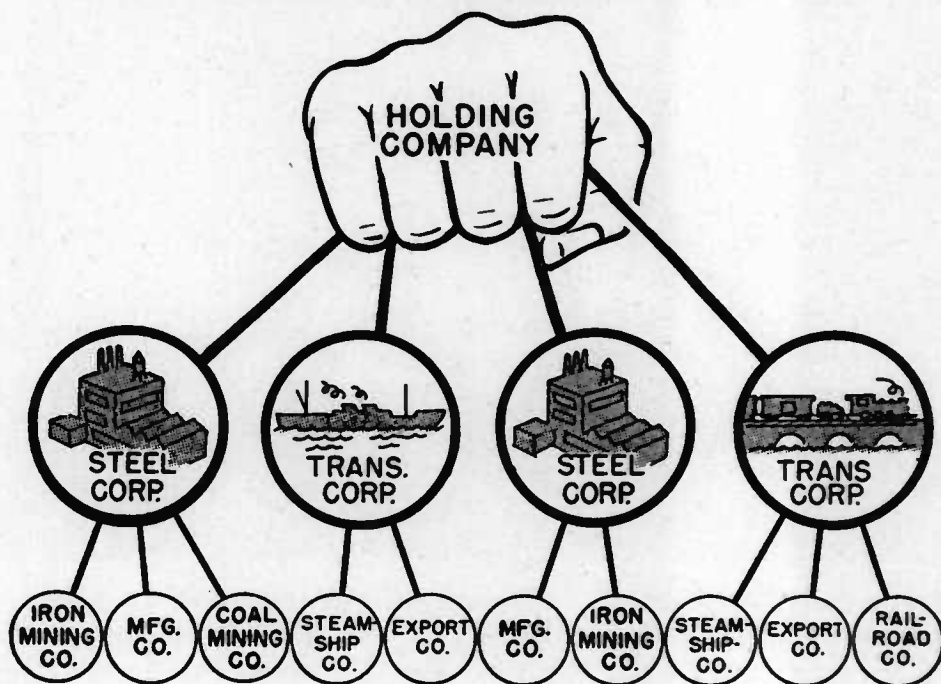
he died at the age of 98 (1937), he had given away over \$500,000,000.

**In growing large, the Standard Oil Company gobbles up little rivals.** During the early years of an industry, there are usually many rival companies. That was the situation in the early oil industry. Dozens of different refineries owned by different companies were scattered through the cities of the Middle West and Atlantic seacoast. Under such conditions there is bound to be keen rivalry and competition. The competition, in fact, often becomes so bitter that few companies can make money. The weaker companies fail or sell out to the stronger ones. Sometimes the stronger ones deliberately crush the little ones by underselling them, even if they have to take a temporary loss themselves.

It is scarcely possible for one company to crush all its rivals or get all the business. Another method, therefore, has been tried to soften or end competition. Various concerns engaged in the same kind of business will join together and set up a top concern to supervise and make policies for them all. This super-company or corporation is known as a *holding company*. The Northern Securities Company, described at the beginning of the chapter, was such a holding company.

If you will look at the chart in this chapter on page 297, you will see how a holding company is organized. Each separate company that goes into the merger or combination turns over to the holding

## HOW A HOLDING COMPANY CONTROLS

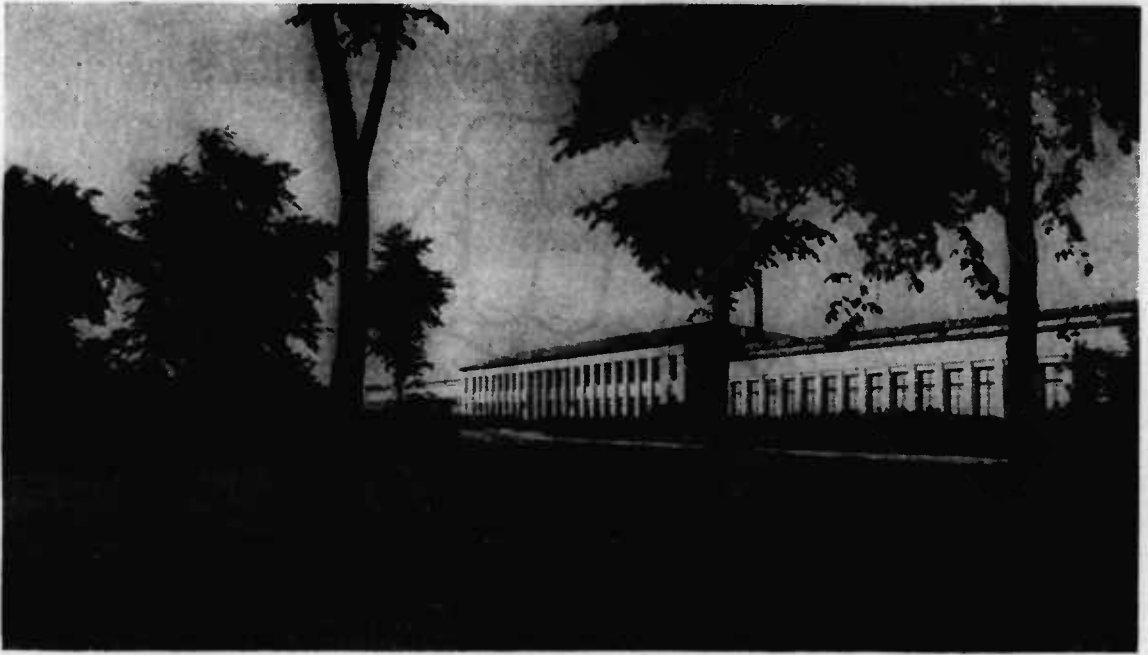


company enough of its stock so that the top company or holding company can control it. This usually means that the holding company has more than 50 per cent of the stock of the lesser company. The lesser companies may also be holding companies, controlling more than 50 per cent of the stock of other companies.

A top holding company ordinarily does little business itself. The Northern Securities Company, for example, did no railroading. It simply held a controlling number of shares of stock in three companies which did. The same is true of a holding company in manufacturing. It usually does no manufacturing. Its main concern is to decide policies and determine prices. It also decides what products its vari-

ous companies can manufacture and where and under what conditions they may sell them.

The Standard Oil once set up such a holding company—the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. It was made up of the Standard Oil Company of New York, the Standard Oil Company of Ohio, and many other concerns. The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey was finally broken up because it violated the anti-monopoly laws. Nevertheless, there are hundreds of holding companies in this country today. The greatest in wealth is the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. It has many lesser companies located in all sections of the country. Another famous holding company is the United States Steel Corporation.



The Ford Engineering Laboratory at Detroit, Michigan, is where the Ford engineers design new models and test new machinery. An idea of the important part taken by research scientists in industry may be gained from the size of this building. (Courtesy Ford Motor Company)

### *Big Business May Benefit the Public as Well as Harm It . . . . .*

**Big business can produce and sell more cheaply.** The fact that a business is big does not necessarily mean that it is harmful to the public. On the contrary, it is usually of great benefit. Almost any manufacturer will tell you that he can produce the same product more cheaply in large amounts than in small. This means that he can also sell it more cheaply.

Why is large-scale production cheaper? First of all, the manufacturer saves on machinery. One of the most costly parts of manufacturing is the building of machinery. Every time a new product is made new machinery must be designed

and built to manufacture that product. In some industries, such as the making of automobiles, where styles may change every year, new machinery must be built each year. If a machine can turn out 1,000,000 products instead of 1,000, the cost of each is bound to be cheaper.

Big business saves in many other ways. Advertising often costs the manufacturer the same whether he sells 1,000 products or 1,000,000. If the cost is spread over the sale of many units, each unit will bear a smaller part of the cost. Since the consumer in the end pays for the advertising, he benefits when many units are sold.

A large and wealthy business is in a better position to hire abler managers, salesmen, and factory workers. It has the money to pay larger salaries and wages. Because



of its strong position, it is able, if it needs to borrow from the banks, to obtain money at a cheaper rate of interest. If it is big enough to have factories in different parts of the country, it can save on transportation costs. It can also save by buying raw materials in quantities.

One of the most important benefits of big business is that it can employ engineers, scientists, and research men. These men devote their lives to building better machinery and to improving the product. They discover cheaper ways of making old products, and they show how to make new ones. The research staff is often the most important part of an industry. In the end their work benefits the consumer.

**The rubber industry illustrates the benefits of large-scale production.** All this can be illustrated from the rubber industry. Although there are many companies making rubber products, there are four big ones which lead the way. These four are large enough to benefit from large-scale production. Each one can make millions of tires a year and save in all the ways just mentioned.

No industry has profited more from the work of the research men. Each of these four big companies hires hundreds of engineers and scientists. When Charles Goodyear in the 1840's discovered how to make practical rubber, the industry made only rubber boots, overshoes, and raincoats. Today one company in the industry makes 30,000 different products.

Although rubber has been made for over 100 years, it was of poor quality until recently. Chemists and other scientists have discovered how to improve the product to make it wear longer. The problem has been largely one of mixing the right chemicals with the rubber in the right amount. An automobile owner 30 years ago was lucky if he could get 3,000 miles out of a tire, and he spent much of his time patching and repairing. Today, if he is careful, he can get 30,000 miles. Tires today are ten times as good and they cost half as much.

Rubber chemistry, in fact, has made such strides that the world is no longer dependent upon natural rubber. After the Japanese captured the great rubber plantations in the East Indies in the Second World War, Europe and America turned to synthetic or chemical rubber. Chemists had already discovered that good rubber could be manufactured from oil or from corn and other agricultural products.

**When a business controls markets and prices, it is a monopoly.** Mere size, as we have pointed out, does not make a business dangerous to a nation. It is when a single business decides to act as a monopoly that danger arises and power is misused; that is, when it becomes so powerful as to control markets and prices. If it wins such control, it can prevent competition and keep other manufacturers from entering the business.

Monopolies may develop in many ways. The government may give an inventor a patent which allows him



This anti-monopoly cartoon called "Jingle Bells" was published in 1910 at the height of the trust-busting period. The little fellow representing "The Common Man" is being driven by the monopolies (meat and coal) already fat with large and unfair profits. (F. B. Oppen in *New York American*)

the exclusive right to manufacture his product for a number of years. This is done to encourage invention. A city may grant one electric company the right to sell power in that community. Since it is impractical for more than one electric company to distribute in the same city, a monopoly exists. The city, however, keeps some control over the business.

Many monopolies in industry, however, develop because one company grows so large that it can determine prices and policies for the whole industry. More commonly a monopoly is established, as we have pointed out, when a number of important companies join together into one great holding company. This is the kind of monopoly that may be dangerous to the public welfare.

There are three main reasons why the public usually opposes such monopolies. First of all, a monopoly can dictate prices to the producer of raw materials. We have shown how the Standard Oil Company, when it got a monopoly of refining, could decide what it would pay for the raw oil taken out of the ground. Another example is the meat packing business. For many years five great companies controlled this industry. By agreeing among themselves they could determine the prices paid for beef on the hoof. If the cattlemen did not accept the price, they had no market.

Monopoly, in the second place, gives the power to dictate prices to the consumer. The consumer must buy the product from the monopoly and pay the price asked. Such ne-

cessities include sugar, meat, oil, and steel products. At one time or another there have been monopoly prices for all these products. A situation like this enables a monopoly to sell at prices higher than necessary. The consumer pays more than he should and the monopoly makes greater profits than it should.

Finally, a monopoly may give careless and inefficient service. This often happens in the transportation business. It may also sell a poor product when it could make a better one.

### *The Evil Practices of Big Business Force the Government to Act . . . . .*

The government passes laws to end monopolies. What can be done when a monopoly becomes so powerful that the public is helpless? There are three possible ways to attack the problem. (1) The government may pass laws in an effort to break up the monopoly and restore competition. (2) It can let the monopoly exist, but regulate it so that it does not injure the public. (3) The government itself may go into business and compete with a private monopoly.

Big business and monopolies grew rapidly in the years following the War Between the States. By 1890 the nation was so aroused against the developing monopolies that it demanded action. Already many states had passed anti-monopoly laws, but they accomplished lit-

tle. The people demanded that the national government do something. In 1890 Congress passed the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

Congress tackled the problem by using a power granted to it by the Constitution. This is the power to regulate trade between states and with foreign countries [28]. The Sherman Act forbade manufacturers or others to band together to control any product shipped across state boundaries or to foreign nations.

The Sherman Act was clear enough, but it accomplished little. Many industries disobeyed the act. The courts did little to enforce it. Some monopolies, like the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, were finally broken up, but little was gained. All agreed that the Sherman Act had failed.

Twenty-four years after the Sherman Act, Congress tried again. In 1914 it passed the Clayton Anti-Trust Act. This was more detailed than the earlier act. It stated very definitely what practices were illegal. By another act Congress set up the Federal Trade Commission to help enforce the Clayton Act. This commission was to study business practices and point out to industries when they were breaking the monopoly laws.

The Clayton Act and the Federal Trade Commission have done much. But they have not solved the monopoly problem. Courts found it about as hard to break up old monopolies as to unscramble eggs. Moreover, new monopolies developed, and the public still suffers from monopoly practices.

3992. Adulteration of candy. U. S. v. 233 Boxes of Candy (and 2 additional seizure actions against candy). Default decrees of condemnation and destruction. (F. D. C. Nos. 7781, 7806, 7852. Sample Nos. 80810-E, 98091-E, 98092-E, 98093-E, 98705-E, 98706-E.)

Wood fragments, sand, wool fibers, metal fragments, insect fragments, and mammalian hairs resembling those of rodents were found in samples taken from these candies.

On June 19 and 26, and July 3, 1942, the United States attorneys for the Northern District of Ohio and the District of Massachusetts filed libels against 233 boxes of candy at Cleveland, Ohio, 100 boxes of candy at Brockton, Mass., and 308 boxes of candy at Chelsea, Mass., alleging that the article had been shipped in interstate commerce on or about May 12, 15, and 16, 1942, by the \_\_\_\_\_ Co. from Chicago, Ill.; and charging that it was adulterated in that it consisted in whole or in part of a filthy substance. The article was labeled in part: (Boxes) "Jaw Breakers," "Spearmint Leaves," "Victory Balls With Saf-T Stix," "Kumbak Balls."

On July 23 and August 17, 1942, no claimant having appeared, judgments of condemnation were entered and the product was ordered destroyed.

The Food and Drug Administration of the Federal Security Agency takes such action as that described in this picture of a printed government report to enforce the Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act of 1938. In this case the filthy candy was simply seized and destroyed by order of the court. Quite often fines are imposed for the offense.

**The government tries regulation.** Sometimes it is impossible or unwise to break up a monopoly. In such a case the government has stepped in to regulate that business. A railroad, a telephone company, or a gas company are monopolies of such a type. How the government began this type of regulation when it passed the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 to control railroads we have told in Chapter 15.

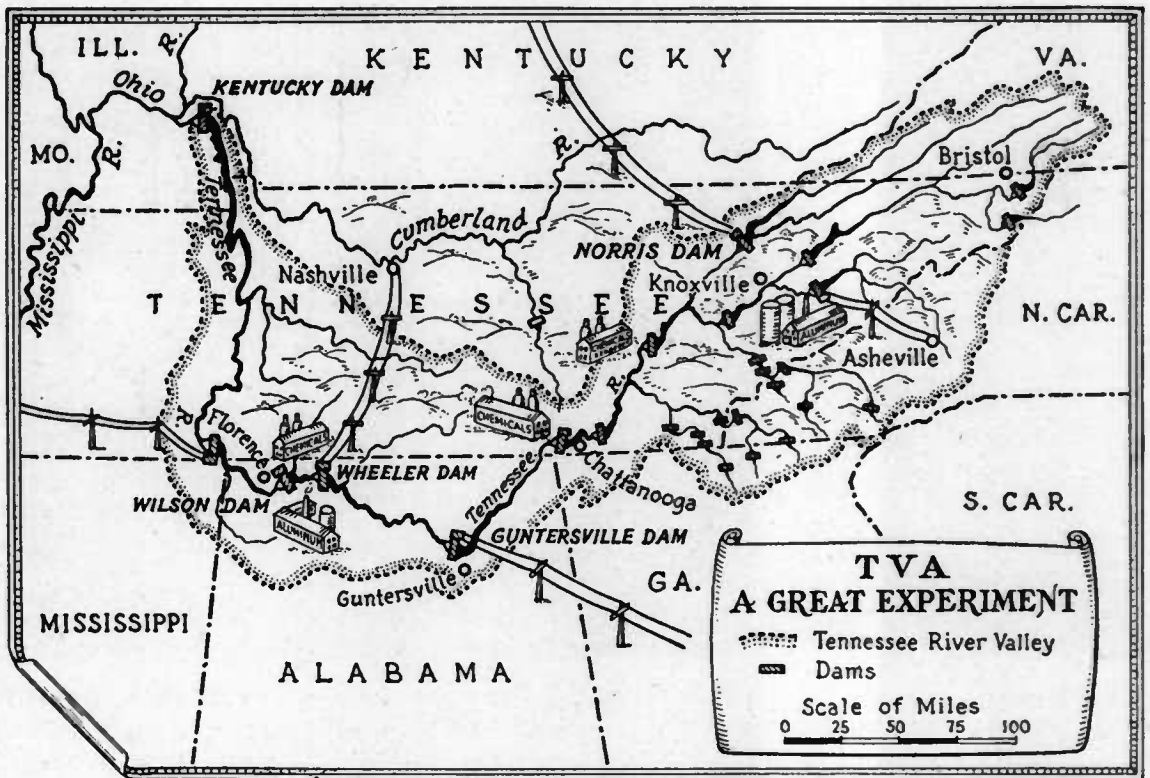
This type of regulation has been extended to motor vehicles engaged in carrying passengers or freight across state lines. It has been extended to include companies transporting electric power. The airline companies, the telegraph, telephone, and radio companies, and many others are under federal regulation.

Sometimes the government steps in to protect the consumer against buying products that are harmful.

When the housewife buys meat, she cannot tell whether it comes from a healthy animal and is packed in a sanitary manner. The Meat Inspection Act of 1906 provided for government inspection of meat shipped in interstate commerce. If the act is well enforced, the buyer is assured of clean meat.

The same principle of protection to the consumer was applied in the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906. This act forbids anyone to ship adulterated or misbranded food and drugs in interstate commerce. A few years later another act forbade patent medicine manufacturers from claiming falsely that their products would cure a disease. If every person were a chemist and had a chemical laboratory in his home, he could determine for himself if he was buying pure food or drugs. Since he is not a chemist, the government steps in to protect him.





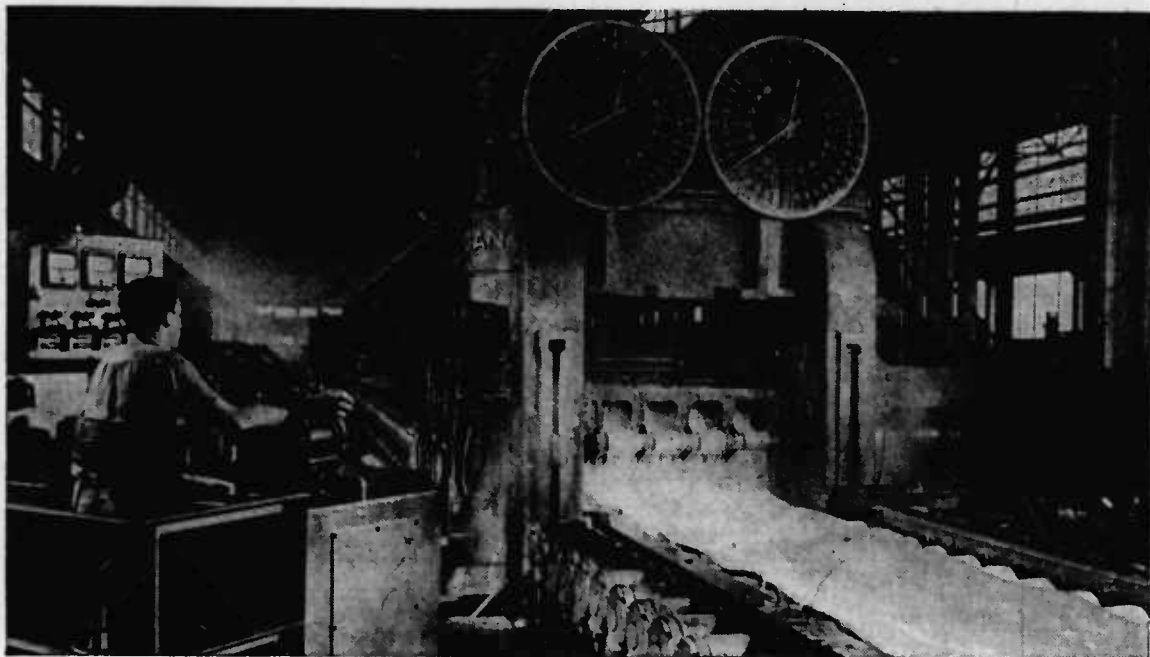
In the Tennessee Valley the government tries a new experiment to solve an old problem. Besides breaking up monopolies through the courts and regulating business, the government, of course, can go into business itself. If a government decides to go into business, it can break up a monopoly and bring back competition. A government in business may even establish a monopoly. The post office is such a monopoly.

In 1933 Congress decided that the government would manufacture electric power and sell it in the great area of the Tennessee Valley (see map, above). This would bring it into competition with local companies. In fact, it might put some of them out of business. In any case, government production would provide a yardstick to measure the cost of electric power. The

consumer could find out how much it really cost to manufacture electricity.

There is a long history back of the Tennessee Valley experiment. In the First World War the government built a great dam at Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River to manufacture chemicals for explosives. After the war many believed that the government should continue to use the dam to manufacture fertilizer for farmers. This group was led by Senator George Norris of Nebraska who fought tirelessly for government operation of Muscle Shoals. Others believed that the government should sell the plant to private business. Little was done until 1933.

In that year Congress decided on a great experiment. It created a Tennessee Valley Authority. This organization was to do far more



The Tennessee Valley Authority by producing cheap electricity has encouraged many new industries to locate in the region. Here the Aluminum Company of America has established a large factory to meet the increased demand for aluminum brought about by the war. (Courtesy Tennessee Valley Authority)

than to keep the dam at Muscle Shoals running. It was to build other dams on the Tennessee and other nearby rivers. These dams could furnish power to manufacture cheap fertilizer and electricity. They would also improve navigation on these rivers and control floods. This was even more than Senator Norris hoped for.

In brief, the business of the TVA was to see what could be done to improve the life of an entire region. Cheap fertilizer would help farmers. Cheap electric power would aid

both agriculture and industry. Better transportation and flood control would help all. Land could be improved and perhaps new industries encouraged.

The TVA was the first such experiment ever attempted in this country. As a whole it has fulfilled the hopes of its founders and backers. It has stirred the entire region to new economic life. It has done much to aid the war effort. It has, however, taken the government into business and into competition with private concerns.

### WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

Show how each of the following terms applies to the development of business in the United States.

- |                |                |                         |
|----------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| 1. corporation | 5. stockholder | 9. holding company      |
| 2. charter     | 6. monopoly    | 10. consumer            |
| 3. stock       | 7. competitor  | 11. anti-trust laws     |
| 4. company     | 8. research    | 12. interstate commerce |

**WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?**

- 1887: Why was an act passed in this year important to trade from one state to another?
- 1890: How did an act passed in this year affect big business? What was the act?
- 1914: What act was passed in this year to regulate big business?
- 1933: What new venture did our government undertake in the South in this year?

**CAN YOU FIND ANSWERS TO THESE?**

1. Using the chart on page 292, explain how a corporation is formed.
2. What are the advantages of a corporation for raising money?
3. List at least two privileges of a stockholder.
4. Show the steps by which Rockefeller secured a monopoly of the oil refining industry.
5. In what ways has Rockefeller tried to use his vast fortune for the public good?
6. Explain how a holding company controls the other companies under it. Consult the chart on page 297.
7. Why can a large company often produce goods more cheaply than a small company? Give an example of ways in which the cost of goods is lowered.
8. Why was the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey considered a holding company?
9. What are three ways to secure a monopoly?
10. In what three ways may monopolies be against the public interest?
11. What attempts did Congress make to break the power of monopolies?
12. What were the main purposes of the TVA project? On the map on page 303 name and locate two important industries and three dams.
13. *Summary Question:* Why did the rise of the large corporations and monopolies lead to government regulation? In whose interest was the government acting in making these laws?

## Chapter 18. *The Machine Age Forces Labor to Organize into Unions . . . . .*

*One Sunday afternoon in 1869 Uriah S. Stevens and a fellow worker set out for a stroll. Both belonged to the Garment Cutters Association in Philadelphia and both were dissatisfied with the organization. It had ceased to be of use to its members.*

*As they talked Stevens said, I have been looking all my life for something that will help the workers, "something that will develop more of charity, less of selfishness; more of generosity, less of stinginess and meanness than the average society. I cannot find it. We want to establish a society that will place manhood and its needs at the forefront instead of the dollar he pays in."*

*They talked for hours about the possibility of founding a new society. When they parted each agreed to invite a chosen few to meet at a certain spot in Fairmount Park on the following Sunday. The next week eight or nine of the older and more reliable members of the Association appeared. They agreed to draw up plans for a new organization.*

*Each Sunday they met in the park. The men would take three benches and place them in the form of a triangle. They would read off the plans drawn up during the week. If it rained they would seek shelter in a park building. In cold weather they met in the homes of the members.*

*Under the leadership of Stevens the plans were finally perfected. In December a resolution was offered to bring to an end the Garment Cutters Association. It was approved by a large majority. In place of the old organization Stevens founded a new society—the Knights of Labor.*

*Starting with a handful of clothing workers, the Knights of Labor grew into a large union. It was the first great federation of American unions and the most important labor organization that had yet appeared in America. More than that, it was labor's answer to big business and monopolies. Small units in industry were uniting to form large ones; small units of workers were doing the same to form big unions.*



## *In the Machine Age Labor Meets Entirely New Conditions . . . . .*

**In colonial days there is little need for unions.** At least two conditions are necessary for labor unions to exist. First, there must be enough workers in a trade or industry to form a union. Second, they must live close together so that they can unite and carry on the business of a union.

Neither of these conditions really existed in colonial America. The typical American of the colonial period was a small farmer. When he needed a manufactured product, he was more likely to make it himself than to buy it. Since each farmer was his own manufacturer, he hardly needed to join a union.

There were, of course, agricultural workers on the large tobacco, rice, and indigo plantations of the South. But there was little chance that they could ever form a union. Almost all of them were either "indentured servants" or slaves. The *indentured servant* was an immigrant who agreed to serve a master for a certain number of years in exchange for payment of his passage to America. The *slaves* were Negroes brought from Africa and sold to the planters. Neither the indentured servants nor the slaves were free men. Unions can exist only among free men in a free country.

Not all Americans were farmers. Some craftsmen in the little towns gave their entire time to manufacturing—blacksmiths, millers, leath-

er workers, cabinetmakers, and others. But the shops were small. The owner or "master workman" rarely had more than one or two helpers.

The shops were small because there were few buyers. The farmers made what they could themselves. Few people lived in the towns. At the end of the Revolution there were only five towns of over 8,000 population — Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Charleston, and Baltimore. Only one of these, Philadelphia, had 20,000. In brief, wage earners were too few and too scattered to organize unions.

**The factory system brings new hardships to workers.** This picture of colonial labor changed with the Industrial Revolution. In Chapter 16 we described how hand manufacture gave way to machine production. Workers no longer manufactured products; they simply tended machines which did the work. Because of this, workers left their homes and small shops to take jobs in factories. They were no longer independent workmen, but became the hired hands of the owners of the machines.

Factories first appeared in large numbers in New England. Most of the early ones were textile mills, which spun and wove cotton and wool. This work was not so heavy as some other kinds and could be done by women and children. They supplied most of the labor in the early mills. As other and heavier industries developed, men also were drawn into the factories.

When one studies the conditions in these early mills, one can under-

# **Time Table of the Holyoke Mills,**

**To take effect on and after Jan. 3d, 1853.**

The standard being that of the Western Rail Road, which is the Meridian time at Cambridge.

## **MORNING BELLS.**

First Bell ring at 4.40, A. M. Second Bell ring in at 5, A. M.

## **YARD GATES**

Will be opened at ringing of Morning Bells, of Meal Bells, and of Evening Bells, and kept open ten minutes.

## **WORK COMMENCES**

At ten minutes after last Morning Bell, and ten minutes after Bell which "rings in" from Meals.

## **BREAKFAST BELLS.**

October 1st, to March 31st, inclusive, ring out at 7, A. M.; ring in at 7.30, A. M.

April 1st, to Sept. 30th, inclusive, ring out at 6.30, A. M.; ring in at 7, A. M.

## **DINNER BELLS.**

Ring out at 12.30, P. M.; ring in at 1, P. M.

## **EVENING BELLS.**

Ring out at 6.30,\* P. M.

\* Excepting on Saturdays when the Sun sets previous to 6.30. At such times, ring out at Sunset.

In all cases, the first stroke of the Bell is considered as marking the time.

When this working schedule was established labor hardly dreamed of the eight-hour day. It took years to win even the ten-hour day. The workers in this factory not only took their lunches to work but their breakfasts too. More time was spent at the factory than at home. Long hours, such as these in the Holyoke Mills, was one of the main reasons for the organization of labor. Children also worked these hours. Bobbin boys, whose job it was to replace the filled spools or bobbins with empty ones on the spinning frames, were needed as long as the machinery was running. (From *Holyoke, Massachusetts* by Constance Green, Yale University Press)

stand why unions finally appeared. On the opposite page you will see the working hours of the Holyoke Mills, Holyoke, Massachusetts, as posted by the factory in 1853. Workers must be at their machines by five in the morning. They had a half hour out for breakfast and for dinner, and finished at 6:30 P.M., except on Saturday in the winter time. This was a 12½-hour working day. Some mills worked even longer. The working hours were usually from sunrise to sunset.

For working these 75 hours a week skilled men got from \$5.00 to \$6.00, women about \$3.00, and children less. Besides long hours, low wages, and child labor, there were often other conditions which irritated workers. The Hamilton Mills of Lowell, Massachusetts, required all single employees to board in company-owned boarding houses. They had to be in their houses by 10 o'clock in the evening. Workers were expected to stay with the company for a year. Otherwise they were not entitled to a regular discharge. The company would hire no one except those who attended church regularly. Such rules were usual in the early New England mills.

Long hours, low pay, and harsh rules provide the background for labor unions. Workers finally came to the conclusion that they must organize, if conditions were to improve. A strong union might bring better conditions. Now that many workers were brought together in factory towns, it was possible for them to unite for this purpose.

Another thing which prepared

the way for unions was the advance of democracy. By 1830 the right to vote had been won by most adult males. Now that the poor man could vote, he could help choose representatives and influence legislation. Through politics he could work for labor legislation and protect his unions.

### *Large Labor Organizations Spring Up to Protect the Workers . . . . .*

**Early local unions lead up to national unions.** Although the factory system prepared the way for the great unions of today, the first unions in America were organized among the skilled trades. Some of them, in fact, appeared years before the factory system had really started. As early as 1800 we find the printers, shoemakers, carpenters, and other skilled workers organizing unions in some of the larger towns.

These societies were purely local, although sometimes they established contact with similar groups in nearby towns. Some of these societies were interested in little more than collecting funds to help their members in case of sickness or death. Most of them, however, were like the unions of later years. They were interested primarily in obtaining higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions.

As the years went on, these local unions often set up city-wide organizations like the Central Labor Unions of today. Here delegates from each little craft union in the city met to discuss the problems of labor in the entire city. The next

step was the founding of national unions. A national organization included all of the "locals" in the same craft throughout the country. Such national unions could come only after transportation and communication had improved. Railroads and telegraph lines made such national unions possible.

By the time of the War Between the States there were at least a dozen national unions. Others were formed in the following years until today there are almost 150 such unions. Among the early national unions which remain to the present time are the "Railroad Brotherhoods," or the "Big Four," as they are sometimes called, the conductors, the firemen, the engineers, and the trainmen. They were founded during and after the war when the railroads were rapidly growing. They have never joined with one another and have always remained independent of any larger groups.

**The Knights of Labor attempt to unite all labor.** Labor unions during these early years worked for many reforms. Most important of all was their demand for a ten-hour day. Unfortunately, little progress was made. Conditions were particularly bad after the War Between the States. A business slump brought a decline in wages and widespread unemployment. Hundreds of thousands were jobless and others on the verge of starvation.

As conditions grew worse, many labor leaders felt that their only hope was to unite all labor into a nation-wide federation. They believed that the national unions and

various local unions should join in a great organization just as the states after the Revolution joined in a federal union. The first of these efforts to meet with any success was the Knights of Labor.

The Noble Order of the Knights of Labor, however, did not begin as a federation. It started, as we have seen, in a little local union of nine garment workers. Gradually other workers in other trades founded similar locals and joined with the first parent union. As it grew in importance, various national unions joined it until it finally became a real federation.

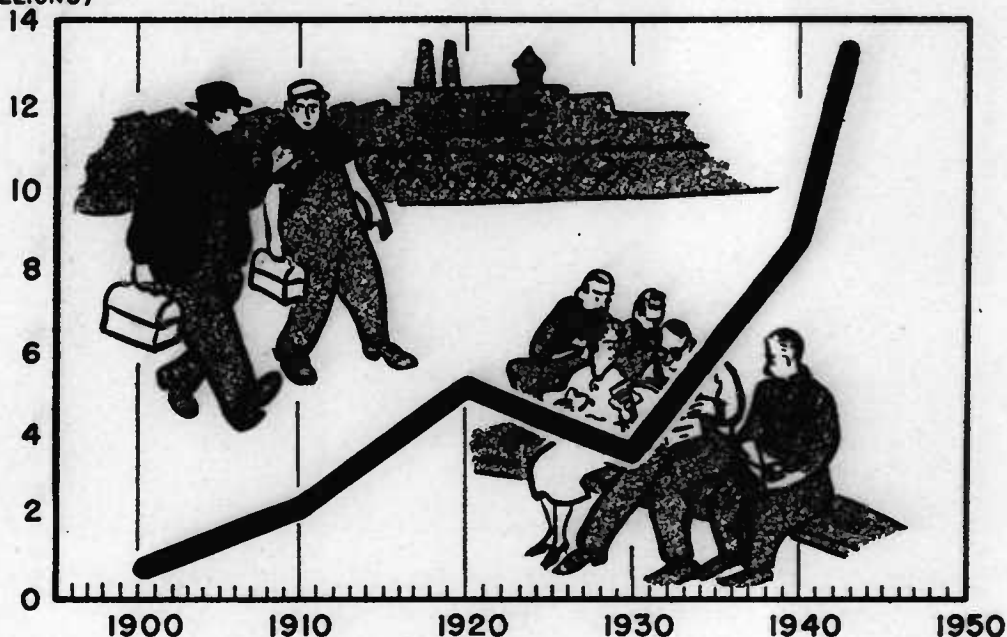
The great days of the Knights of Labor were in the 1880's when its membership reached over 700,000. It even extended into European countries, and into Australia and New Zealand. The Knights of Labor welcomed all workers—black and white, skilled and unskilled, men and women. They believed that all workers had certain problems that were the same and that all should stand together.

The Knights of Labor declined more rapidly than it grew. Too rapid growth may have been one cause, poor leadership another. Failure of some of its unions in important strikes hurt it. Perhaps the United States was not yet ready for a federation of both skilled and unskilled workers. In any event, a rival appeared—the American Federation of Labor—which pushed the Knights into the background.

**Under the leadership of Samuel Gompers, the American Federation of Labor rises to power.** Delegates



## WORKERS TURN TO UNIONS

NUMBER  
MEMBERS  
(MILLIONS)

from various national unions, dissatisfied with the Knights of Labor, met in 1886 and founded the American Federation of Labor. The new federation differs from the K. of L. chiefly in three ways. First, it is more loosely united than were the Knights. The American Federation of Labor is simply a loose federation of 100 or more national unions. Each of these unions has its own constitution, makes its own rules, and grants charters to its own locals. The governing body of the American Federation of Labor has little power.

In the second place, the American Federation of Labor from the start has been largely made up of skilled workers. It has contained some unions of unskilled workers, but the unions of skilled workers

have always controlled the organization. Finally, the goals of the American Federation of Labor have been higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions. Unlike the Knights of Labor, which was interested in many kinds of reforms, the American Federation of Labor stuck mainly to these three demands.

The policies of the American Federation of Labor came largely from its leader, Samuel Gompers. The son of Jewish immigrants, Gompers arrived in America at the age of 13. Like his father, he became a cigar-maker. While still a boy he began to take an active part in union affairs. Later he helped to found the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor elected him president in



**Samuel Gompers** for almost 40 years was the most important leader of American labor. Here he is shown in 1924 testifying before the House Judiciary Committee. Gompers at this time was 74 years of age and died a few months after this picture was taken. (Wide World)

1886 and, except for one year, he held that office until his death in 1924. A born leader, Gompers' long life was a battle for what he believed to be the rights of labor.

What were the policies of Gompers and the American Federation of Labor? First of all, insisted Gompers, the unions must work for higher wages, shorter hours, better working conditions. These may come slowly, but in the end they can be obtained. There is no use, he insisted, wasting energy in trying to remake the world. The unions should work for what they have a chance of getting.

Gompers and the American Federation of Labor preferred to obtain these demands by peaceful means. They insisted that the employer recognize the union and then bargain with it. If the em-

ployer refused, the unions were prepared to strike.

In Europe labor had organized political parties, but Gompers believed that this would be unwise here. He insisted that labor should work through the old parties. He did believe, however, that labor should vote for its friends and punish its enemies. Like many other groups, the American Federation of Labor established headquarters in Washington to watch Congress and prevent legislation harmful to labor.

**The government forces the employer to deal with labor.** Although labor unions had existed in America for over 100 years, organized labor was still weak when Franklin D. Roosevelt became President in 1933. The American Federation of

Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods together numbered only about 3,000,000. This was less than one-tenth of the workers who might have been organized. While American industry had grown by leaps and bounds, organized labor had lagged behind.

For this slow growth labor was partly responsible. The American Federation of Labor had spent most of its energies in organizing skilled labor, but the labor in the new American industries was largely unskilled. It takes time, skill, and money to carry on organizing campaigns. The American Federation of Labor did not have enough of any of these to organize the rapidly growing labor force.

The greatest difficulty of organizing, however, was the opposition of the employer. During the long years of labor strife, the employer had learned many ways of preventing the growth of unions. One method was the *lockout*. Sometimes an employer could crush a union by simply closing his factory—locking out his workers.

Among other methods was the *blacklist*. Employers could and did keep lists of workers active in unions and refuse to hire them. Another weapon was the *yellow-dog contract*. Workers were required to sign contracts that they would not join a union. Many employers also hired *labor spies* from detective agencies to watch their workers. Some employers organized unions of their own known as *company unions*. Their purpose was to keep outside unions from getting into the factory. Since they were controlled

by the employer, the worker had little power.

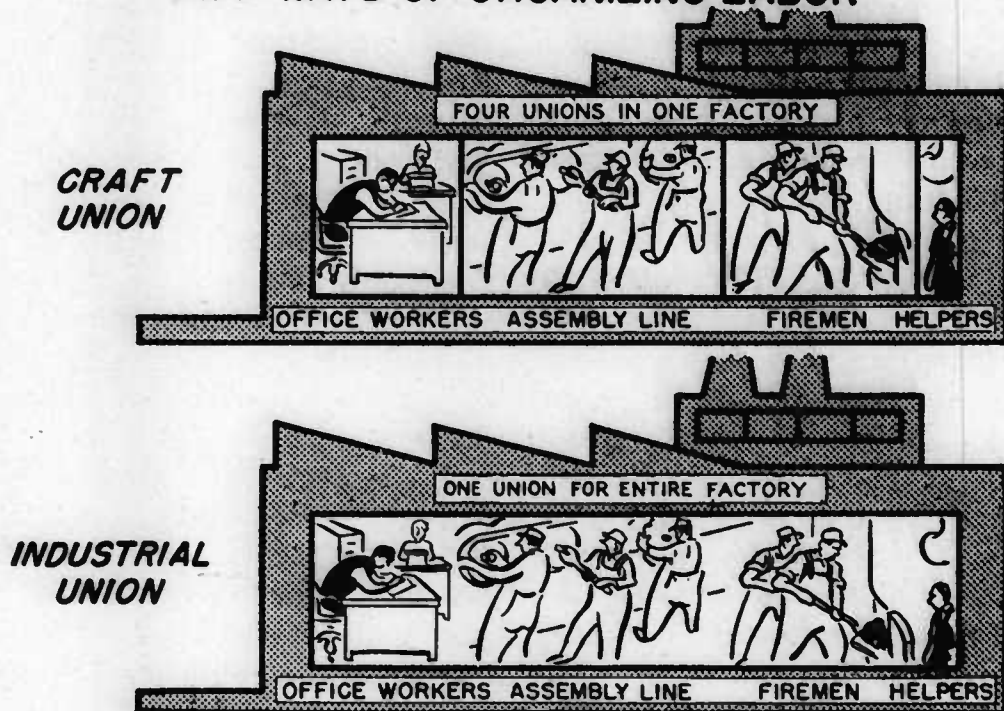
One of the principles of the New Deal legislation of Franklin D. Roosevelt was to build up the strength of the weaker groups. Then all could bargain and compete on equal terms. Each group—employer, worker, farmer, and others—could obtain a fairer share of the nation's income. No group should have too much power over others. Power should be as equally divided as possible.

To strengthen organized labor, Congress passed the National Labor Relations Act (1935). This gave labor the "right to organize and bargain collectively" free from interference of the employer. It forbade employers from doing anything to prevent labor from organizing into unions. The law set up a National Labor Relations Board to hear complaints and enforce the act.

It is clear that this act made illegal the blacklist and the lockout. It also made illegal the labor spy and the company union, if these were used to prevent the forming of unions. If unions could persuade workers to join them, the employer must not interfere. Encouraged by this law the unions went to work. Within a few years millions of new members joined the unions (see graph, page 311).

**The Congress of Industrial Organizations rises to meet the needs of millions of unorganized workers.** While organized labor grew rapidly during the 1930's, it split into two great bodies. The split arose over a conflict between the craft and in-

## TWO WAYS OF ORGANIZING LABOR



dustrial unions. An *industrial union* is one in which every worker in factory or mine, no matter what his work may be, belongs to the same union. A *craft union* is one in which the members do a certain kind of work. One type organizes by industries, the other by crafts.

How this works out in a single plant may be seen by the chart on this page. If the plant is organized in an industrial union, the firemen, the machine workers, the office staff, and all others belong to the same union. If the plant is organized on a craft basis, each group would have a separate union depending on the kind of work which it did. There might be 15 or 20 unions in a single plant.

There had always been both

kinds of unions in the American Federation of Labor. In fact, the largest union in the Federation, the United Mine Workers, was an industrial union. In general, however, the American Federation of Labor was largely made up of skilled workers organized into craft unions.

As a whole, the American Federation of Labor had been successful in organizing skilled workers. But times were changing. Labor-saving machinery and the assembly line were pushing the skilled worker out of the factory. The new "mass industries," such as steel, automobiles, rubber goods, radios, electric products, used few skilled workers, but many unskilled. If labor was to catch up with the mass industries, it must organize the unskilled.



Many labor leaders believed this could be done only through industrial unions.

In the middle 1930's the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor pledged itself to organize the "mass industries." When the Federation failed to do this, certain leaders interested in organizing industrial unions formed a committee to do it. This was the Committee for Industrial Organization. The American Federation of Labor Executive Committee then ordered the C. I. O. to disband. When the C. I. O. refused, the unions connected with it were suspended from the American Federation of Labor.

The C. I. O., however, continued. It organized the steel, automobile, rubber, radio, and many other industries. Then the C. I. O. unions decided to separate entirely from the American Federation of Labor. They founded the Congress of Industrial Organizations (1938) with its own constitution and officers. Now there were two federations. By 1944 the American Federation of Labor claimed over 6,000,000 members and the C. I. O. over 5,000,000.

### *Labor Unions, the Government, and Employers Together Improve the Conditions of the Wage Earners . . . .*

Labor unions struggle hard to win their victories. If one depended on newspapers alone for his informa-

tion about unions, he might think they did almost nothing but carry on strikes. A strike, of course, is big news and it gets into the papers. The day-by-day activities of unions are hardly noticed.

Most unions rarely call a strike. This is particularly true of old and well-established unions. They usually have long-term agreements with employers covering wages, hours, and working conditions. If a dispute arises, they iron it out through representatives from both sides.

Neither the employer nor the worker wants a strike. Both are anxious to avoid it, for both suffer. The employer loses heavily when his factory closes down and his machinery stops running. The worker loses his wages, and it is not long before he and his family lack the necessities of life. The strike is the last resort when all else has failed.

When a strike once starts, however, both sides use every weapon which they have. The union appoints a strike committee to plan and direct the strike, as an army staff would direct a campaign. The first move is to throw a *picket line* around the factory. A picket line is a parade of strikers to advertise the strike and persuade other workers not to enter the factory. If the strike is a long one, the committee must secure funds to buy food, clothes, and shelter for the strikers. It must also organize meetings to keep up the spirit of the strikers.

Few important strikes can succeed without winning the sympathy and support of the public. The union does what it can to explain its

side and advertise its grievances. Sometimes it buys space in the newspapers or hires time on the radio. It may go as far as to urge union members and their friends not to buy the products of the company against which it is striking. This is known as a *boycott*. The boycott is a strong weapon, for no company likes to lose business.

On its side, the company often tries to keep the factory going by hiring *strikebreakers*. If the picket line interferes with them, the company demands police protection. Sometimes it goes to the courts and asks for a court order forbidding picketing. Like the unions, the company advertises its side and tries to win public sympathy.

Strikes naturally cause much bitterness. Sometimes they result in violence and bloodshed. There is always loss on both sides and suffering to the strikers. Most of this is unnecessary. Good will on each side could settle the disputes around a conference table. This is what the public wants and what the government tries to encourage.

**Many employers see the need for better working conditions.** It is not only labor which struggles for better working conditions. Most employers are also sincerely interested in improving the conditions of their workers. They know that contented workers, free from worry, will do a better job. If good wages are paid and conditions are right, strikes can be prevented. Moreover, workers may then have no interest in joining unions.

Whatever the reasons, the em-

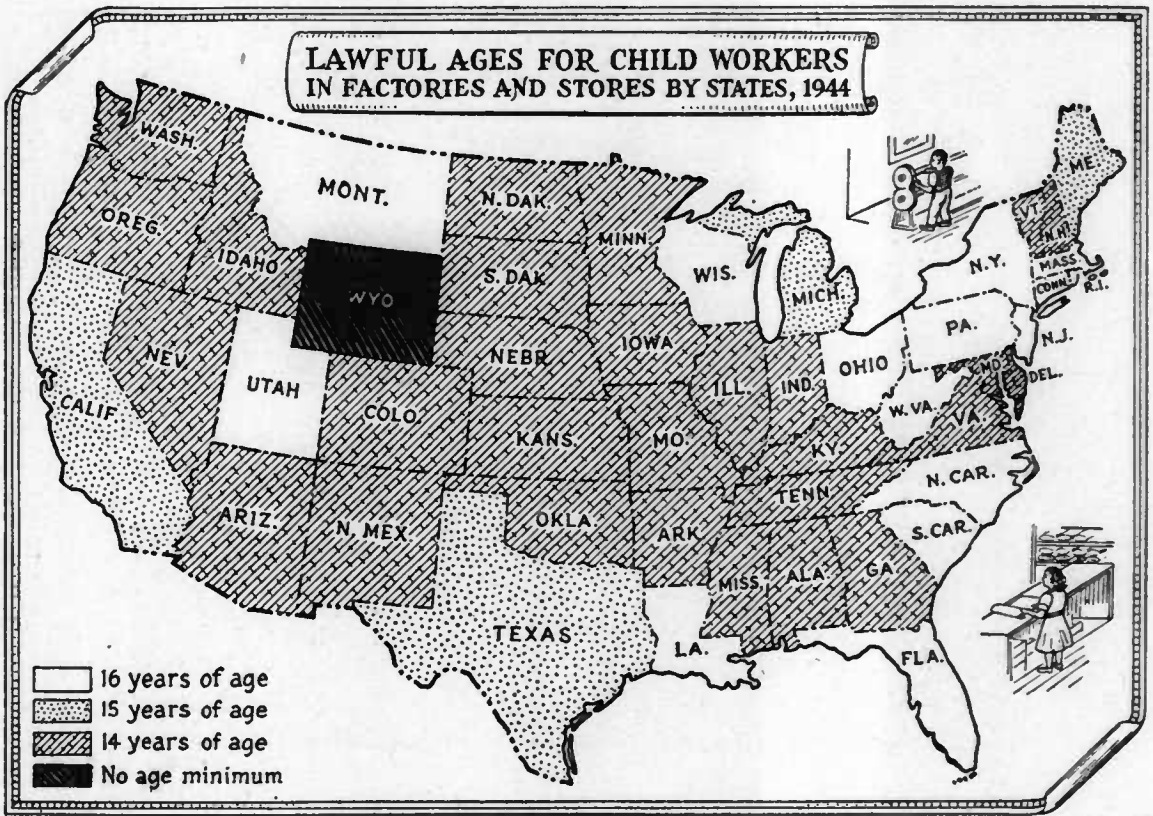
ployers have done much to promote the welfare of the workers. Most well-run factories have lunch rooms where workers can obtain good food at cost. They often provide medical care with visiting nurses. Some companies build houses which the workers may buy at close to cost. Almost all support athletic teams and encourage clubs of various kinds.

All employers want their workmen to do a better job. Many companies offer prizes for suggestions as to better methods of manufacturing. Some provide courses where workers can increase their knowledge and obtain better jobs. This helps the worker as well as the company.

Employers are also interested in promoting the loyalty of their workers. They want the worker to be as interested in the welfare of the company as they are. This has led some companies to encourage their workers to buy stock in their company. Purchase of shares makes the worker a part owner in the company. He may have very few shares, but he still feels that he owns a part of the company as well as working for it.

Many companies have provided plans for pensions. In some cases the company contributes all; usually the worker pays part. Pensions are security against old age, when the worker can no longer hold a job. They are important in winning loyalty and co-operation.

**The government becomes more and more interested in the welfare of the worker.** Labor conditions have improved not alone because of un-



ions and sympathetic employers. Our governments, both state and national, have done their share. After wage earners had won the right to vote, they could bring pressure to bear upon state legislatures and upon Congress. In doing this they were often helped by many outside the ranks of labor.

Until recently almost all labor legislation was passed by the states. It began more than 100 years ago when Massachusetts required that all children under 15 employed in factories be allowed to go to school three months in a year. A little later the legislature limited to ten hours the working day of children under 12.

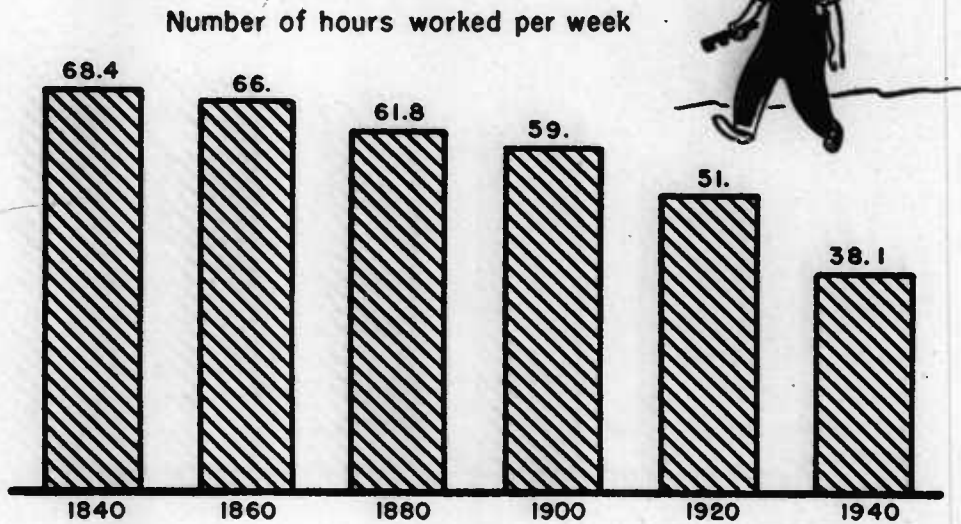
This was a feeble beginning, but as the years went on more laws were passed. Some states forbade entirely the employment of children in fac-

tories (see map, above). They limited the hours of factory work for women. Many laws were passed regarding health conditions—light, air, clean rest rooms. Most states insisted that the workers be protected against dangerous machinery.

Among the most important laws passed by the states are those which provide for compensation for injuries. Hundreds of thousands of workers are injured each year in industry and transportation. Sometimes workers are careless; sometimes accidents occur for which no one is to blame. Whatever the cause, the state believes that the worker and his family should have some protection. If the worker is injured he should receive something to tide him over until he can return to work. If he is killed, his family should receive some insurance.

# THE WORK WEEK GROWS SHORTER

1840-1940



Most people believe that industry should pay for this.

Finally our federal government became interested in the welfare of the worker. In 1913 Congress established a Department of Labor. Its business is to study the problems of labor and give what help it can in solving them. A Secretary of Labor sits in the cabinet and advises the President on labor matters.

Congress as well as the states has passed important labor laws. The National Labor Relations Act has already been mentioned. Another important law was the Adamson Eight-Hour Act. Under its power to regulate commerce between the states, Congress set eight hours as the working day on railroads. If the day is longer, the worker must get overtime pay.

In 1938 Congress passed the Fair Labor Standards Act. It applied to trade and industries making goods which moved from one state to another. It limited the regular hours of work each week to 40 (see graph, above). The pay must be not less than 40 cents an hour. Labor of young people under 16 years of age was forbidden.

**Organized labor finds its place in the American way of life.** The welfare projects of employers have helped the wage earner in many ways. So has the labor legislation of state and federal governments. Workers, nevertheless, still cling to their unions. They feel that they are as necessary as ever. Neither welfare projects nor legislation quite fill the place of unions.



Workers join unions because unions give them independence and strength. One thousand men can bargain with a company on more equal terms than one man. A union gives them power to have some say in deciding about wages, hours, and conditions of work. Each single member finds strength and protection in the organization. It adds to his dignity as a human being.

Most workers prefer to look after their own welfare projects. The older and stronger unions do this. They provide insurance against unemployment, injury, and old age. Many unions provide plans for medical and dental care. They support recreational centers and summer camps for vacations. One union has a program of education in which 20,000 members are enrolled.

Unions believe they are necessary in a free society to protect the wage earner. Manufacturers, farmers, professional men, and other groups have their organizations to promote their own interests. They present their point of view to the public. They promote laws in their favor and oppose legislation harmful to them. If there is need for such organizations, there is also a need for unions.

After a long struggle unions have won a place in American life. They have done a great deal to educate the nation to the problems of the wage earner. They have insisted on better working conditions and improved the lot of the workers. In doing this they have made America a better place to live in for more people.

Unions have done more than this. In the long run, they promote more settled conditions in industry. Agreements can be made with responsible unions to keep the whole industry running. This is particularly important in a time of national emergency, such as war. When the Second World War came to this country in 1941 responsible leaders of both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. immediately pledged a no-strike policy.

There were, of course, strikes during the war. Considering the amount of work necessary to produce war goods, the time consumed in strikes was very small. The leaders, as a whole, did their best to keep their pledge. Ships were built, airplanes and munitions rolled out of the factories. Labor met the test and contributed its share to victory.

## WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

The following terms concern the development of labor in the United States. Show that you know the meaning of each.

- |                        |                     |                 |
|------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| 1. union               | 7. company union    | 13. A. F. of L. |
| 2. skilled workers     | 8. labor spies      | 14. C. I. O.    |
| 3. unskilled workers   | 9. industrial union | 15. strike      |
| 4. lockout             | 10. craft union     | 16. picket line |
| 5. blacklist           | 11. strikebreakers  |                 |
| 6. yellow-dog contract | 12. boycott         |                 |

**WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?**

1886: Why is this a key year in the history of labor?

1935: Why does labor regard this as an important year in its history?

1938: What act passed in Congress in this year regulated working conditions in certain industries?

**CAN YOU FIND ANSWERS TO THESE?**

1. Why was there little need for labor unions in colonial times?
2. What were working conditions in factories in the 1850's? Why did the workingman become interested in the right to vote?
3. What were the steps leading to the formation of national unions? Name three of our largest union organizations.
4. Why was the Knights of Labor formed? Who made up its membership?
5. In what three ways does the American Federation of Labor differ from the Knights of Labor?
6. Who was Samuel Gompers and what were his policies? In what way did he think that unions in the United States should differ from those in Europe?
7. Account for the fact that after 100 years of labor organization only one out of ten workingmen belonged to a union.
8. What were at least four methods by which employers opposed unions?
9. How did the National Labor Relations Act help labor unions?
10. Explain the difference between a craft union and an industrial union. Use not only the text but study the chart on page 314.
11. How does a labor union win its demands in disputes with employers? Is the strike the first or last step?
12. What evidence is there that many employers are interested in improving labor conditions?
13. Give three examples of legislation that help to give labor a better deal. What facts about child labor are shown on the map on page 317?
14. *Summary Question:* Why have workers joined labor unions? What have unions been able to do for the workers?

# Chapter 19. *Our Country Grows Smaller as Man Conquers Distance . . . . .*

*On July 4, 1828, Charles Carroll, the only living signer of the Declaration of Independence, turned the first spade of earth to build the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, the first important one in America.*

*Today we would hardly recognize it as a railroad. The rails were strips of iron nailed on wooden beams. The cars were tiny and were drawn by horses. Nevertheless, it was the first railroad built in this country open to public use. It made profits, and it had more business than it could handle.*

*The directors of the railroad, however, were not content. They had heard that in England cars were drawn by steam engines. They asked Peter Cooper, a skillfull mechanic, if he could build them such an engine. Cooper did it, but it was a curious locomotive. The boiler was about the size of one attached to a kitchen range. The one cylinder in the engine was but three and one-half inches in diameter; the flues were musket barrels. The whole thing weighed about a ton. Cooper called it the Tom Thumb.*

*Early in the summer of 1830 came the great day to try out the engine. Cooper attached it to an open car, which carried many of the directors of the road, and got up steam. It worked, and the two cars covered the 13 miles to Ellicott Mills in a little over an hour.*

*The return journey, however, was a different story. A stagecoach company, rival of the new railroad, had arranged to race the Tom Thumb from Riley's Tavern to Baltimore. On a second track they hitched their best horse to one of the railroad cars, and the race started. Cooper and his Tom Thumb were winning when the engine belt slipped off. Before he could replace the band and get up steam, the horse car was so far ahead that he could not overtake it.*

*But the race does not always go to the swiftest. The Tom Thumb proved what steam could do, and the directors of the new railroad turned from horse to steam power. New American railroads, as they were built, followed the example of the Baltimore and Ohio.*

*From the Sail Boat to Luxury  
Liner, Travel by Water Is  
Speeded up . . . . .*

In the days of our forefathers travel over water routes is slow. Travel in colonial America was largely on water. When the settlers first came there were no roads, only Indian trails. It took many years to build even a few roads, for the settlers were poor and labor was scarce. The routes of commerce were along the seacoast or on the many rivers which ran into the Atlantic.

Whenever possible, the settlers built their houses and laid out the farms along the river banks. Said a Frenchman traveling in Virginia in 1686: "None of the plantation houses, even the most remote, is more than 100 or 150 feet from a 'crik' and the people not only pay their visits in their canoes, but do all their freight by the same means."

George Washington's great plantation on the Potomac was laid out along these same lines. It was only after the seacoast and the rivers were occupied that the settlers moved away from water. Then they built roads which led to the water so that they could export their products.

Although travel by water was easier than by land, it was slow and often difficult and dangerous. Until canals were built and the steamboat was invented, mankind depended on hand power or wind. Canoes or little boats could be paddled or rowed; the larger ones used sails. This was not so bad if one was rowing down stream or sailing with the

wind. If one was rowing against the current, sailing against the wind, or if there was no wind, progress was slow and difficult.

Moreover, the ships were small and clumsy. The *Mayflower* was only 180 tons and could be easily set down in the main dining room of the modern 83,243 ton *Normandie*. One can see why it took the *Mayflower* 65 days to sail from Plymouth, England, to Provincetown on Cape Cod. Even 150 years later it was common for ships to spend 100 or more days, particularly in the winter time, in crossing the Atlantic.

It is not hard to imagine the difficulties and dangers of such a trip. Refrigeration was unknown, and the food grew stale or spoiled. Sickness from bad food was common. Contagious diseases spread quickly among the closely packed immigrants. Half of the passengers sometimes died on such a trip. If the immigrants survived, there was still danger from unknown sand bars and rocky points unmarked by lighthouses.

Ocean travel had improved somewhat by the end of the colonial period. Larger and more comfortable sailing ships were built. The voyages were shorter. Better sailing maps were drawn and lighthouses built. Nevertheless, ocean travel was still difficult and dangerous.

**Inland water travel is improved by canals.** The problem of improving inland transportation has always been important to the American people. The country was growing rapidly; settlers were moving west-





*Chief*, Governor Clinton poured the contents of a cask filled with water from Lake Erie into New York harbor to signify the wedding of the waters (see map, page 323).

So successful was the Erie Canal that Pennsylvania built a system of canals to connect the Ohio River with the seacoast. Maryland began the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, but it never got beyond the mountains. New Jersey built two canals across the state to connect New York harbor with the Delaware River. In the meantime, canals were built from Lake Erie to the Ohio River.

These canals were great projects for their day and had important effects upon American history. The Erie provided an all-water route to the West. It reduced freight costs between Buffalo and New York from \$100 a ton to \$8. Canal transportation was now cheap enough to ship the bulky products of the frontier eastward. The canal boats were drawn by horses, and a horse can drag in still water a load 50 times as great as on land. Canals thus added horsepower to hand power and wind as a means of moving boats.

Passengers found canal boat travel more comfortable than stage coaches, and many used this method to get to the West. After the building of the Erie Canal western New York and the region south of Lake Erie fairly boomed. In a similar way other canals speeded migration and gave new life to commerce.

**Robert Fulton invents a practical steamboat.** Years before America

built her first great canals a new invention was rapidly changing river transportation. In Chapter 16 we told how James Watt invented a practical steam engine. This was first used to pump water out of mines and to run textile machinery. It was not long, however, before clever mechanics began to dream of harnessing a steam engine to paddle wheels.

Like most great inventions, the steamboat was the product of many minds. A number of Americans had already built engines which successfully propelled vessels. It was Robert Fulton, however, who proved to the world that a steamboat was practical. In 1807 he sailed the *Clermont*, equipped with a Watt engine, from New York to Albany, a distance of 150 miles, in 32 hours.

Let Fulton himself tell how it happened: "My steamboat voyage to Albany and back has turned out better than I had calculated. The distance from New York to Albany is one hundred and fifty miles. I ran it up in thirty-two hours, and down in thirty. I had a light breeze against me the whole way, both going and coming; and the voyage has been performed wholly by the power of the steam-engine. I overtook many sloops and schooners beating to windward and parted with them. The power of propelling boats by steam is now fully proved. The morning I left New York there were not perhaps thirty persons in the city who believed that the boat would ever move one mile an hour or be of the least utility; and while we were putting off from the wharf, which was crowd-

ed with spectators, I heard a number of sarcastic remarks. This is the way in which ignorant men compliment what they call philosophers and projectors."

**Fulton's invention changes completely water travel.** Fulton's famous trip began the age of the river steamboat. Within a few years they were common on all our important rivers. The steamboat did not solve the east-west traffic problem, but it did encourage trade between the North and South. Pioneers of the Northwest sent their meat and grain south by the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri. Southern planters depended on steamboats to send their cotton to seaport markets.

It was years after Fulton's steamboat became common on rivers before steam was used in ocean travel. There were two reasons for the slow development of the ocean steamboat. First of all, Americans began to build the finest sailing ships that the world has ever seen. The famous clipper ship of the 1840's and 1850's could outsail the fastest steamboats of their day. Several of them made records of over 400 miles a day. Why build steamboats when the clippers were so fast?

In the second place, it was difficult to adapt the paddle wheels used on the sides of the river boats to ocean travel. When the boats rolled, the wheels were out of the water. Storms often smashed them. It was not until the 1820's that boats sailed across the Atlantic entirely under steam power.

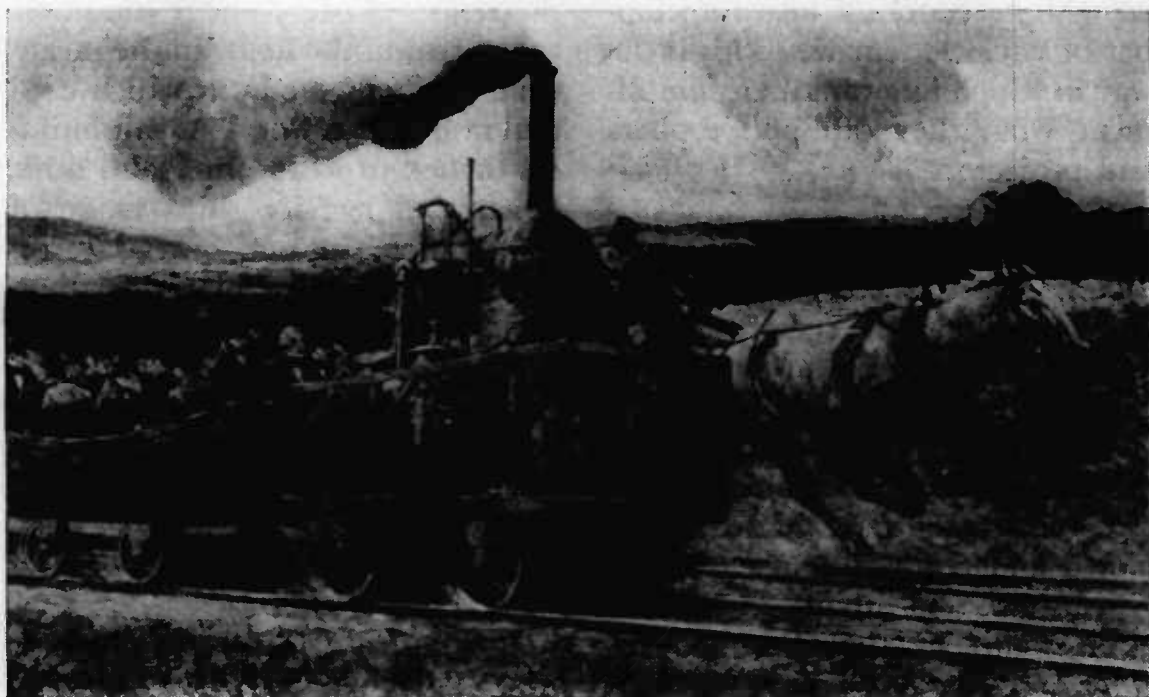
The age of the ocean steamboat finally came when inventors put the

propellers entirely under the water at the rear of the boat. In the meantime engines were built which used coal rather than wood. As shipbuilders turned to steam, they also built larger and heavier ships made of iron. Then, in our own day, inventors turned to oil rather than coal. The great liners and battle-ships of today are equipped with great oil burning engines more efficient and powerful than any yet known.

### *From Stage Coach to Streamliner, Overland Distance Is Greatly Reduced . . . . .*

**The puffing railroad engine puts the stagecoach in the museum.** The fastest way to travel by land in the colonial days was on horseback. Even this was terribly slow. The news of the battle of Lexington did not reach Charleston, South Carolina, until three weeks after the event. When there were any roads, they were thick with dust in the summer, deep with mud in the spring, and dangerous from fallen trees and swollen rivers.

Until after the Revolution regular stagecoach travel hardly existed. There was a stage, known as the "flying machine," which actually cut the time from New York to Philadelphia (about 90 miles) to a day and a half. This was an exception and was considered a miracle in swift transportation. Thirty years later, around 1800, it took a week to travel by stage the 220 miles be-



The race between the Tom Thumb and a horse car, described at the beginning of the chapter, is shown here. Peter Cooper wearing a high hat is working over the engine while officials of the road and their friends ride on the car behind. This race went to the horse but steam was to be the power of the future. (Courtesy Baltimore and Ohio Railroad)

tween New York and Boston (see chart, page 331).

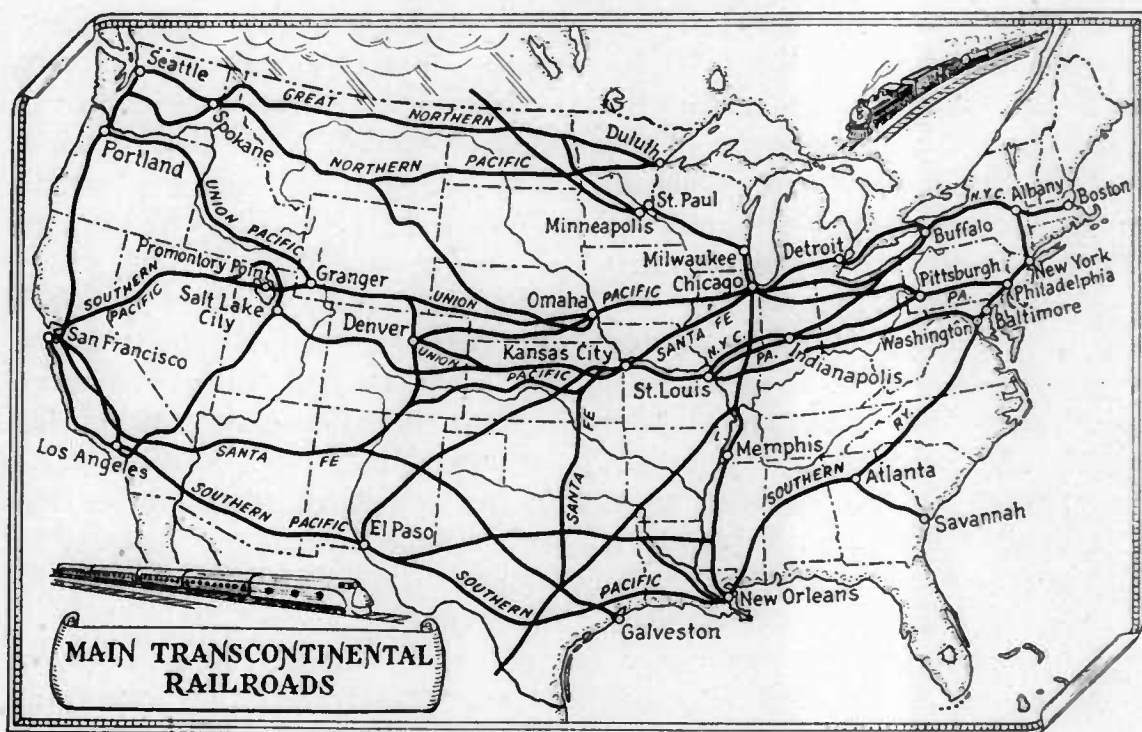
It was the coming of railroads and the use of steam engines on them that changed all this. The story of how the Baltimore and Ohio first used horses to draw their cars and then shifted to steam has been told. When Americans heard the news of Peter Cooper's engine, they turned to steam railroads to solve their transportation problem.

Between 1830 and 1860 about 30,000 miles of railroads were built in the area east of the Mississippi. By that time the principal cities of the East were connected by railroads. More important was the fact that four great railroad routes united the Mississippi Valley and the eastern seacoast cities.

One railroad, the New York Central, linked New York with Cleveland and Chicago through the Hudson-Mohawk valleys. The Pennsylvania Railroad tied Philadelphia with Pittsburgh and points west. The Baltimore and Ohio wound its way from Baltimore westward over the Appalachians. Farther south Savannah and Charleston had connections with Nashville, Chattanooga, and Memphis, Tennessee. Just before the War Between the States, a great trunk line, the Illinois Central, was built southward from Chicago toward the Gulf states.

**Railroads finally span the continent.** During the 25 years after the war, railroads reached the Pacific. These





railroads were needed to unify the nation and to connect the east coast with the west. The *transcontinentals* would speed the settlement of the Great Plains and encourage trade with the Far East.

Although the transcontinentals (see map, above) were built by private individuals, they were great national projects. The government loaned money to the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific; it gave them large blocks of land and helped in other ways. In 1869 the Central Pacific, building eastward from San Francisco, and the Union Pacific, building westward from Omaha, met at Promontory Point, Utah.

Leland Stanford, president of the Central Pacific, drove the last spike which was made of California gold. Telegraph wires received the taps of the hammer and sent the news to a rejoicing nation. The plains and the rivers had been crossed.

Rails had finally united the East and West! Later other transcontinentals were built to the Pacific coast.

But there is another great story connected with railroad building—the story of scientists, engineers, and inventors. It is the story of the advance from Peter Cooper's *Tom Thumb* to the great diesel-powered streamliners of today. The first rails were strips of iron nailed on wooden beams. Then came iron rails and finally steel. The first engines used wood; then came coal and finally oil. The first cars were little more than old horse-drawn stagecoaches hitched to an engine. It took 100 years to develop the luxurious air-conditioned Pullmans on the crack transcontinentals of today.

**The low-priced automobile makes everyman a traveler.** No sooner had the steam engine been invented

than clever mechanics were dreaming of harnessing it to carriages. Even before railroads were built, this had actually been done. In the city of Philadelphia, in 1804, a young American inventor, Oliver Evans, mounted a steam flatboat upon an ordinary wagon. He connected the steam engine to the wagon wheels and drove along Market Street to the amazement of the crowds. Not long after this, steam buses were carrying passengers on a regular schedule on the roads of England.

But automobiles developed slowly. The steam carriages were heavy. They tore up the roads and frightened the horses to such an extent that laws were passed forbidding their use. The rapid building of railroads turned attention to another method of transportation. It was not until the nation was covered with a network of railroads that Americans became seriously interested in the horseless carriage.

The memory of the horseless carriage was not lost. Toward the end of the 1800's European engineers again began to work on the problem. They were soon followed by clever American mechanics who began to build automobiles of one kind or another. It was a period of experiment. Some tried steam, others used electricity, still others used gasoline or some other kind of power.

The automobile had no single inventor. It was the product of many minds, chiefly European. As late as 1905 there were more automobiles in England than in the United States. The great contribu-

tion of America was showing the world how to make good cars cheaply—cars cheap enough for almost all to use. It was mass production and the assembly line which did it, and Henry Ford who pointed the way.

In 1900 only 8,000 cars were registered in the United States. Forty years later there were more than 30,000,000. The automobile industry, judged by the value of its products, was the most important industry in the nation. Directly or indirectly, it supported over 10,000,000 people.

But the rise of the automobile industry had many other important effects on America. First of all, it started a movement for new and better roads. As the number of automobiles increased, local, state, and federal governments turned their attention to the building of harder roads, wider highways, and finer bridges. Railroads, which now had to compete with the automobile, improved their cars and gave better service. America's entire transportation system was greatly enlarged and improved. Americans never fully realized how important the automobile had become until the Second World War stopped the production of civilian cars.

The "horse and buggy age" passed with the automobile. The motorcar put America on wheels. The average American family today often travels more in a week than formerly it did in a lifetime. America not only travels more but it travels faster. We see more places, we learn about new things, and we should understand our country better.

*From the Wright Brothers' Box Kite to the Stratoliner the Conquest of Distance Continues Rapidly . . . . .*

**Wilbur and Orville Wright** prove that man can fly. For more than 100 years before a practical airplane was invented, many men had tried to solve the problem of travel by air. They learned that a balloon filled with hot air or some gas lighter than ordinary air would float. Few balloonists, however, believed that a practical heavier-than-air machine could be built.

Among the few who did believe it possible were Orville and Wilbur Wright, bicycle mechanics in Dayton, Ohio. Neither of them had been to an engineering college. They were simply expert practical mechanics who worked with a skill that amounted to genius. They were certain that a "flying machine" could be built.

In 1896 the Wright brothers read in a newspaper an account of the death of Otto Lilienthal, a German who had experimented with gliders. Their interest aroused, they spent six years working on gliders. They tried out box kites and studied the effect of winds. Then they wrote to the Weather Bureau for information on air currents. Upon the advice of the Bureau, they journeyed to Kitty Hawk on the North Carolina coast to try out their gliders.

Returning to Dayton, they took up the next step of adding an engine to the box kite glider. Then in 1903 they went back to Kitty Hawk. There Orville Wright made the

first successful airplane flight. It lasted only 12 seconds, but the plane raised itself by its own power and landed at a point as high as that from which it started. The next day Wilbur stayed in the air 59 seconds.

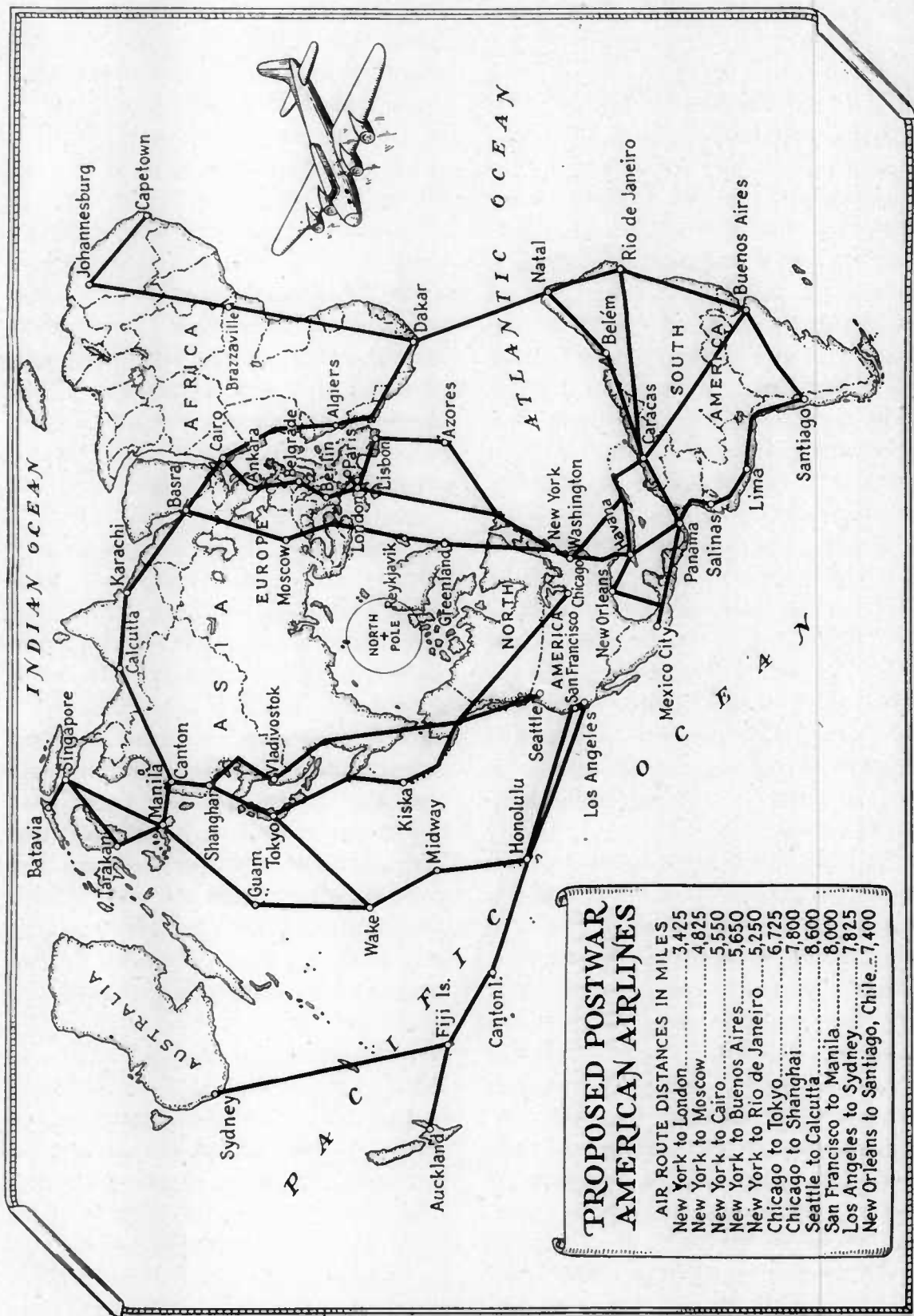
Nobody paid any attention to them, but the Wrights did not care. They knew that they were on the road to success. Back in Dayton they hired a cow pasture and continued their experiments. They soon learned how to make a complete circle in the air and made several flights lasting over half an hour.

When they returned again to Kitty Hawk in 1908, the press awoke to the fact that something important was about to happen. This time reporters were on hand. The news that a practical heavier-than-air machine had been invented was broadcast to the world. In that year the Wrights built their first plane for the army. Today the Wrights' cow pasture is one of the great testing fields of the world. There the Army Air Forces test and pass upon every new model motor and plane which they use.

**Aviation develops in war and peace.**

When the news of Kitty Hawk spread throughout the world, other inventors turned their attention to the airplane. Improvements were made in Europe and America. In 1909 Louis Bleriot (Blair-yoh'), a Frenchman, flew across the English Channel. Two years later Glenn Curtiss flew the first hydroplane at San Diego, California.

By the opening of the First World

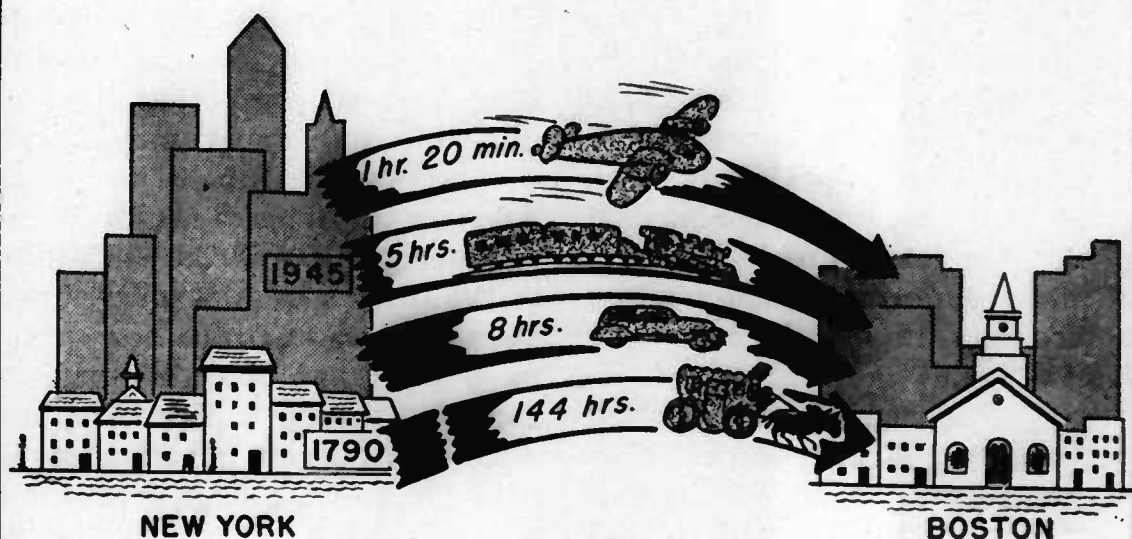


## PROPOSED POSTWAR AMERICAN AIRLINES

AIR ROUTE DISTANCES IN MILES	
New York to London.....	3,425
New York to Moscow.....	4,825
New York to Cairo.....	5,550
New York to Buenos Aires.....	5,650
New York to Rio de Janeiro.....	5,250
Chicago to Tokyo.....	6,725
Chicago to Shanghai.....	7,800
Seattle to Calcutta.....	8,600
San Francisco to Manila.....	8,000
Los Angeles to Sydney.....	7,825
New Orleans to Santiago, Chile.....	7,400



### TRAVEL TIME: STAGE COACH TO PLANE



War in 1914 airplanes were good enough to be used by armies and navies for observation and scouting work. Inventors of the warring nations rivaled one another in their efforts to improve the planes. Soon guns were added and the scouting planes became fighting planes.

After the war, engineers and flyers turned their attention to peacetime aviation. The government encouraged this by helping to build landing fields and starting air mail services. Gradually passenger lines were established between the main cities. It took time to win Americans to air travel, for the early planes were small, uncomfortable, and unsafe.

**Overnight the air age changes our idea of distance. The fastest rail-**

road service from the Atlantic to the Pacific is 60 hours. In May, 1944, an army fighter plane made the trip in approximately six and one-half hours. How rapidly the airplane itself has developed may be seen by the fact that as late as 1920 it took the first transcontinental air mail four days to reach the west coast. The planes were allowed to fly only in the daylight! The greatest of the ocean liners, the *Queen Mary* and the *Normandie*, have made the transatlantic voyage in slightly less than four days. Passenger planes will make the trip after the war in half a day. On Christmas, 1943, the Army announced that the Ferry Command had flown the 10,000th plane across the Atlantic. The average time was a little more than nine hours.

Speed may be of the first importance, but travelers insist on reasonable comfort and safety. Planes must be practical as well as fast. Today air passengers may ride, sleep, and eat almost as comfortably as upon a Pullman car. During the war the Army built large hospital planes to fly wounded soldiers from field hospitals in Africa to the United States. Fatal accidents on commercial planes are few. During the year 1939-40 commercial aviation set up a record of 18 months without a fatal accident.

Air transportation has shortened distances not only because it is faster but because it can make short cuts. Airplanes can actually travel as the crow flies. That is, they can travel the shortest direct route. Aviation has not yet conquered all the difficulties of weather. Fogs, sleet and snow still make flying dangerous and sometimes almost impossible. But it has conquered many of those faced by travelers on sea and land. The airplane is not battered by ocean currents or frozen waters. It can fly on a direct line over high mountains and does not have to wind through the hills like a railroad train.

One can understand the distances saved by air routes by comparing a flat map with a globe. The ordinary route by steamboat from San Francisco to Calcutta, India, is about 12,000 miles. A direct air route across the Aleutian Islands, Siberia, and China is 9,000 miles (see map, page 330). It takes seven weeks to make the trip by steamship. A plane, averaging 300 miles an hour, can make the trip in about 30 hours.

### *World Distances Disappear with the Coming of the Telegraph, Telephone, and Radio*

Morse and Bell link the world together by wires. From the beginning of history man has tried to discover more rapid methods of communicating with his neighbor. The story in America runs from the Indian signal fire to the short-wave broadcasting station of today. Until about 100 years ago the best system of quick communication yet invented was the semaphore or signal telegraph. This was a method of signaling by lanterns, flags, or movable arms placed on high poles.

Congress in 1837 considered the building of a system of semaphore signals between New York and New Orleans. Letters were sent to various persons to gain information on this project. One of them fell into the hands of Samuel F. B. Morse, a professor of art at New York University. Morse was a scientist as well as an artist. He had already been working on the idea of running an electric current through wires. He had discovered that by opening and breaking the circuit he could make noises that could be used as a code for signaling.

Morse wrote a full description of his invention to the government. He took his apparatus to Washington, set it up, and telegraphed messages from one room to another. Nevertheless, few thought it was practical. Not until six years later did Congress vote \$30,000 to build a line from Baltimore to Washington to try out the invention.

In the meantime, Ezra Cornell, later founder of Cornell University, solved the problem of how to handle the wires by stringing them on poles. He and Morse built the first telegraph line. Completed in 1844, Morse sent the first message: "What hath God wrought." A new era in the history of communication began.

Telegraph lines were cheap to build and 50,000 miles had been strung in this country by 1860. They finally reached San Francisco the next year. With Morse's discovery as a starter, hundreds of other inventors soon improved upon it. Morse himself began the first experiments of laying wires under water. It was not until 1866, however, that Cyrus Field, another American, laid the first successful cable.

**Bell shows America how to talk over wires.** The next great development in communication was the telephone. It came from the basic idea of Morse greatly refined and perfected. Vibrations at one end corresponding with human speech are carried over wires and received at the other end. Simple in principle, the instruments are extremely complicated. It was Alexander Graham Bell who invented the first crude instrument that actually carried a human voice.

In 1876 Bell first sent his voice across a wire from Boston to his assistant in Cambridge. The invention was the sensation at the Philadelphia Exposition held that year. Lines were quickly built, but it was not until 1915 that telephone communication was established with

the west coast. In that year Bell spoke into an exact reproduction of his original instrument and was heard by the same assistant who had caught the first telephone message.

**The whole world listens in to the events of the day.** Not long after Bell's discovery, scientists became aware that mysterious electric waves traveled through the air. Perhaps messages could be sent over the air without wires. Many people played with the idea, but it was an Italian, Guglielmo Marconi (Goo-lyee-el'-moh Mahr-koh'-nee), who first made it a practical thing.

Marconi took out his first English patent in 1896. The distance that such messages could be sent was rapidly extended. In 1901, with the aid of a kite, Marconi in Newfoundland caught the first wireless signal sent across the ocean from England.

By the opening of the First World War, wireless equipment was standard on every ship of any size. They received messages from one another by the Morse code over the air instead of by wires. Huge wireless stations were now being erected on shore. People were sending messages to Europe over the air as formerly they had sent them by cable.

The next step was the same that had taken place when the telegraph developed into the telephone. If air waves could carry a Morse signal, why not the human voice? Within a few years scientists had conquered this problem. In 1920 broadcasting stations in Detroit and Pittsburgh began to broadcast regular pro-

grams of news, speeches, and music.

Within ten years almost every home had its radio. The best talent of the theater, the concert hall, and the lecture platform could be heard by merely turning on the power and adjusting the dial. More important than this it brought each individual into close touch with the rest of the world.

The telegraph, cable, and wireless have done much to speed the transportation of news. No one now has to wait even for the next edition of a newspaper. During the Second World War families could sit in their own living rooms and hear war correspondents talk from Sidney, Australia, Cairo, Egypt, or London, England. And all this in a brief broadcast of 15 minutes. The world had indeed become small.

### *Summary of the Unit . . . .*

In this unit—"The Machine Age Creates a New Way of Life"—we have tried to show how inventions have brought on an "Industrial Revolution" and changed our way of life.

1. Certain inventions, particularly Watt's steam engine (1769), set the Industrial Revolution in motion. As this revolution came to America, such men as Howe with his sewing machine (1846), added many new inventions.

2. The Industrial Revolution meant the shift from hand to machine production. It took manufacturing out of the home and small shop and put it into the factory.

This shift began in America with Slater's mill (1790) and continued during the next 100 years.

3. As small factories grew into great manufacturing plants, big business developed. With big business came monopolies, Rockefeller and Standard Oil leading the way. Then the government stepped in with the Sherman Anti-Trust Act (1890) and the Clayton Anti-Trust Act (1914) to control these monopolies.

4. Labor followed the machines to the factory, and organized unions to improve conditions. These unions finally united into great federations—the American Federation of Labor (1886) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (1938). In the meantime the government became interested in labor. Congress created the Department of Labor (1913). It protected the right of labor to organize in the National Labor Relations Act (1935). It established standards of hours and wages in the Fair Labor Standards Act (1938).

5. Machinery also brought a revolution in transportation and communication. This began with Fulton's steamboat (1807) and the railroad locomotive. Within 100 years after Fulton came the automobile and the Wright brothers' airplane (1903). The Morse telegraph (1844), the Bell telephone (1876), and the Marconi wireless (1896) conquered the problem of communication.

6. The 150 years from Watt to the Wright brothers is a short period in world history. Yet in this brief time machines have greatly changed our way of life.



**WHAT DO THEY MEAN?**

Show that you understand the development of each of the following terms by explaining its importance to our transportation or communication.

1. clipper ship
2. transcontinentals
3. wireless

**WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?**

*1807:* What trip was made in this year showing that a steamboat was practical?

*1825:* What project was completed in this year reducing freight rates between the East and the West?

*1844:* Why is this a key date in communication history?

*1876:* What invention in this year marked another milestone in the history of communication?

*1903:* Why is this an important date in aviation history?

**CAN YOU FIND ANSWERS TO THESE?**

1. Why were most of the colonial settlements along the ocean or rivers? In what ways was water travel difficult and dangerous in colonial times?
2. On the map on page 323 locate four canal routes, two river routes, and one lake route. Which canal route was the key route to the West?
3. What difficulties had to be overcome before steamboats were a success? What effects did the steamboat have upon transportation?
4. Why is Peter Cooper's name famous in the history of transportation? What are four railroad routes connecting the East with the Mississippi Valley?
5. How did the government aid the railroads in their building program? What have been four improvements in railroading?
6. List the steps in the development of the automobile. What have been at least three effects of the automobile industry on America?
7. Describe the progress made by the Wright brothers in developing the airplane. What are some milestones in aviation history?
8. Give at least three examples to show that we live in an age of speed.
9. What did each of the following contribute to progress in communication: Samuel F. B. Morse, Cyrus Field, Alexander Graham Bell, and Guglielmo Marconi?
10. Using examples from this chapter, show how improvements in one field led to improvements in another field of transportation and communication.
11. *Summary Question:* What are the steps by which our vast country has been tied together by transportation and communication?

**Activities for Unit Six****CAN YOU MAKE IT?**

1. *List.* Prepare a list of what you believe to be the ten outstanding American inventions and discoveries as described in this unit. Give the invention, date, and inventor of each. In a short sentence explain its importance.
2. *Poster.* Make a poster emphasizing the change from muscle power to machine power. Or a poster showing manufacturing then and now. Or a poster of the village blacksmith in the 1800's.

3. *Cartoon.* Show how monopolies took advantage of their competitors and the people. Or make a cartoon showing the workingman trying to decide whether or not to join a labor union. Be sure to indicate the advantages and disadvantages of union membership.
4. *Graph.* Using the following figures, construct a line graph showing membership in labor unions from 1931 to 1943. Make a rectangle  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches high by 3 inches long. Divide it into  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch squares. You need two scales. Place your time scale along the bottom of the graph and the membership scale along the left side. At the proper place mark the years and union membership in millions. At the proper intersections plot the following figures. Connect the plotted dots by drawing a line.

1931	3,358,000 members	1939	8,200,000 members
1933	2,973,000 members	1941	10,500,000 members
1935	3,890,000 members	1943	13,500,000 members
1937	7,400,000 members		

Or you may make a graph showing automobile production since 1900 by five-year periods. Secure your figures from the *World Almanac*.

5. *Chart.* Following are listed the percentages of the total population of the United States that live in cities and in rural districts. Prepare a chart with four bars. Divide each bar to show the urban population and the rural population.

DATE	RURAL	URBAN	DATE	RURAL	URBAN
1890	64.6%	35.4%	1930	43.8%	56.2%
1910	54.2%	45.8%	1940	43.5%	56.5%

What has been the effect of our machine age on our population?

## I TEST MY SKILLS

6. *Making an Outline.* One method of taking notes is to put them in outline form. A good outline distinguishes clearly the main points from the lesser points. The usual pattern for making an outline follows.

I. Main Topic (In a chapter this would represent the main section.)

A. Important Sub-topic (used to develop the Main Topic)

1. A fact or example to illustrate the sub-topic  
(*There should always be two or more of these*)
- 2.

B. Important Sub-topic

- 1.
- 2.

Try your skill at outlining pages 281 to 289 of the text.

Here is how the first part of your outline might start:

I. The Industrial Revolution Means the Change from Hand to Machine Production.

A. Development of machines turns manufacturing from home to factory.

1. Up to 200 years ago manufacturing was done mostly by hand.
2. The machine age had its beginning in the textile industry.
3. Hargreaves and others made machines to spin thread and weave cloth.

4. The use of power machines started the factory system.

B. (You continue from here)

7. *Interpreting a Graph.* There are many kinds of graphs such as the bar graph, the line graph, and the circle graph. Turn to page 318 and study the graph. Answer these questions: (a) What kind of graph is this? (b) What is the title of the graph? (c) Does it have a legend? (d) Does it have a time scale? (e) What things are compared? (f) How are they compared? (g) What is the trend?

## WE WORK IN GROUPS

8. *Debate. Resolved, That Man is Now the Slave of Machines.* Let a group of five pupils debate this topic. One person will act as chairman, introducing the topic and the speakers. Two speakers will present the affirmative side—that is they agree with the question. Two pupils will speak on the negative side. In conducting a debate each speaker will have four minutes to present his main arguments. His opponents will need to jot down these arguments. After all speakers have made their talks, there will be a ten-minute intermission. Each side will go to a separate room to prepare a rebuttal—that is, answer the arguments of its opponent. The rebuttal is made by one person from each side, and he will have three minutes to break down his opponent's case. While the debaters are preparing their rebuttal, the teacher and the class can list the arguments of each side and decide on their merits. At the end of the debate the class will decide two things: (a) which side presented its arguments more effectively, and (b) which side does the class as a whole support—the affirmative or the negative?
9. *Regulation for the Public Good.* Many times in this unit the authors have pointed out how the government has stepped in to remedy an evil situation. Whenever the government passes a law in such cases, it does two things. On the one hand it protects some people, but on the other hand it takes away somebody's power. A panel of four might discuss this problem. One would act as chairman, while each of the others would discuss one of the following phases: (a) Misuse of power leads to government regulation of corporations. (b) Labor gets a chance under new government regulations. (c) The consumers look to the government for protection.

## WE TURN TO OTHER BOOKS

10. *To Get More Information.*

RUGG, HAROLD, *The Conquest of America*. Pages 317–36 describe the development of the Industrial Revolution, while 401–66 tell of the rise of corporations and labor unions.

SMITH, SUSAN, *Made in America*. This is a readable book telling about famous craftsmen and their crafts.

BAITY, E. C., *Man Is a Weaver*. Pages 227–320 tell the story of cloth making in the United States.

LE MAY, GERALDINE, *The Story of a Dam*. An easily read, well-illustrated book about the TVA and what it has done.

HUBERMAN, LEO, *"We, the People."* Pages 206-31 and 280-334 will add to your knowledge about the coming of the machine age. Pages 335-48 tell of the advance of labor.

RECK, F. M., *The Romance of American Transportation*. Steamboats, canals, railroads, buses, and airplanes are all described by picture and easy reading.

BENZ, F. E., *Talking Round the Earth, The Story of the Telephone*. Shows the amazing growth in speed of communication from early days of stone builders to the present time.

11. *To Find Out Who's Who.*

BERRY, R. E., *Sextant and Sails*. The story of Nathaniel Bowditch's boyhood in Salem, Massachusetts, and early years at sea. He changed the science of sea navigation.

BURLINGAME, ROGER, *Whittling Boy; The Story of Eli Whitney*. The life of this clever mechanic told as young people would like to read it.

REGLI, A. C., *Rubber's Goodyear, The Story of a Man's Perseverance*. Excellent, readable biography of the man who discovered how to make rubber useful.

COTTLER, JOSEPH, *Champions of Democracy*. Several biographies of great Americans, but see it especially for Samuel Gompers, labor leader.

EBERLE, IRMENGARDE, *Famous Inventors for Boys and Girls*. A good collection, well-written and simple reading, of great inventors from Watt to Wright.

12. *To Read a Historical Story.*

BEST, HERBERT, *Gunsmith's Boy*. The story of a boy who worked for a master gunsmith craftsman in the early 1800's.

RAYMOND, MARGARET, *A Bend in the Road*. A girl at 17 enters work in a factory and learns to face problems there as well as at home. There is romance too.

HEWES, A. D., *Glory of the Seas*. A grand story of clipper-ship days.

MEIGS, CORNELIA, *Vanished Island*. A boy expelled from school gets a job on a steamboat on the Mississippi. Lots of action.

HAWTHORNE, HILDEGARDE, *Ox-Team Miracle*. Alexander Majors keeps the wagons rolling in a steady stream over the Santa Fe Trail.

WILDER, L. I., *By the Shores of Silver Lake*. The Ingalls family moves from their sod house in Minnesota to new land in Dakota Territory.

SUMMERS, R. A., *The Battle of the Sierras*. Joshua Pratt changes from gold-hunting to railroad building among the highest mountains of the West.

13. *To Look at the Past in Pictures.*

ROGERS, AGNES, *From Man to Machine, A Pictorial History of Invention*. An excellent history of invention from early times to recent days.

*Building America*: I, "Men and Machines," "Transportation," "Communication" and "Power"; II, "Steel"; III, "Labor"; IV, "Business"; V, "Railroads"; VI, "Ships and Men," "Radio," "Winged America," and "Labor and Management."



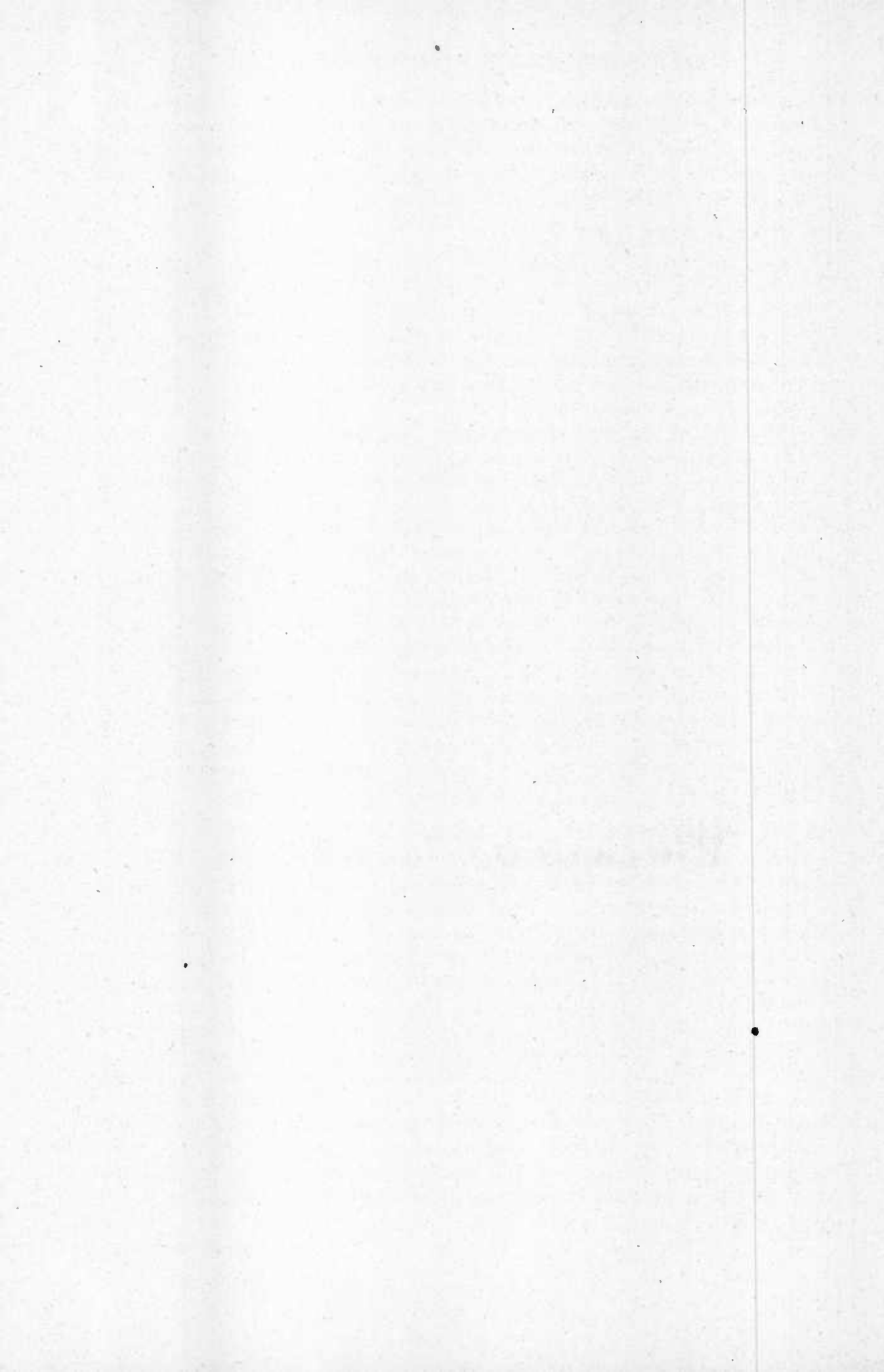
*Pageant of America*: III, 7-48, 69-258, dealing with early crafts and first machines; IV, 23-101, the development of shipping in the early days of our republic, 102-203, railroads and later shipping, 216-82, developments in communication, 312-47, automobiles and aviation; V, 7-277, the rise of the factory system, 278-314, organized labor.

### WE SUMMARIZE THE UNIT

14. *Time Line*. Prepare a time line from 1790 to 1940. On one side mark proper spaces to represent the years that Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt were Presidents. On the other side place the dates of five important inventions, the dates of passing of two laws regulating monopolies, one act regulating food and drug production, the founding of the TVA, and three events from the history of labor. What are your conclusions?
15. *Quiz Program*. For each chapter in the unit choose a committee of three. Each committee will prepare a list of ten questions. The class will select a quiz master. Divide the class into three groups. Keep score to see which group can answer the most questions.
16. *Oral Reports*. Let each of six pupils report on a hero or "captain of industry." For further information consult "To Find Out Who's Who."
17. *Exchanging Views*. Labor and business speak. Three persons will hold a dinner table conversation. One person could act as a waitress and serve food from time to time. The other two will discuss these topics. Let the business man start off by saying something about the idea that workers are not so good as they used to be. In the course of the conversation the speakers should bring out their attitude toward: (a) changes in conditions of work, (b) hours of work, (c) strikes, lockouts, picketing, strikebreakers, collective bargaining, boycott, and other similar terms.
18. *Important Laws*. Make a list of five laws passed by our government regulating business or labor in the interest of the public.

### DO WE UNDERSTAND THE IDEAS OF THE UNIT?

19. *Comparison and Contrasts*. Make a series of eight comparisons and contrasts between living in colonial times and today. Then make a series of four contrasts between the wishes of labor and the wishes of business.
20. *Chart*. Prepare a chart entitled "Then and Now." This chart should show both wages and hours of work 100 years ago and today.
21. *List*. Make a list of six improvements in living that are due to great inventions.
22. *Words of Industry and Labor*. Show that you know the meaning of the following terms: stock, corporation, monopoly, assembly line, mass production, holding company, interstate commerce, lockout, blacklist, yellow-dog contract, boycott, strikebreakers, picket line, C. I. O., and A. F. of L.
23. *Leaders of Industry and Labor*. From the unit drawing on pages 276-77 identify the men who have contributed to our industrial growth. What was the contribution of each? What symbols and men represent labor? What things has the artist included to make the picture appealing as well as factual?



## Unit Seven

### *We—a Nation of Immigrants —Turn to the Better Things of Life*

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- 20. We Are a People Eager to Improve Our Way of Life
  - 21. We Develop a Growing Interest in Our Music, Art and Theater
  - 22. Peoples from Many Lands Help Make the U. S. A. a Great Country
- 

People from many countries came to America as a land of opportunity. These people developed ideals which one historian has called the American Dream. It is a dream of a richer, fuller, and better life for each person according to his ability and his talents regardless of his race or nationality.

The Dream had its beginning in education. Schoolhouses were built and their doors gradually opened to more and more of our children. From time to time alert leaders exposed unfortunate conditions that have existed in our land. They have fought for reforms to improve these defects.

Then, too, our people have wanted to enjoy themselves. Music, art, the theater, and the movies have developed to make America a richer place in which to live. We also discover that the Negroes and the "new immigrants" have brought many talents and fresh points of view to our land. They have made America immensely richer and better by their contributions to our way of life. The American Dream is slowly coming true.







## Chapter 20. *We Are a People Eager to Improve Our Way of Life*

*It was Wednesday evening, June 3, 1829, in the Exchange Coffee House in Boston. A select group of citizens that included Daniel Webster, United States Senator from Massachusetts, was called to order by the chairman. The meeting went something like this.*

*"Gentlemen," said he, "you recall that on May 9th last we heard the report of William Barry concerning the condition of poor debtors. At that time we suggested forming a society to bring their unfortunate condition to light and to take steps to remedy the situation. What shall we do about the matter?"*

*"Let us ask Senator Webster his opinion," remarked a member.*

*The Senator reported that he was very much interested in Mr. Barry's report. He knew that it tied in with what was going on in some other states. He no doubt reminded them of a pamphlet written ten years earlier concerning the condition of poor debtors in New York state.*

*This pamphlet pointed out the shameful way in which a man owing a small debt could be thrown into jail by a creditor without any trial whatsoever. The process of law was such that the poor man might have to remain there a year or more before he could secure a trial to determine if he was justly in jail.*

*Webster probably also told them that the jails of the larger cities of New York, Philadelphia, and yes, even Boston, were crowded with men whose debts were less than \$25. Some were there for debts under five dollars.*

*After considerable discussion one of the members offered a motion to form a society whose purposes included "the benefit and relief of honest debtors." The motion was carried and Daniel Webster was its first president. This is a typical American way of doing things. When an evil condition exists alert leaders form organizations that arouse public interest to the need for action.*

*We Believe that More and More Education Leads to Fuller Living . . . . .*

**Horace Mann leads the fight for free public schools.** One of the great American ideals, the free public school, was not in general practice in Webster's time. However, far-sighted leaders saw that more opportunities for education were necessary. Education would aid in attacking poverty and distress. Moreover, many believed education was a necessary foundation to preserve our democracy.

Although the early colonists had insisted upon establishing schools, most of them were open only to those who could pay a fee. Furthermore, during the Revolutionary War and after, people had been interested in other things and schools became worse instead of better. One report stated that even in Webster's and Jackson's time only one out of every six boys and girls employed in the mills of Philadelphia could read and write. The same was true of other places.

The struggle for public education was a long and bitter one. Schools supported by taxation were opposed by the churches and by the wealthy. Many shared the beliefs of the man who thought it was better that young persons "should pass their days in the cotton patch, or at the plow, or in the cornfields, instead of being mewed [caged] up in a schoolhouse, where they earn nothing."

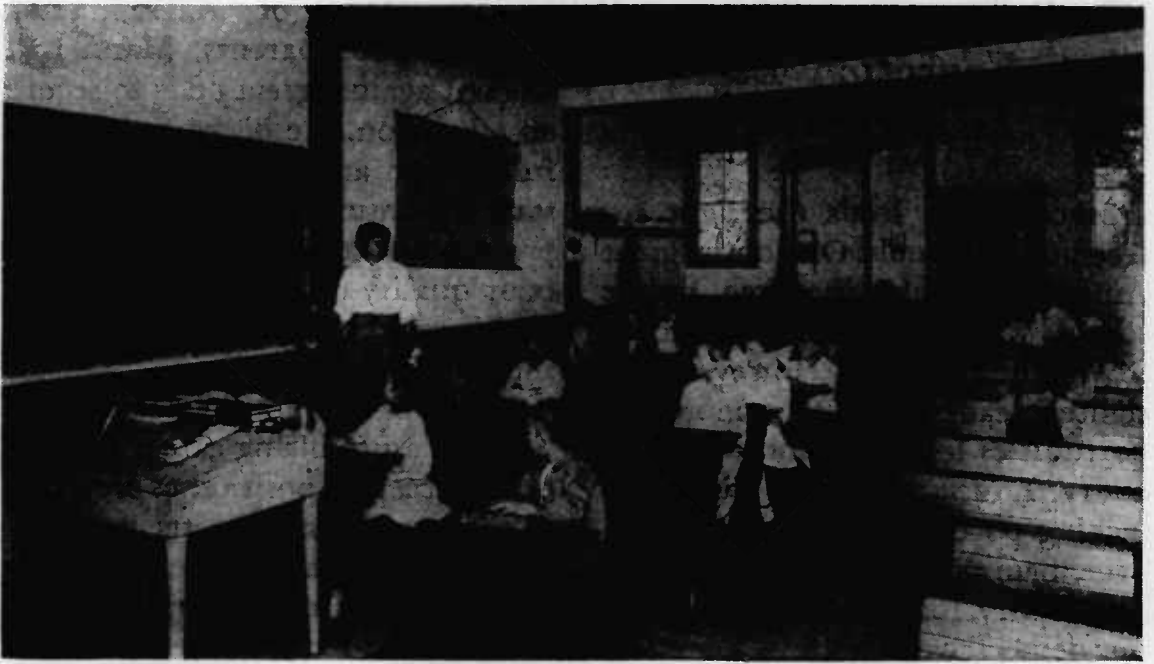
Among those who entered the fight for free public schools was

Horace Mann of Massachusetts. Born of poor parents, Mann had worked against great odds to secure an education. He became a successful lawyer and a member of the state legislature. His observing eyes saw the low state of the schools and poor quality of teaching. He made up his mind to do something about them.

Mann gave up a good law practice and a promising career in politics to accept a position as secretary of the new Massachusetts Board of Education. In town after town his fiery speeches opened the eyes of the public to the wretched condition of schoolhouses. He pointed to the number of children out of school and to the weak instruction in school. Others came to his support. Soon the legislature was passing laws that opened a new day for education in Massachusetts.

Perhaps Mann's greatest success was the opening, in the late 1830's, of the nation's first public *normal* school at Lexington, Massachusetts. Teachers would now be trained for their jobs. Other accomplishments of this great educator were the securing of a longer school year, getting children out of factories into the schools, raising teachers' salaries and opening elementary schools to all.

Mann's ideas spread rapidly to other states so that by 1900 there were in the nation 170 public normal schools preparing teachers to handle the larger number of pupils in the elementary schools. Elementary enrollments jumped from about six and a half million in 1870 to nearly 15 million by 1900 and to



An elementary school in the early 1900's shows that the desks and other equipment were not so good as in modern up-to-date schools. Often a teacher would have two, three, or more grades in a room. (Brown Brothers)

over 20 million by 1930. Since then there has been a decrease in elementary enrollments.

**Education of all the children of all the people is our goal.** These first long steps in education were soon followed by greater strides. Once having tasted the benefits of schooling, the people demanded an opportunity to continue their education.

The private academies that flourished in the early 1800's failed to meet the needs of everyday people. Public high schools began to appear, the first as early as 1821 in Boston. The movement developed slowly. Even by Lincoln's time there were only about 350 in the entire country.

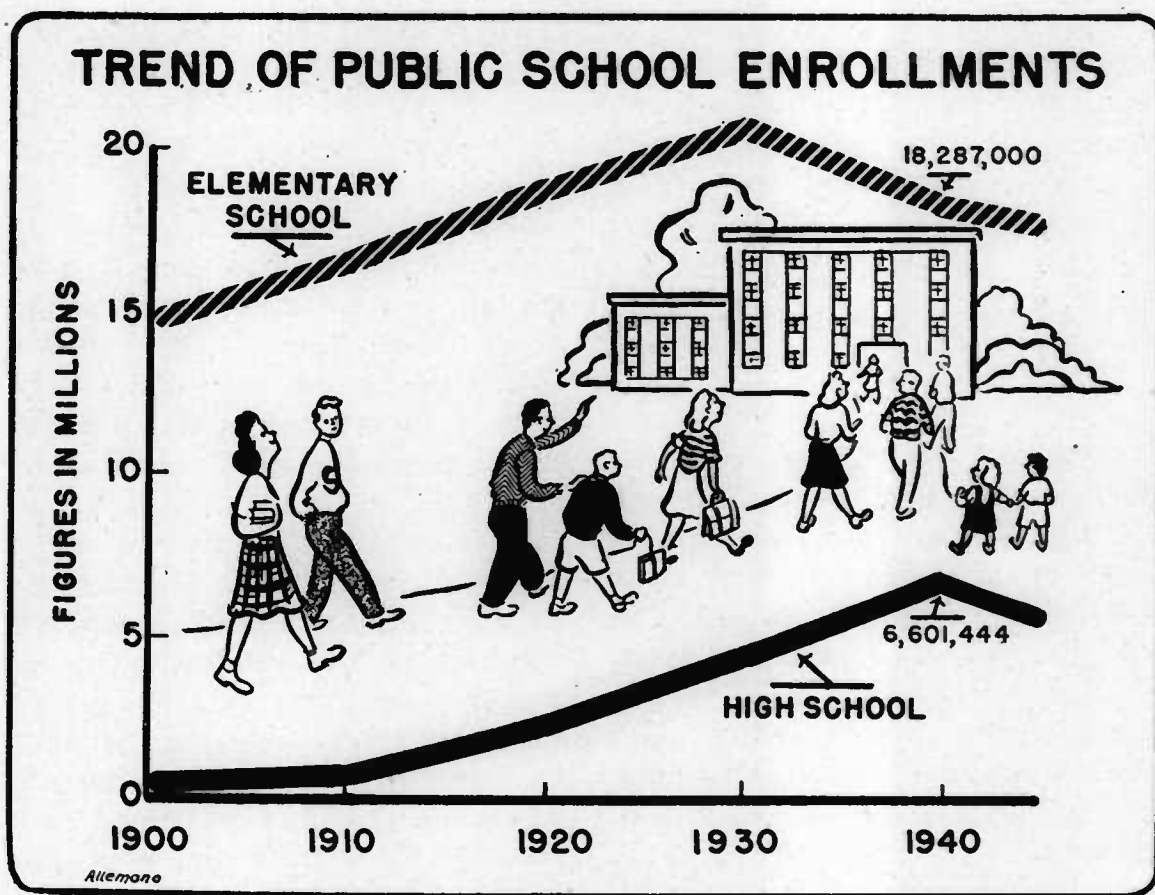
The high school idea really surged forward after 1890. For every day of the calendar years be-

tween 1890 and 1918, one public high school was established. Enrollments of a third of a million in 1890 leaped to almost a million by 1910. They continued to increase until about 1940 when over six and a half million were registered.

The high schools themselves changed in these years. Educators widened courses of study to make them more useful to the new masses who entered the school doors. Agriculture, mechanics, secretarial training, music, art, and physical education competed successfully with older courses in mathematics and languages. Athletic teams and dramatic clubs became more important than public speaking and debating. Dances and social events rounded out a more complete preparation for a richer and fuller life.

In the meantime, many were eager for a higher education. Older





colleges established in colonial days were soon challenged by state universities whose classrooms were tuition free to residents of the state. The new West opened many colleges between 1800 and 1860. Still, their offerings were limited and few attended before the War Between the States.

The Morrill Act, you remember from Chapter 13, encouraged college education by setting aside lands to be used in organizing colleges of agriculture and mechanical arts. Sixty-nine *land-grant* colleges came from funds of these grants to give increased support to an already growing interest in science, mechanics, and the social sciences. College attendance, already on the increase, jumped after the First

World War until in 1940 nearly a million and a third students were enrolled.

Two new movements swept our schools. The junior high school, after 1910, helped to "bridge the gap" from the elementary school to the high school by providing wider courses of study and an opportunity for pupils to move from teacher to teacher each day. Junior colleges started in the 1890's. Their enrollments jumped one and a half times from 1930 to 1940. They are now firmly established in more than 40 states. California leads the way, offering these two additional years after high school at public expense to more of its students than any other state.

The United States, as has no

other nation, opened wide its schoolhouse doors. All the children of all the people now have a better chance to get an education needed to enjoy a better life.

### *We Begin a War on Disease and Poverty . . . . .*

**Thoughtful people awake to the needs of the unfortunate.** Although the frontier provided free land for many of the poor, there were those who were unable or unwilling to take the risks of pioneer life. As the years passed by, many of our people were vigorous and healthy. But there was a layer that needed help, a layer that passed almost unnoticed until about President Jackson's time.

The story of Daniel Webster and the society to improve conditions of the poor debtors was not unusual. In a single year in the 1830's about 75,000 poor debtors were thrown into filthy jails, branded, whipped, and given only the coarsest of food. Such conditions were vigorously attacked by many groups of reformers who wanted to end these cruel practices. Through their efforts imprisonment for small debt was made illegal in many states.

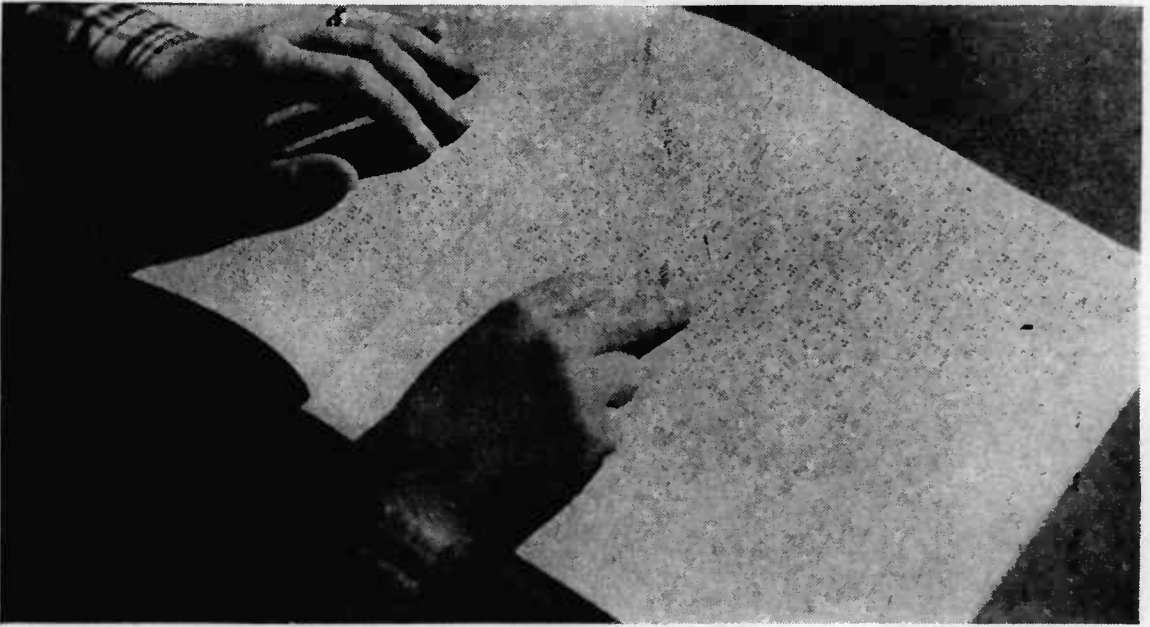
Prison buildings, too, were improved by providing a cell for each person. Societies in Massachusetts and New York carried on the study of prison reform begun by Quakers in an earlier day. The death penalty, earlier given for minor offenses, was wiped out except for a major crime.

Among the reformers none was more capable than a nervous frail woman who turned from teaching to improve the lot of the insane. Dorothea Dix discovered that the insane were thrown into prisons as criminals, where they were kept in cages, closets, cellars, and stalls. They were chained, kept almost naked, beaten with rods, and nearly starved. If insanity were a disease of the mind, this was no way to cure it.

In three years she traveled over 10,000 miles to expose these unfortunate conditions. Her campaign resulted in the establishment of separate asylums for the insane, where they were treated as patients to be cured and not as criminals. Medical science has discovered that many of these unfortunate people may be restored to normal life.

The deaf and blind received attention, too. Hartford, Connecticut, claimed the first school for the deaf where lip reading and the sign language were taught. Samuel G. Howe demonstrated before the Massachusetts legislature what could be done for the blind. It voted money, which, with a gift from Thomas Perkins, resulted in the Perkins Institution, school for the blind. Formerly given up as hopeless, the blind and deaf proved they could learn useful tasks by which they could earn a living.

The abolition movement to free the slaves had its greatest growth in this period. Under the daring editorship of William Lloyd Garrison, *The Liberator* carried stirring appeals to wipe out slavery. Other small bands of reformers continued



This book is written in braille, a system of writing designed by Louis Braille, a sightless Frenchman, in the 1830's. The alphabet and punctuation marks are based on the arrangement of raised dots, two dots wide and three dots high, like this  $\begin{smallmatrix} \cdot\cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\ \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \end{smallmatrix}$  . A B C  
D E F . (Charles Phelps Cushing)  
 $\cdot\cdot$  .  $\cdot\cdot$

to open the eyes of the public to the needs of the unfortunate in still other fields.

Jane Addams, social worker, pioneers in the war against poverty. By the 1890's the banner of reform was picked up and carried forward by Jane Addams, pioneer in social work. This Addams family is not to be confused with the various other famous Adams families in American life. Abe Lincoln noted the difference when he wrote Jane's father by beginning his letters, "My dear double D'ed Addams."

As a youngster Jane was not strong. Typhoid fever and tuberculosis of the spine left her with a crooked back and a slight twist to her head. At times she had to be strapped on a board. She was often in the hospital for rest and care.

Living in a comfortable Illinois home, little Jane was shocked when she saw for the first time a tenement district of poor people. She was struck by the differences between their homes and hers.

"When I am a grown-up lady, I want to live in a big house, but I don't want it near nice ones. I want to live right next door to poor people, and the children can play in my yard," she said to her father. Probably Jane never dreamed that was exactly what she would do in later years.

Jane went to Rockford Seminary, one of the first girls' schools of the Middle West. After graduation she took a trip with her father through the Great Lakes region. Suddenly stricken ill, her father died before he could return home. This was a great shock to Jane, for her father



Jane Addams was one of America's great women pioneers in social service work. She understood young people as well as adults. She once advised strict immigrant parents to allow their children some spending money. She said, "A girl needs a pretty blouse and a flower for her hair sometimes, and any boy likes to take his sweetheart to the theater and buy her ice cream afterwards." (Ewing Galloway)



had been not only a friendly companion but a wise counselor as well.

Jane went to Philadelphia to study medicine. Again her troublesome back forced her to give it up. She returned to Rockford Seminary, now a college, and finished her work for a college degree.

Since she had enough money to be more than comfortable, she arranged a trip to Europe. Among other places she visited the famous East Side slums of London. The slums—very poor districts—made a distinct impression upon her. She returned to America to continue her study of science at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, still not knowing exactly what she wanted to do.

**THE OPENING OF HULL-HOUSE.** Again Jane returned to Europe, this time for study. Her travels and studies led her to a newly established settlement house in London called Toynbee Hall, the first of its kind in the world. Excited by the services that this social settlement house was giving to the poor people of the East Side of London, Jane knew that was to be her life work.

Back in America, she headed for Chicago, rapidly growing city of restless people from many nations. Here, among the colorful patchwork of races including Russians, Italians, Jews, Irish, Germans, and others, was where she wanted to live. She searched among the slums for "her mansion among the poor." She found it in Hull-House. Once a proud mansion of early Chicago, it had become a second-hand store and an old folks' home. Now, in 1889, it had school furniture stored

on the first floor; lodgers, who thought the attic was haunted, lived on the second floor. On one side of the house was a combined livery stable and undertaking parlor, while on the other side was a popular Irish saloon. Down the block were a German bakery and a Jewish junk shop.

Jane Addams rented a part of this building for \$30 a month. She and a college friend and a housekeeper cleaned up the place with their own hands, and moved in. What was Hull-House? Beginning slowly, it developed a whole host of activities. At first it was a place where busy and tired mothers left their babies when they went to work. Cheap, wholesome foods were served the underfed children. Neighborhood girls shyly asked to play the "piana" for dancing. Newly arrived immigrants were aided in finding their relatives.

Later, apartments were set aside for working girls. A public kitchen served good, inexpensive food, while tired families rested in comfortable chairs in recreation rooms or the art gallery. Nurseries cared for children; boys' and girls' clubs gave new opportunities to growing young folks. In the first year more than 50,000 visits were recorded, and in the second year the number doubled.

Such an undertaking was pioneer work. It had never before been tried in American cities and there were no ready-made plans as to how to go about it. Everything had to be tried and tried again.

**JANE ADDAMS BECOMES A REFORMER.** Living as she did among



**Hull-House** provides clubs for boys and girls to train them for worthwhile activities as well as keep them out of trouble. These boys are drawing airplane designs and painting. Other groups include dancing, photography, wrestling and boxing. Dances, festivals and musical shows sponsored by young people of different nationalities are a regular part of the Hull-House program. Many other activities are provided for adults. (Courtesy of Hull-House, Hedrich-Blessing Studio)

the slum areas, Miss Addams saw many needs which a Hull-House could never provide. Greedy factory owners were employing women and children to work at low wages under unbelievably poor sanitary conditions. These factories were known as "sweat shops," and they had to be abolished if the slums were to be wiped out. Public opinion must be stirred to get the legislature to take action.

In a quiet but firm way, Jane Addams aroused the people of Chicago and of Illinois to the necessity of getting the state legislature to act. Legislation was passed regulating child labor. Sweat shops were placed under state inspectors and

improved. She was once offered a bribe if she would stop her exposures. Her enemies called her a radical. Yet she continued, and at the age of 31 was not only the greatest woman in Chicago but a national figure.

She influenced a hard-headed business man to tear down rent-paying tenement houses to establish the city's first playground. The political garbage inspector in her district failed in his duty, and she got herself elected to the job. She cleaned up the filth in the streets and back yards of houses and stores. The death rate went down, while the smell of the neighborhood improved. Miss Addams also tried to



Slum sections, like this one in New York, are found in most large cities. Not only are the streets crowded with pushcarts and sales stands, but the tenements above are crowded. Often rooms in such tenements have no outside windows for daylight, inadequate heat, and poor toilet facilities. (Ewing Galloway)

clean up the politics in her district, because she wanted the newer immigrants to see American government at its best and not its worst. She was only partly successful in this venture.

So it was that year after year the work went on. Because of her influence settlement houses sprang up in our leading cities. Many of them were directed by people trained at Hull-House. Jane Addams was now an international figure. She worked for world peace and received the Nobel Peace Prize in the early 1930's. A life of fruitful pioneer work ended in 1935 after 45 years of devoted service at Hull-House. Jane Addams opened the eyes of America to the need of improving conditions of the poor and unfortunate so that they could learn to help themselves.

**Many persons follow in the footsteps of Jane Addams.** Hull-House was but a single link in a long chain of reforms that swept America. The rapid growth of manufacturing, the rise of cities and the increased tide of immigration brought changes faster than we could care for them. As a result, many evils developed that were exposed by alert newspaper and magazine writers.

The newly trained doctors knew that diseases are caused by germs. They became alarmed at the mounting epidemics of typhoid fever, small pox, scarlet fever, and yellow fever. States and cities set up Boards of Health to take action by cleaning up the slums. Sewerage systems were built to care for the increasingly foul conditions in the cities. Early experiments in model housing for the poor resulted in the pas-

sage of state laws and city rules regulating tenement building. By 1910 almost every large city had a housing commission to plan for housing reform.

By this time another movement gained headway that is of particular interest to young people. Much was heard about the Boy Scout organization that was having so much success in England. Two organizations—the Woodcraft Indians and the Sons of Daniel Boone—united in 1910 to form the Boy Scouts of America.

The churches quickly lent support. A program of activities based upon craft work and camping appealed to boys, and membership within three years leaped to over 300,000. Its success encouraged others to form the Campfire Girls and the Girl Scouts in 1912. Later, the first 4-H Club was organized. This organization had its greatest growth in the rural districts. These are among the four most influential youth organizations in America today.

A widespread children's crusade saw child labor in factories reduced and more closely supervised. Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and Campfire Girls offered new and better directed recreation for young people. By the First World War over 400 cities had public playgrounds, many of them situated in the heart of the slum districts.

In spite of these efforts the crime waves caused by youth mounted ever higher. Increased crime of youth led to the establishment of juvenile courts to give special consideration to young criminals.

Women added increased influence to the reform movement, and they fought side by side with public spirited men to improve the evil conditions in our land. They became a new power in our life, especially through their rapidly growing women's clubs. As a famous Boston preacher once said: "When I want anything in Boston remedied, I go down to the New England Women's Club." Reform was on the march, and there was hardly a phase of our national life that it failed to reach.

*For More than a Hundred Years Men and Women Give Thought to the Use of Strong Drink . . . . .*

**Reformers try to educate the public in the use of alcohol.** A reform that gained increasing recognition concerned the use of alcoholic drinks such as wines, beers, and liquors. The growth of towns and cities brought about the beginnings of the saloon, where men who could ill afford it spent their slender earnings on liquor. As early as the 1820's the American Temperance Society was formed to urge less drinking. Their aim was not to wipe out drinking, but to have people drink only in moderation and never to spend so much upon it that the rest of the family would suffer for want of food and clothing.

The Society gained considerable support from churches, especially in the northeastern states. Within a



few years New York state had at least 700 branches. A convention called in Philadelphia in the early 1830's attracted over 400 delegates from practically all the states of that time and some of the territories. As a result of this meeting a new organization, which later included Canada, came into being. It was called the American Temperance Union.

The movement attracted leading clergymen and writers, as well as reformed drunkards who by their example were often of great influence. A novel, *Ten Nights in a Bar-Room*, helped the cause along. Immediately made into a play, this work became as effective for the temperance movement as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was for slavery.

Already a change in emphasis had taken place. No longer were people talking about the use of liquors in moderation, but about completely wiping out drinking by making it illegal to manufacture and sell liquors. This was the prohibition movement and it achieved some success even before Lincoln's Presidency. Maine was the first state to adopt legislation putting prohibition into effect. Other states from New England to the Middle West in one way or another regulated the sale of liquor.

The sharpness of the slavery issue made people lose interest in the prohibition movement until after the War Between the States. Many states actually repealed their earlier laws. Then the issue was revived. In 1872 interest in it reached such proportions that a national political party, the Prohibition party, was

formed. Although this party never polled a large vote, its influence was great and it forced the issue upon the two major parties.

**Temperance develops into a demand for the wiping out of the liquor business.** The Prohibition party soon received a tremendous boost by the formation of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. It was organized as the result of a suggestion by a Boston clergyman that women begin a praying crusade to close saloons. It spread like wildfire. Almost overnight "squads of women were singing hymns before saloon doors and even entering to hold prayer at the bar."

A national convention of these women formed the W. C. T. U. in 1874 and five years later elected as their president Frances Willard. Behind her was a vast and well-supported organization with centers in every community. She enlisted the aid of most of the churches and many clubs.

In the 1890's the efforts of the W. C. T. U. were further aided by those of the new Anti-Saloon League. Together the two organizations exposed the great extent of the liquor interests. They did not fight for temperance. They stood for the complete wiping out of the liquor business. They printed pamphlets for use in the schools on the harmful effects of alcohol. They forced the issue into political parties.

Their efforts were successful. From the low mark of three states in the early 1900's, there was a



**Women holding prayer at the bar of a saloon in the late 1800's.** Courageous women led a powerful crusade in many of our cities to close saloons. Church leaders, educators, men's and women's clubs joined forces to limit or wipe out the liquor business (*Harp-er's Weekly*).

rapid change from wet to dry. By the close of the First World War about two-thirds of the states forbade the sale of liquor. In other states individual towns closed out the saloons by local law. Our large cities, however, held out against the prohibition movement.

Organizations were alarmed at the ease with which persons carried liquor from wet to dry states. They sought national legislation to stamp out completely the liquor business. Congress responded with an act making it illegal to ship liquor from a wet state to a dry state. In the meantime Amendment XVIII [111-13] was moving on its way toward adoption in 1919. It forbade the manufacture, transportation, and

sale of intoxicating alcoholic drinks.

For 14 years the United States was legally dry, yet prohibition was a failure. Too many people would not obey the law. "Speak-easies" sprang up throughout the land where liquor was illegally sold. Opposition grew and in 1933 the adoption of Amendment XXI [122-24] brought about the repeal of Amendment XVIII.

Control over liquor is now back in the hands of states where it formerly was. Organizations are once more urging temperance upon our people. The temperance and prohibition movements, like other reform movements, represent an attempt to improve our American way of life.

**WHAT DO THEY MEAN?**

Explain the meanings of each of the following words or terms.

- |                  |                       |                 |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| 1. normal school | 5. abolition movement | 9. epidemic     |
| 2. academies     | 6. slums              | 10. temperance  |
| 3. debtor        | 7. settlement house   | 11. prohibition |
| 4. asylum        | 8. sweat shop         |                 |

**WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?**

1821: Why is this date important in the history of education?

1919: What experiment in reform did a constitutional amendment put into nation-wide effect in this year?

**CAN YOU FIND ANSWERS TO THESE?**

1. Why was more education for our people considered necessary? Who opposed further establishment of public schools?
2. What were Horace Mann's contributions to the movement for more public education?
3. List at least three changes that have taken place in high schools. Compare the statement in your text for high school enrollment in 1940 with the enrollment shown on the graph in 1944. What has happened?
4. What opportunities have been developed for education beyond high school?
5. Give at least three reforms that improved the conditions of the unfortunate. Who was Dorothea Dix?
6. What events in Jane Addams's early life made her interested in the conditions of the poor?
7. Explain how Miss Addams established Hull-House. Describe the work of a settlement house.
8. Why would it be correct to call Jane Addams a pioneer? Give three examples of her pioneering.
9. What reforms were made to improve conditions for young people? How did women influence the reform movement?
10. Describe the purpose and the accomplishments of the American Temperance Society.
11. How did reformers bring about Amendment XVIII? Why was this amendment repealed?
12. *Summary Question:* Reform movements are attempts to improve our way of life. What were the chief reform movements, and what changes did they bring about?

## Chapter 21. *We Develop a Growing Interest in Our Music, Art and Theater . . . . .*

*Twelve acres of land hold the buildings that house the 56th largest "city" in the United States. You will not find this "city" in the usual atlas, nor will its population be listed in the census.*

*The population is mostly a floating mass of business men and visitors. They walk the corridors, or are whisked by swift elevators to the bottom floor 65 feet beneath the ground or to the top floor 850 feet above street level. It cost 70 million dollars to build this "city" which has over 20 restaurants and regularly employs more than 25,000 workers. This miracle "city" is Rockefeller Center, the very heart of a great business section of New York City.*

*In the late 1920's, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and his associates decided to create a modern business center which would combine three important features: it must be useful, it must pay, but it should be beautiful. Three buildings were opened in the early 1930's, and others have appeared since in a fairly regular procession.*

*Perhaps Rockefeller Center could be a symbol of fine arts in present-day America. The buildings themselves are designed to fit into a modern city. First-rate artists decorated the interior walls with painting after painting. Three theaters provide the finest entertainment on stage and screen. One of these, Radio City Music Hall, is the largest theater in the world. It seats over 6,000 people. It has a stage 144 feet wide and 60 feet deep. On this stage performs one of the few ballet companies in America.*

*In the more than 20 broadcasting studios originate many of the musical and dramatic programs heard in almost every home in our land. The largest radio studio has a stage seating 400 orchestra players, while the auditorium seats 1,300 visitors. Smaller studios provide space for more intimate programs. Perhaps nowhere else in our land are the fine arts of painting, music, and the theater so closely drawn together as at Rockefeller Center.*



## *As the Years Pass, Our People Learn to Enjoy Music . . .*

The early colonists find little time for art and music. It was in a far different world from Rockefeller Center that the early colonist found himself. Surrounded by a vast wilderness that must be conquered with axe, musket, and spade, he built his crude log cabin, and cleared a space to plant crops. But when all this was done he had little time or energy for anything else.

However, as the colonists won the battle against nature and the Indian, they gave more attention to their homes. Frame houses replaced the single-room log hut. The design and materials depended upon the tastes of the owner. New Englanders used wood; Pennsylvanians, field stones; and farther south houses were made of brick. At first carpenters built houses as they remembered them in Europe, but later they copied from handbooks designs of Greek, Roman, and Georgian style.

Next, the colonists made neatly designed and sturdily built chairs, tables, and chests to give a more homelike atmosphere to their houses. Blacksmiths forged iron fittings, while skilled silver and copper smiths, such as Paul Revere, made attractive designs for tableware. Pretty patterns were woven in linen by clever fingers of housewives and young girls.

Young people then had an itch to draw just as young people do today. Gradually, crude brushes and paints found their way into many

homes. By the time of the Revolution three young artists had gone to Europe for training. Benjamin West, who at 21 charged £5 for a portrait, left his Pennsylvania home for Italy and later England, where he became the leading painter to the king. John Singleton Copley was a painstaking portrait painter who, like West, remained in England. Gilbert Stuart, from Rhode Island, returned from England to become the leading portrait painter of our early Presidents. Art had made its humble beginnings.

At first music was frowned upon as a sin. Only singing of the Psalms was allowed and many ministers opposed that. One colony had an early law that forbade any kind of music except the drum, trumpet, and jew's-harp. However, after 1700 this attitude changed. The first organ was introduced into a Pennsylvania church about this time. Church choirs appeared and singing schools became common. Boston, Charleston, and New York led the way with public concerts.

By the time of the Revolution, operas had been performed in New York and elsewhere, while Boston boasted a band. Music teachers of violin, flute, organ, and other instruments were already advertising for pupils. By the end of the colonial period it is clear that many had taken an interest in music, art, and the crafts.

**We sing our way across the continent.** Long hours of toil often cause people to unite and sing together as they work. Such was the case with Negroes who sang work chants,



**"Old Kentucky Home"** is an attempt by an artist to show the background of Negro life in the South. It was in gatherings such as these that the Negroes made up their music, sang their spirituals, and lived their life. Perhaps scenes such as this were the inspiration to Stephen Foster for many of his songs. (Culver Service)

"shout songs," and spirituals. The spirituals are deeply religious songs which were almost unknown outside of the South until after the War Between the States. They are noted for both their interesting rhythms and their rich harmony.

In the spiritual you catch the longing of the Negro people to be released from slavery and the heavy burdens of work. This is especially true of pieces such as "Go Down Moses" where the chorus sings "Let my people go." The Negroes showed their sympathy and understanding of Christ's suffering in their spiritual "Dey crucified my Lord, an' he never said a mumblin' word." Other spirituals you may know are "Deep River" and "No-

body Knows the Trouble I've Seen."

From Virginia to Texas, wherever the Negro followed his master, these songs were heard. Colored minstrels spread new songs by traveling from community to community. At each stop the minstrel taught new words and tunes to the leaders of the congregation by singing them over and over again. No music or words were written down. Some of these songs have been passed along by word of mouth for generations.

In contrast to the spirituals were the various frontier ditties and ballads. Some were grand, others were silly. Almost all expressed a hope, or in some way described the feelings of the people. Many of these

ballads were new words added to old folk tunes, while others were entirely new songs. Nearly all were accompanied by a fiddle or a banjo.

There were songs for the mule drivers along the canals and songs for those who worked the river boats on the Mississippi and the Ohio. There were songs that came out of the gold rush to California, while "The Little Old Sod Shanty" was a favorite of the Nebraska pioneer. "Red Iron Ore" was a stirring song from the Great Lakes region. These and many others were sung by traveling troupes of white minstrels so common just before and just after Lincoln's time.

There were songs of the Mexican War and of the War Between the States. The cowboy songs, such as "Bury Me Not on the Lone Prairie," were often sung as the men rode the trail or as they sat around the campfire at night. Other songs told of the woes of drunkards and of jailbirds. There were songs for those with lonely hearts and for those who found their true love. By the 1890's we were a singing nation.

The most important composer of these songs was Stephen Foster, the first writer of American folk music. Such favorites as "Oh Susanna," "My Old Kentucky Home," and "Old Black Joe" captured the nation and were sung from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

**Our people begin to take music seriously.** While the people sang their ballads and folk songs, musical societies sprang up in most of our eastern cities. Even before Lincoln's time, symphony orchestras and op-

era were regular features of the winter entertainment season in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and New Orleans. Music was started in the Boston public schools when Jackson was President and the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra gave its first concert in the early 1840's.

The leaders in forming these early groups were often immigrants. For example, in the middle 1800's a group of 24 talented Germans made a tour of our cities under the name of the Germania Orchestra. This tour awakened the interest of many in our leading cities to the qualities of good music. Specialists in the various instruments gave expert instruction to young American artists who then went to Europe to round out their training.

After the War Between the States, interest in music increased even faster. Conservatories—special schools of music—sprang up in our leading cities. Symphony orchestras were formed in Chicago, St. Louis, and Cincinnati. Our composers gradually turned to more serious work than the folk music of the frontier. John Philip Sousa wrote several famous marches that have become standard band selections throughout the nation. Edward MacDowell established a department of music at Columbia University and his compositions in the "Indian-Suite" made use of truly American themes. Perhaps you also know his "To a Wild Rose."

The operetta was another forward step in good music. The earlier minstrel shows proved to be too monotonous for a steady diet. Out

of these came a show with more variety which in turn developed into the vaudeville. From this and other influences came the operetta with emphasis on music and dancing, connected by a thread of story.

The leading writer of these lighter shows was Victor Herbert. In the 25 years after 1900 Herbert wrote almost 40 operettas, whose tunes consisted of easy melodies that the listening public eagerly picked up to whistle and sing. The style caught on and we find many similar composers. Reginald DeKoven wrote a dozen operettas, one of which contained "O Promise Me," the song most frequently sung at weddings in America. Ethelbert Nevin's brilliant career was cut short by an early death, but every boy and girl knows "The Rosary." Yes, we were beginning to take our music seriously.

**Today more people play and listen to better music than ever before.** After 1900 the interest in music leaped forward. Nearly every public school set aside time for singing, glee clubs, orchestras, and bands. Other colleges followed the lead of Harvard, Yale, and Columbia and established departments of music. The rising generations were getting a new understanding of music and many turned to this field for a career.

Organizations that had made a start in earlier days expanded. Like mushrooms, new musical societies sprang up all over our land. By the 1930's there were 16 major symphony orchestras scattered from coast to coast. The 16 orchestras in

a single season gave 1,300 concerts to nearly three million people. Some 250 lesser orchestras are proving grounds for rising young musicians. Most of this movement has come about since the First World War.

Young America is taking to music. There are 30,000 high school and college orchestras and bands. At least eight symphony orchestras give youth concerts, either free of charge or at very low cost. In addition, we find open air concerts in the summer for both young and old attended by crowds of from 5,000 to 20,000. Summer festivals, winter festivals, "Pops" or popular concerts playing lighter music—all these attract more and more of our people.

Opera, too, had its share of the new glory. The Metropolitan Opera Company of New York, established in the late 1880's, expanded. American stars began to replace European artists in the leading roles. There is a trend toward singing the operas in English rather than in the original language in which they were written. The Metropolitan Opera Company now broadcasts to an audience of over four million homes. Successful opera companies also carry on in other American cities.

The invention of the phonograph makes available to almost every home in our land the music of the masters as performed by the great stars. In a recent year the sales of classical recordings reached more than three and a half million. Symphonic music, first broadcast in the 1920's, is now a regular feature of





**Paul Whiteman** and some of his orchestra pose for a picture. Whiteman as much as any other person brought about public acceptance of jazz. He encouraged able writers like Gershwin to write serious jazz. Returning from an army band in the First World War, he organized a dance orchestra and started the climb to the hall of musical fame.

many radio stations. About the same time Walter Damrosch started weekly music appreciation hours on the radio. His school audience quickly jumped to over seven million listeners. These musical hours told stories of the great masterpieces and instructed young people on how to listen to music. There can be no doubt that more people today play and listen to better music than ever before.

**Jazz is the music of the machine age.** In the meantime the feverish pace of modern life had its effect upon music. Just as machines speeded the production of goods, new

developments in amusements called for a faster tempo in music. The result was jazz.

The origin of jazz is not clear. There are a dozen different stories, one of which has it that a certain Jasbo Brown, colored musician in a Chicago night club, made his trombone "talk" by putting a derby hat over its mouth. The diners at the club were delighted with the effects. Dance orchestras, which in the early 1900's had pepped up their music by a new twist of time called rag-time, now turned to jazz.

Jazz is a unique combination of rhythm, time, and harmony with a new effect called syncopation. Its

development may be traced to a number of influences. One of the chief ones was the Negro whose African rhythms, "shout songs," and "blues" contributed certain features to jazz. Jazz gives new importance to the saxophone, trombone, clarinet, trumpet, drum, and piano, and reduces the importance of the violin. Jazz is music for dancing and playing, rather than music for song.

Jazz bands rapidly formed throughout the land. Some toured our cities from coast to coast playing in theaters, night clubs, and dance halls. Jazz won respectability among serious musicians when Paul Whiteman gave a concert in a New York music hall. The concert, "An Experiment in Modern Music," featured "Livery Stable Blues," "Alexander's Ragtime Band," and "A Rhapsody in Blue," all jazz compositions.

From dance hall to concert hall was a big leap for jazz to make. The man who made such a leap possible was George Gershwin, writer of snappy tunes, who in the 1920's turned his attention to serious jazz. His "A Rhapsody in Blue," played by Whiteman, was followed by others, the most familiar being "An American in Paris." Skillful arrangers adapted the music of many composers to fit many types of orchestras. Other twists have recently been added from Latin America, giving us music for such dances as the conga, the carioca and the rhumba.

Jazz has influenced popular music, though not all popular music is jazz. Irving Berlin's songs, for example, more closely resemble the

old time love ballads than jazz. Irving Berlin and other writers have flooded America with hundreds of popular songs in recent years, some selling a million or more copies. Berlin is the Stephen Foster of modern times, though he has much more competition than Foster had.

Today in America there is a tune for all to whistle. Those liking serious music whistle the symphonies and better lyrics of operettas, but most of our youth wiggle their toes and pucker up their lips to jazz and other popular songs of today.

### *We Turn Away from Europe and Develop Our Own Art*

**Our early painters go to Europe to get their training.** In the field of painting, no artists produced works equal to those of West, Copley, and Stuart for many years. These men, like others to come, picked up the rudiments of painting in America, but for their final training went to Europe.

It was natural that this should be so. Europe was the home of the great masters. Rome, Paris, and London, as well as other cities in Holland and Germany, had long been centers of culture in the arts. The young American artists stared in wonder at the masterpieces in Europe. Their only drawing practice had been to make sign boards or crude portraits.

In Europe they saw how expert hands skillfully handled various lighting effects and mixed colors. They learned the meaning of ac-



Winslow Homer was a master at painting the sea in all its moods. Fishermen, ships, fog and rocky coasts were favorite scenes for his talent. Here in "The Gulf Stream" we see a sloop with its broken mast helplessly adrift in the slow current of the Gulf Stream. The beauty of the sea coupled with the suspense and danger to the lone Negro sailor, indicated by the lurking sharks and the approaching waterspout, make for dramatic contrast. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

curacy in drawing as well as tricks of the trade. It was indeed the ambition of most young artists to make a trip to Europe. Some, like Copley and West, who was the first American artist to gain European fame, stayed there. Other artists such as Stuart returned to America. Stuart painted a famous portrait of Washington (which is now owned by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts), and portraits of many other Americans.

From Jackson's time until after Lincoln, we had many painters, but few masters. You will recall that this was the period in which the energies of our people were spent in opening western lands, laying our first railroads, and starting factories. They also talked politics and

debated the justice and injustice of slavery.

Except for portraits demanded by the newly rich, there was at first little to encourage painting. This demand was met by such men as Thomas Sully and Chester Harding. Sully counted over 2,500 portraits to his credit while Harding once painted over 100 portraits within six months for \$25 each. Among his portraits may be found Daniel Boone and the faces of at least 40 Congressmen.

Because of a lack of appreciation of their work, several artists remained in Europe to work. James McNeill Whistler, whose "Mother" is famous the world over, was one of these. He went first to Paris and



**"The Clinic of Professor Gross"** painted by Thomas Eakins when he was 27. It is an excellent portrait of Dr. Samuel Gross who is teaching his medical students, shown in the background, about the anatomy of the human body. Eakins himself was a keen student of anatomy. He began his study of art as a young man in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. He went abroad for a few years, but returned home to spend his lifetime teaching and painting scenes of the everyday life around his native state of Pennsylvania, especially sporting scenes. He often invited wrestlers, boxers, and others to his studio to serve as models. While many of his pictures are of sporting events, he also painted portraits, among the best being "The Cello Player." As a teacher he urged care in drawing, and he wanted his pupils to use scenes from real life as models. The picture shown here once sold for \$200 but it is now valued at \$150,000, and is said to be Eakins' finest work. (The Bettmann Archive)



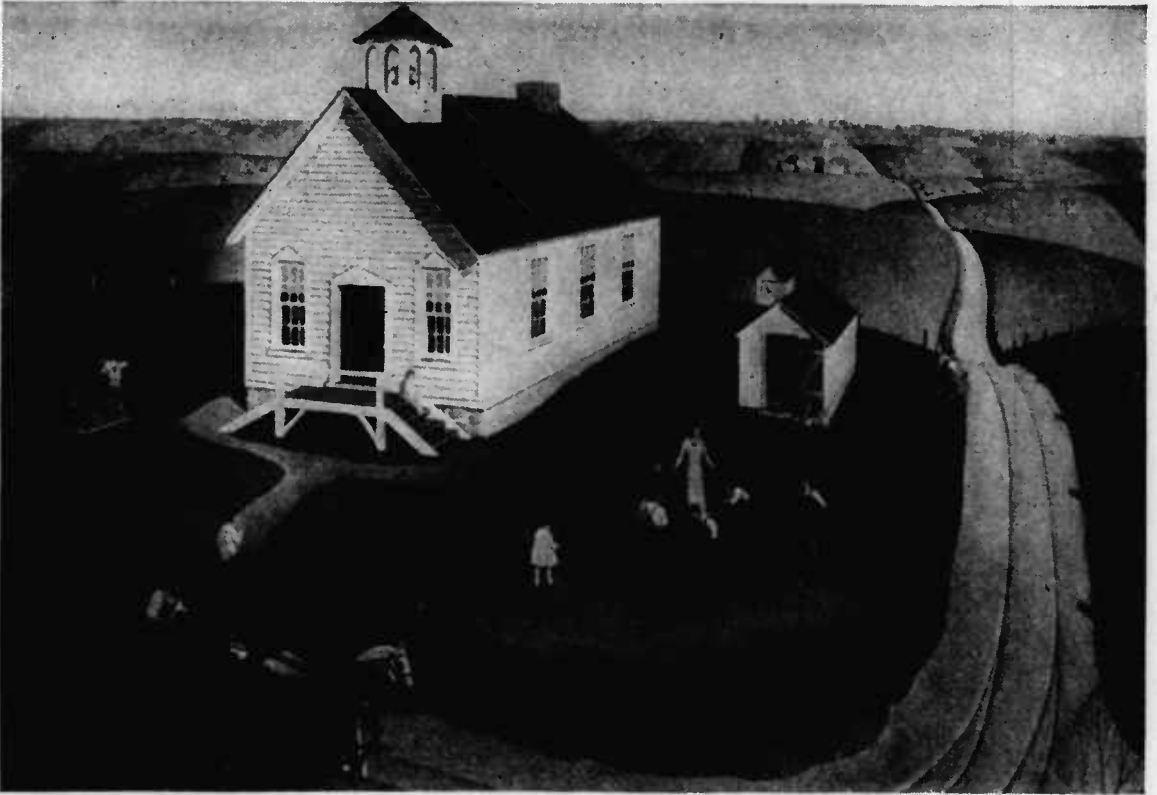


**Thomas Benton** enjoys painting scenes typical of modern American life. This picture, "Cotton Pickers," shows conditions among the poor tenant farmers of the South. Benton has traveled over much of the United States on foot, by bus and otherwise, mixing with rich and poor to learn how his countrymen feel and think. He does not hesitate to show the drab as well as the brighter side of life. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

later to London, where he became a leader in developing new ideas in art. Like Whistler, John Singer Sargent acquired fame in Europe. Sargent, born in Italy of American parents, attended various schools on the continent. At the age of 21 he was recognized as a master painter. He painted people high in English society, but later came to America where he was the portrait painter of the day for fashionable people. Later he turned to painting murals, first in the Boston Public Library, then in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. A *mural* is painted on a canvas which forms a covering for a wall.

**A new group of artists paint the everyday life of our nation.** A few artists pioneered in painting scenes of American life even before the War Between the States. Since that time our artists have not hesitated to use the everyday life of our people as subjects. Also, they have been willing to try out new forms in art to meet the needs of changing times. Perhaps no one expressed a growing opinion among our artists better than Thomas Eakins.

In the early 1900's he wrote: "If America is to produce great painters and if young art students wish to assume a place in the history of



"Arbor Day" painted by Grant Wood is a familiar scene in the spring. The pupils, under the direction of their teacher, are planting a tree. Wood's paintings often describe everyday events in American life. The landscape is that of Iowa farm lands, the home of the artist. (Associated American Artists)

the art in their country, their first desire should be to remain in America, to peer deeper into the heart of American life, rather than spend their time abroad." Eakins was one of the first of a new group of artists to picture the life of everyday events around him. His sporting pictures and "The Clinic of Professor Gross" well illustrate that fact.

Another who really caught the spirit of American scenery was Winslow Homer. Out of the War Between the States came his "Prisoner from the Front" which gave him recognition as an artist. He continued by painting scenes of Virginia and New England for many years. After 1880 his vigorous paintings of marine scenes so typical of

the stern and rugged Maine coast commanded world-wide attention.

After the 1880's it was possible to take Eakins' advice and remain in America. Master painters established studios and schools where an ambitious and talented youth could secure training. By this time the Metropolitan Museum in New York and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts were established, and their galleries displayed some of the finest art in the world. Art colonies, studios, and museums rapidly sprang up in other cities. Art was introduced into the public schools. Pupils were taught the fundamentals of drawing, color, and good design as well as how to observe pictures.

Recently, such artists as Thomas

Benton, Grant Wood, and a host of others are exploring every phase of American life. They paint pictures of our cities and our farms. They show how the rich and the poor live. Men at work, people at play, scenes of western prairies and mountains, scenes of the waterfront, all are shown by our newer artists. They show them in oils, in water colors, by wood cuts, and by etchings. Striking murals decorate the walls of many public buildings and institutions, while our churches have beautifully designed religious scenes in their stained glass windows.

No longer are our art galleries studded with row on row of stuffy old portraits. Our recent artists are using new and interesting ways to show how America lives. Some of these artists are good enough to compete with the best in the world.

### *From Colonial Barns to Movie Palaces, Our People Seek Amusement in the Theater . . . . .*

**Our theater comes of age.** The stern and strict Puritans and Quakers were quite opposed to amusements. The theater was frowned upon as being a device of the devil. About 1700 New York enacted a law that forbade "play acting and prize-fighting." Pennsylvania passed an early law that provided a penalty of \$500 for anyone who built a theater or sold tickets for a theatrical entertainment. Fortunately, this law

was set aside by the King's Council.

Gradually the people began to change their views. We know that both Williamsburg, Virginia, and New York had theaters at least 40 years before the Revolution. By the time of the Revolution, play houses were common in several of our leading cities. In fact, George Washington enjoyed the theater very much.

As one authority has pointed out: "It is small wonder, therefore, that the theatre buildings were rough, barnlike structures, usually painted red, lighted by candles or oil lamps, and virtually unheated. Where candles were used they were so placed that spectators could trim them. It was customary, in love scenes, or scenes of tragedy, for someone to step on the stage and snuff out some of the lights to give the required shading." Most of the actors in these early theaters came from England.

By the time Lincoln became President the theater had gained standing, and we had at least two outstanding actors, Edwin Forrest and Charlotte Cushman. Even before this time there were at least 50 stock companies, though most of these centered around a star imported from Europe. Although some 700 plays were produced, the quality was not high. In fact, Forrest once offered \$500 for a five-act tragedy. His contest brought 200 entries, none of which was of great quality.

Many of these early plays centered around events and characters of our Revolution, but the rise of slavery brought a new theme. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* swept the northern cities and brought many newcomers



**High School pupils at Technical High School, Brooklyn, New York, broadcast a play over the radio. Such an activity gives boys and girls training in writing, reading, and acting plays, as well as training in the technical work of handling equipment. (Charles Phelps Cushing)**

to the theater. Forrest played more than 1,000 times in *The Gladiators*. This play showed the slaves of Rome rising against their masters, and was more than a hint for our slaves to do likewise. Still, most of the plays continued to be imported from Europe, along with the star performers.

After the War Between the States, the stock company supported by local talent was largely replaced by a touring company headed by stars. Such stars as John Drew and Mrs. Minnie Maddern Fiske captured audiences with thrilling melodramas and hilarious comedies. By 1900 theaters were operating in most of our leading cities.

**Little theaters and summer playhouses dot our land. Presently the**

three Schubert brothers built a string of 1,200 theaters, putting on plays at popular prices. We did not have enough first-class actors or suitable playwrights to keep up the pace. The result was that the smaller cities received second- and third-rate shows of which the public quickly tired. Because of this and of the growing competition of the movies, the number of shows on tour declined.

In the meantime other events placed the theater on a firmer and more truly artistic basis. A Drama League was formed in Evanston, Illinois, to encourage better writing and producing of plays. The "little theater" movement, so popular in Europe, reached America just before the First World War. Commencing at almost the same time in



Chicago, Boston, and New York, this movement spread rapidly. Within five years at least 50 of these little playhouses were giving shows of real merit. Formed by people really interested in the stage, rather than in profits, these theaters brought new life to the profession. They trained promising young actors and encouraged authors to try out new themes for their plays.

Then, near the beginning of the First World War, a group of artists on vacation in Provincetown, Massachusetts, designed scenery and put on a play. Out of this came the Provincetown Players. They expanded and improved their quarters, and attracted not only new talent in acting but new talent in writing plays. The idea caught on. What was ordinarily an off-season in the theater business now became a flourishing season. Summer theaters sprang up in resort after resort, along the seashore and in the mountains.

More recently the radio theater has brought stars of the stage and screen to people in millions of homes who have never seen a professional play. Beginning in the 1930's, radio producers adapted plays to the radio. Rather crude at first, the plays were shortened and made more real by the use of sound effects. Today radio plays are broadcast in regular weekly performances, the leading parts being taken by stars of Broadway and Hollywood.

These four movements, the Drama League, the little theater, the summer theater, and the radio theater, seem to give promise of

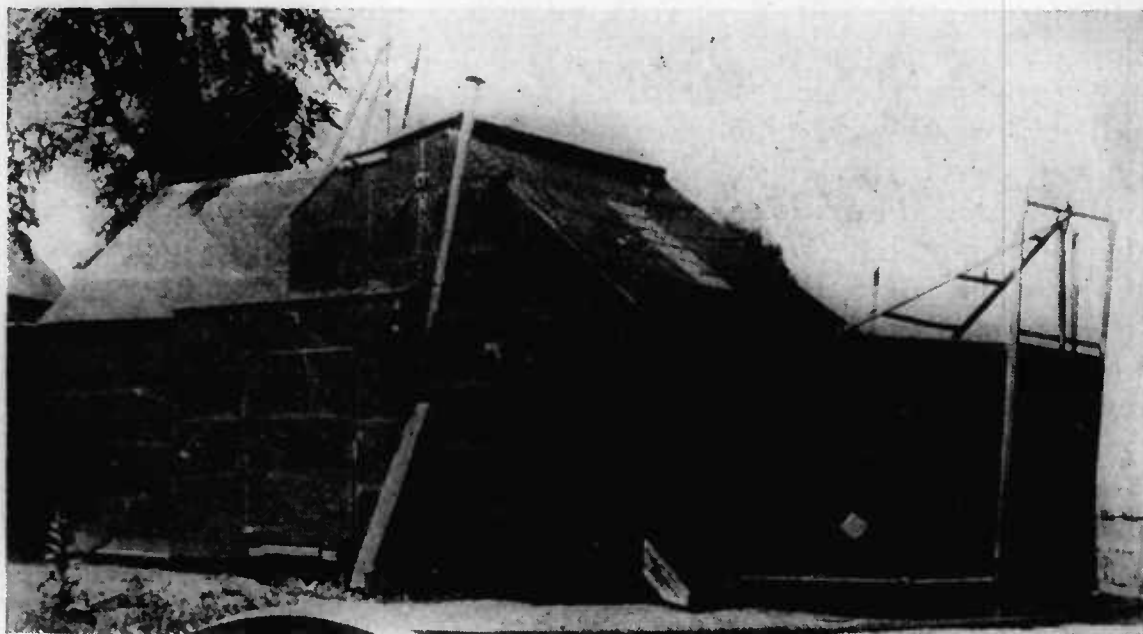
better production and more appreciative audiences. The theater is taking a high place among the fine arts in our country.

### **We become a nation of movie goers.**

While thousands of people go to plays, millions attend the movies. Every week more than 85 million people crowd over 17,000 theaters to see the latest shows produced by the two billion dollar moving-picture industry. From the small town theaters to the giant movie palaces, such as Radio City Music Hall in New York, our people go to see their favorite stars. The movies are our most popular indoor amusement, and are big business, the fourth largest in the United States.

Less than 50 years old, this amazing industry developed from an invention by Thomas Edison called the kinetoscope. This was a little black box with a peep hole through which people could see pictures that moved. Within a few years Edison's first motion picture studio, the Black Maria, established the foundations for a new industry.

The first story picture was a 750-foot thriller called *The Great Train Robbery*. This was followed by other pictures featuring simple love plots and slapstick comedy such as the custard-pie act. Movies became longer as Mary Pickford, Douglas Fairbanks and Charlie Chaplin brought new thrills and laughs to an ever-increasing audience. Then in 1914, came *The Birth of a Nation*. Based upon the War Between the States, it was the first of the super-pictures showing large scenes, great battles, and masses of people.



**The Black Maria** was the first motion picture studio and was owned by Thomas Edison. The studio is mounted on a swivel so that it may be turned during the day to get the full benefit of the sunlight. This is just a crude shack compared to the modern well equipped studios. (Brown Brothers)

In 1928 *The Jazz Singer* with Al Jolson showed that talkies were here to stay; a year later *On with the Show* brought technicolor and paved the way for later gorgeous musical shows where sparkling gowns and bright scenes made the audiences gasp in sheer wonder. Recently, Walt Disney has shown us the possibilities of moving color cartoons like those featured in *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*.

Slapstick comedies and cowboy pictures continue to be popular, but love and adventure are featured

in most films. Several great pictures have been filmed around historical fiction and important scientific and political characters. Excellent examples of these are *Gone with the Wind*, *Madame Curie*, and *Wilson*.

The moving picture industry plays an important part in the life of our people. Perhaps it is the best example of an industry based on the talents of artists. Writers, designers, musicians, actors, technicians, photographers, and the director all work together to produce the big show.

### WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

Explain the meaning of the following words or terms and show how each played a part in the fine arts.

1. spiritual
2. ballad
3. folk songs
4. conservatories

5. jazz
6. museum
7. portrait
8. gallery

9. etching
10. mural
11. stock company
12. "little theater"

**CAN YOU FIND ANSWERS TO THESE?**

1. Why didn't the early colonists spend more time on art and music?
2. What are the chief characteristics of the spirituals? What were other types of songs sung by our people?
3. How did immigrants help awaken an interest in serious music? Name an American composer of serious music and give an example of the type of music he composed.
4. What proof can you offer that "today more people play and listen to better music than ever before"?
5. Describe how jazz climbed from night club to concert hall. How has jazz influenced other music?
6. Why did our early artists go to Europe? What types of painting were most common in our country until after Lincoln's time?
7. What changes have taken place since Lincoln's time to indicate that American art is coming of age?
8. Describe an early theater. How did the attitude of people toward the theater change with the passing of the years?
9. What sort of plays were common before 1900? Can you name a star who was important before this date?
10. Give two examples of movements designed to improve the quality of acting and staging of plays.
11. Show that the movie industry is big business. What have been four important developments in the movies?
12. *Summary Question:* In what ways have improvements in our music, art, and the theater helped to enrich the lives of our people?

## Chapter 22. *Peoples from Many Lands Help Make the U. S. A. a Great Country . . . . .*

*Carl Schurz was a brilliant young German who at the age of 19 joined a revolutionary group to establish more democratic government in his country. The plot failed and Schurz avoided a death sentence by escaping through a sewer and fleeing to France. Later, he made his way to London and joined a group of exiles there.*

*He soon fell in love and married, but being an exile was a serious matter. Returning to Germany was out of the question. His father had often spoken to him about America as a "land without kings, without counts and without military service." He made up his mind to engage passage for New York on a sailing ship.*

*Here is what he later wrote about this experience: "There were several hundred emigrants in the steerage, but only about twenty passengers in the cabin. Having determined to make the United States my permanent home, I was resolved to look at everything from the brightest side, and not permit myself to be discouraged by any disappointment.*

*"But we were young—I twenty-three years old, and my wife eighteen. Still, I was anxious that the first impression of the new country should be bright and inspiring to her. And that wish was gratified to the highest degree. The day we arrived in New York harbour could not have been more glorious. When we beheld this spectacle our hearts fairly leaped with joy. We felt as if we were entering, through this glorious portal, a world of peace and happiness."*

*Schurz was an immigrant who became one of our great Americans. Within six months he learned our language and began taking part in our life. A man of simple tastes and good habits, he enjoyed music and painting, and read our literature. From Lincoln's time to that of Theodore Roosevelt, he was an outstanding figure in our politics.*



## *A New Flood of Immigrants Reaches Our Shores . . . . .*

Unhappy peoples from southern and eastern Europe come to the land of opportunity. Carl Schurz was only one of several million immigrants who came to the United States before 1890. He became first a Senator and later a member of the President's cabinet. He worked for the freedom of the Negro, to wipe out dishonest politics, to improve conditions of our slums, and to help the Indian. His ideals were high, and he lived up to them. Schurz is a good example of many of the immigrants who came to America from Europe. He represented a strain of immigration that came chiefly from northwestern Europe—Germany, Sweden, and the British Isles.

After 1890 a distinct change took place in the flow of peoples who came to our country. The stream from northwestern Europe dwindled, but that from southern and eastern Europe changed from a tiny trickle to a rushing torrent.

There were several reasons for this. Agents for our railroad and steamship lines advertised in glowing terms the opportunities in the New World for better wages. Many of the poor peasants wished to escape from compulsory military service so common in European lands. Others, such as the Jews, Czechs, and the Poles, lived under governments unfriendly to them and they wanted to escape. New and direct steamship service was opened to Mediterranean ports, making it

convenient for these people in southern and eastern Europe to get transportation.

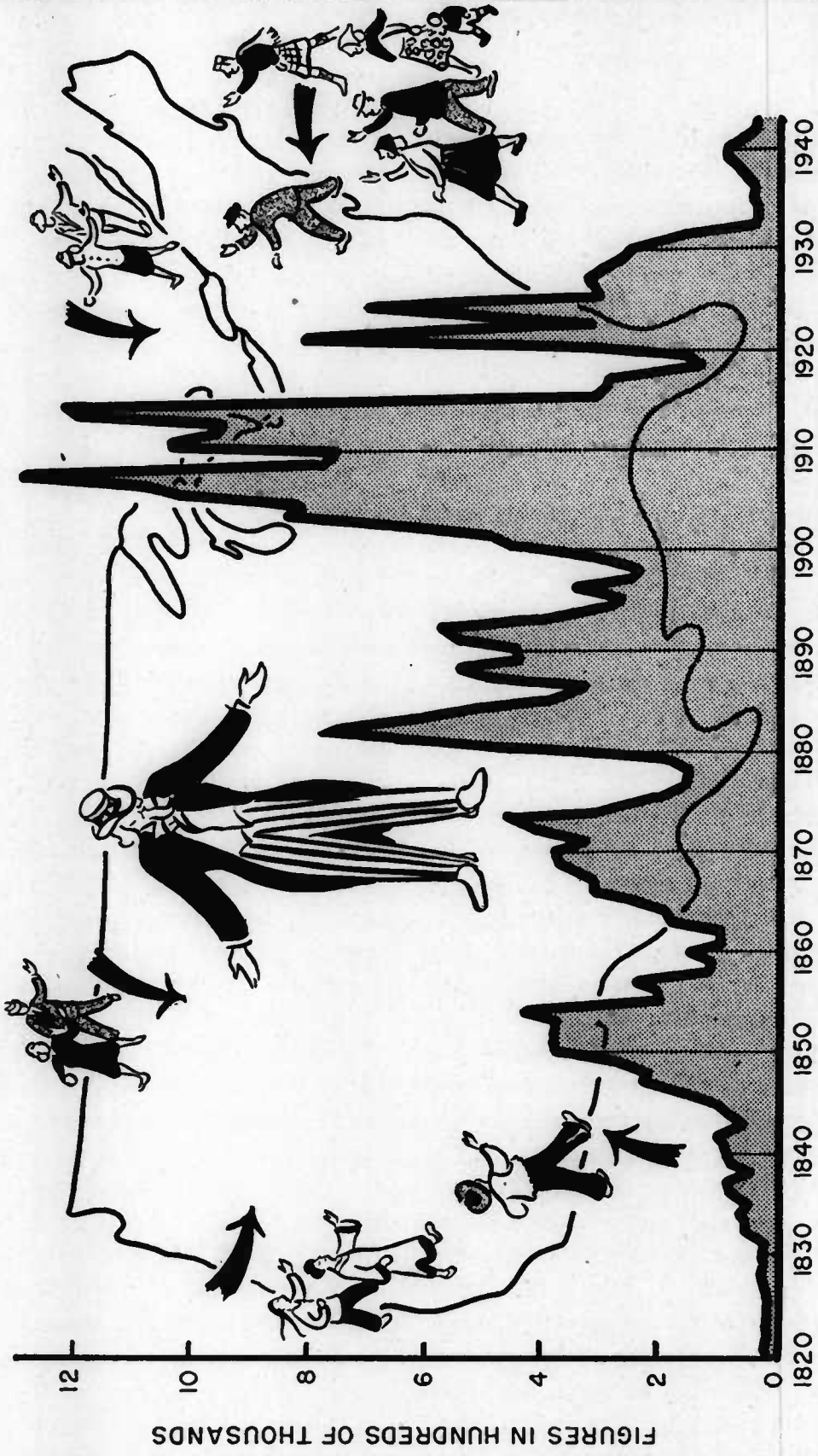
Where did they come from? They came from Austria-Hungary, from Russia, and from Italy, Sicily, and Greece. Let figures tell the story. In the 30 years from 1891 to 1920 over ten million immigrants came from the three countries of Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia. They made up more than half of all immigration to our country in this period.

Who were these people? They were Jews, Catholics, and Protestants. They were Italians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Bohemians, Russians, and Greeks. Most of them were peasants who lived in a section of Europe that had not then been touched by the machine age. As peasants they were used to tilling the soil with simple tools. They had little training in the use of machinery or in the trades. Although one out of four could not read or write, they were nevertheless a strong, sincere, and fine people who wanted a chance to get ahead.

The newer immigrants became the unskilled workers in our mines, factories, stockyards, and lumber camps. They took any job at which they could pick up a day's pay. In the early 1900's over 65 per cent of the help in one steel plant employing about 25,000 workers were foreign-born. Later, three-fourths of the employees in the soft coal mines of Pennsylvania were also foreign-born.

While some went on to work in the stockyards of Chicago and St. Louis or in the lumber camps of

# RISE AND FALL OF IMMIGRATION



Michigan, others started small stores or entered the clothing business. The record shows that two-thirds of these newcomers found jobs in our cities; the rest settled on farms.

**Many immigrants also come from the other Americas.** Not all immigrants have come to our country from Europe. Canadians began entering our country even before the War Between the States, but in the early 1900's their numbers increased rapidly. In all, over two and a third million Canadians have moved to our country, helping to bind the bonds of friendship ever closer. Most of these spoke English, but about a third were French-speaking. Most of them settled in the cities or on the farms in the eastern states or in the Mississippi Valley.

Our southern neighbors also sent us an increasing stream of immigrants from 1910 to 1930. The Mexicans, who now number more than half a million, settled mostly in the states from Texas to California. They worked on the cotton plantations, fruit farms, ranches, and in the mines of that region. Recently there has been an increasing number of newcomers from the West Indies. They are entering both our southern states and the cities along our eastern seaboard, seeking opportunities for work.

**We are slow to understand the immigrant communities that grow up in our cities.** One historian has pointed out that the immigration from Europe was "the greatest folk movement in history." Pulling up

their roots from native lands and transplanting themselves in the new American soil brought difficult problems, both for the immigrants and for those who were already in America.

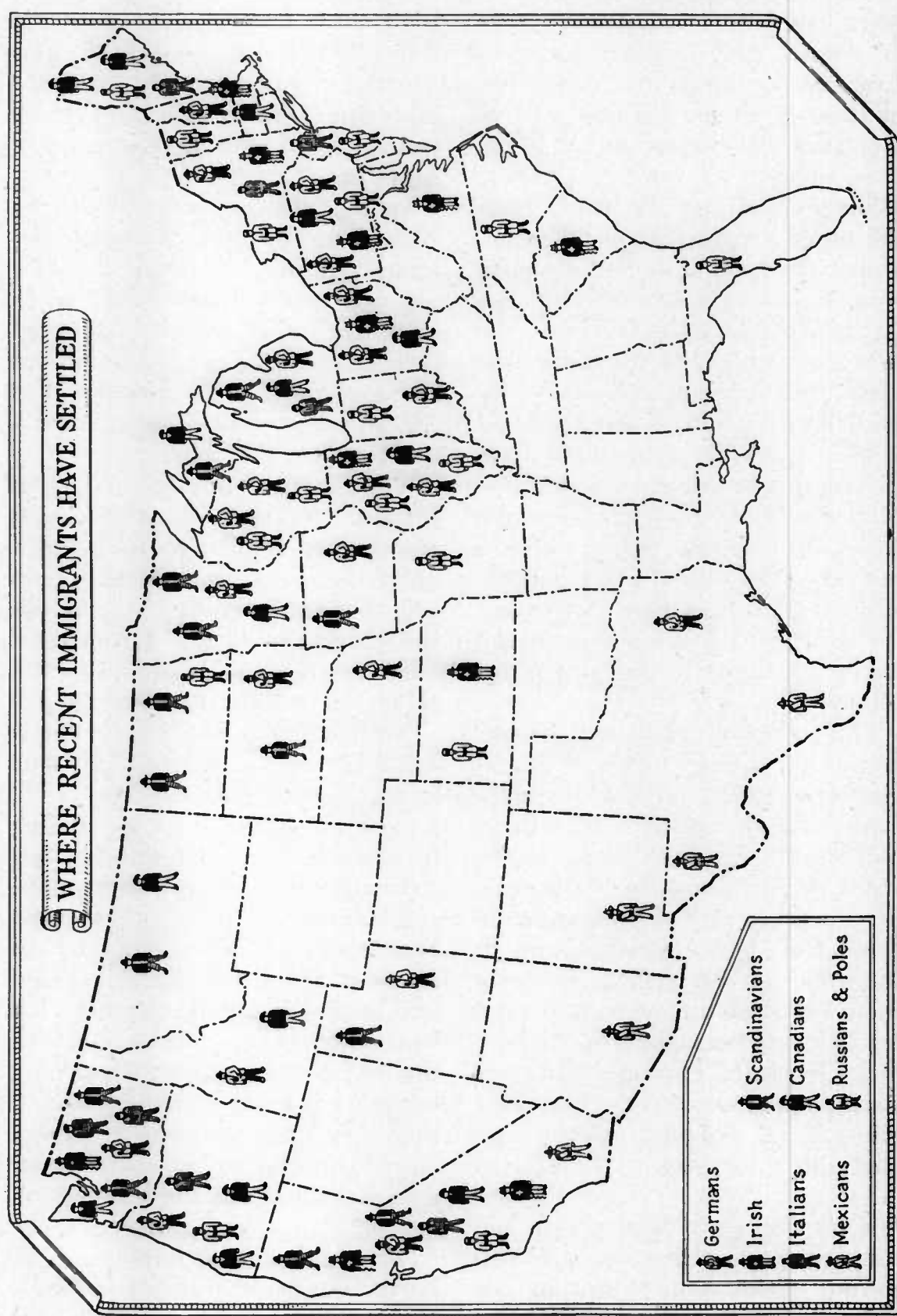
Should the newcomers become "American" or retain their own customs? Although about a third planned to return to their native land, the great majority adopted their new homeland. They wanted to become and to be thought of as Americans, yet they found it difficult to adjust themselves.

The earlier immigrants from Britain, Ireland, Germany, and Scandinavia tended to look down upon the Slavs, Italians, and Jews who had quite different customs and languages. It was natural that these newcomers should cling together in certain districts of our cities forming "little Italys," "little Polands," and "ghettos," the last being the section where Jews lived. Remaining close together among members of their own groups, they were able to help out one another.

There was a fear among the earlier Americans that these newcomers would not become Americanized, and that they threatened what was called "the American way of life." Many pointed out that the immigrants worked for lower wages; that they lived in cheap tenement houses and did not mix with other groups. Others saw them as successful competitors in business.

The demand that immigrants be barred was made in the early 1880's, leading to the first law limiting immigration. In 1917 another law forbade entrance of immigrants over

# WHERE RECENT IMMIGRANTS HAVE SETTLED



- Germans
- Irish
- Italians
- Mexicans
- Scandinavians
- Canadians
- Russians & Poles



16 years of age who could not read. In the late 1920's another act set up a quota of immigrants allowed from each European country. These laws greatly reduced the flow of immigration to our shores.

Yet, wiser heads could see that the new immigrants were sincere. Millions took out citizenship papers, studied our history, and quickly adopted our customs. Their children attended our schools, and easily learned our language and our way of life. Many now point out that these newcomers acted as a tonic to our ways of living. They brought new foods, folk dances, gay costumes, and interesting music that have added to and brightened our national character.

The earlier fears of the "old" immigrants for the "new" immigrants have proved unfounded. Gradually, the newer peoples have taken their places in our country. Once they acquire extra dollars they abandon the tenement districts for better homes. Many have bought farms. They and their children have proved loyal and faithful citizens during two great world wars. The "old" and the "new" by working together have helped to make this a richer and better country.

### *Europe's Loss Is Our Gain*

**Newcomers contribute many leaders to business and science.** From the millions of both old and new immigrants have come many individuals, like Carl Schurz, who have been a great benefit to our

national life. Andrew Carnegie was one of these. Born in Scotland, he started on the ladder of success in business by working a 12-hour day in a Pennsylvania factory for \$1.80 a week.

By the time he was 60 he and his associates owned and controlled vast properties in the steel industry. He became one of America's millionaires and was recognized as a leader among business men. Carnegie not only showed us how to make money, but how to spend it wisely. In his later life he arranged a system by which over 350 million dollars were carefully given away. Public libraries, colleges, research groups, organizations for peace, and others received benefits from his fortune.

Edward Bok came to America from Holland, and like Carnegie found it necessary to start work while very young. His fame was made as editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, a job he secured at the age of 26. He brought new ideas to women's magazines. He introduced special pages for both younger and older women. He urged women to make their homes more attractive and he made available plans of low-priced homes. He greatly appreciated the opportunities that America gave to him, and did his best to raise the standards of life here.

Known the world over for his studies in higher mathematics and experiments with electricity was Michael Pupin, born in Serbia. Running away from home, he landed in New York with five cents in his pocket, but by hard work and persistent effort he earned his way



Mexican immigrants who have come to work on the railroads in our great Southwest. Others work in mines or on cattle ranches, cotton plantations and fruit farms in the states along the Mexican border. (Charles Phelps Cushing)

through Columbia College. After additional study in Europe, he returned to the United States to carry on his work in electricity. He was the first to make the X-ray practical and he solved difficult problems with long distance telephone service.

There is a long list of scientists who, like Pupin, were among the new immigrants from Europe. It includes persons like Charles Steinmetz and Nikola Tesla, wizards in electricity. More recently, Albert Einstein has brought his talents to America. Born of Jewish parents, he became the great mathematical genius of Germany. He left that country when the Nazis came to power, thereby losing most of his property. Nation after nation offered him opportunities to continue

his studies, but he finally chose America and settled at Princeton University.

These are but six men of many from Europe who have helped develop industry and science in this country. During the Second World War more than 150 famous Europeans came to the United States as refugees. Theirs are examples we should not forget.

**Immigrants bring their valuable talents to other fields.** In the field of art Augustus St. Gaudens and Karl Bitter, sculptors, led the way. St. Gaudens came from Ireland and Bitter came from Austria. Both men have used scenes and characters in American life as themes for their work. The "Lincoln" statue in Chicago shows St.-Gaudens tal-

ent for understanding one of America's greatest men. "The Signing of the Louisiana Treaty" was one of Bitter's masterpieces. These are but two of an increasing number of artists who are either immigrants or children of immigrants.

There is no field in American life that has been more enriched by immigrants than that of music. Irving Berlin led the way in popular music, while such names as Arturo Toscanini (Are-too'-roh · Tos-kah-nee'-nee), Serge Koussevitzky (Koo-sa-vit'-skee), Leopold Stokowski (Stuh-koff'-skee), and José Iturbi (Hoh-say' Ee-tur'-bee), mean top-notch musical leadership in serious music.

Few persons have caught our interest more than Yehudi Menuhin. Born of Russian Jewish parents who came to New York, this young man has proved to be one of the great musical geniuses of all time. He started study of the violin at three, gave a concert before an audience of 9,000 at six, and at 11 appeared with the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra. Since then he has played in the world's leading musical centers, everywhere taking his audiences by storm.

In almost all walks of life we find talented and active workers among the newer immigrants and their children. In the movies, radio, and theater we find them as actors, directors, and producers. Such names as Ingrid Bergman, Paul Lukas, and Eddie Cantor are familiar to radio and movie fans. In business the highly skilled workers and in labor unions many of the leaders are from among these new-

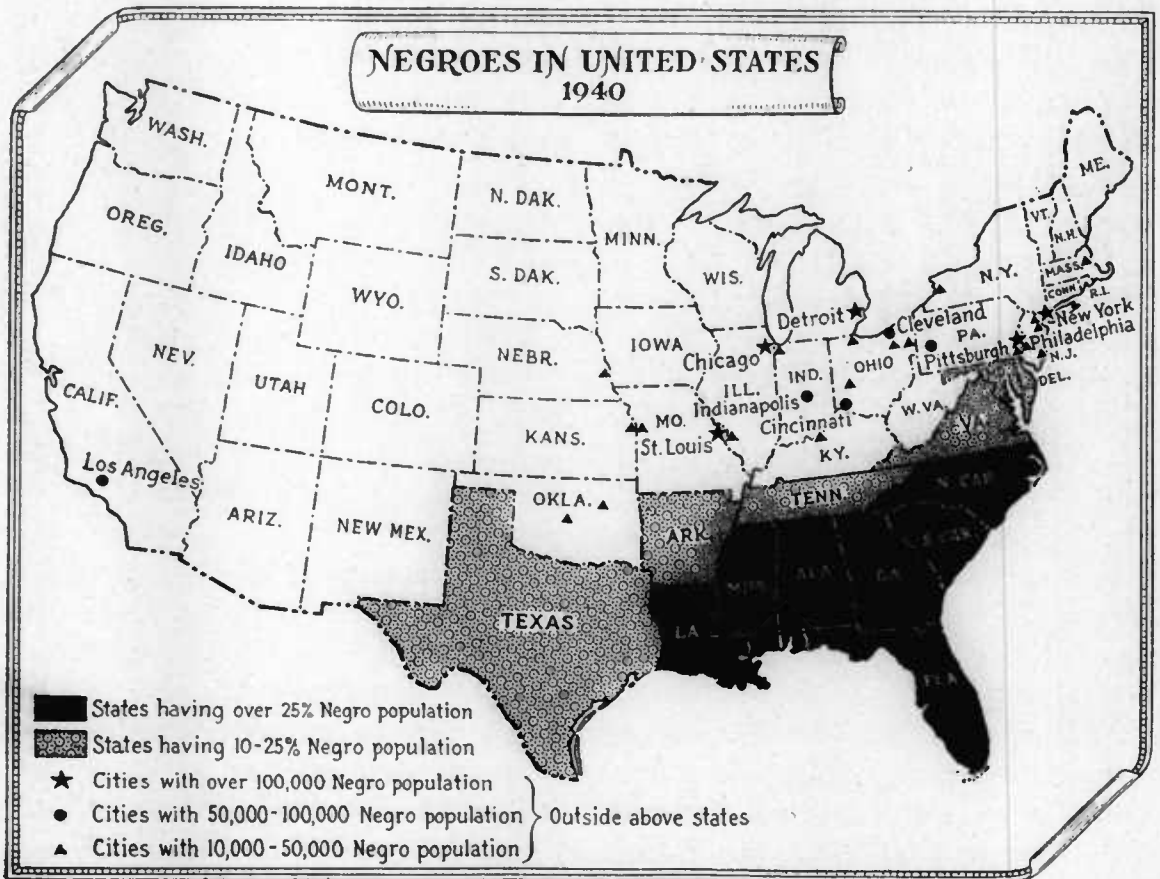
comers. From them also have come some of our most thoughtful writers and our ablest social workers. The roll is too long to call.

Many have taken an interest in our political life. The Irish have long been active in political circles from city wards to our nation's capital. In New York the growing influence of the Italians was seen in the election of Fiorello La Guardia as mayor. We also find the Czechs, Poles, and Jews taking an increased part in politics. They become city mayors, Senators, and Representatives, and some have achieved the honor of serving on our Supreme Court.

The overwhelming majority of these newcomers are here to stay and want to be "good Americans." They have ambition and willingness to work. They have brought their talents to a wide variety of fields in American life. Surely Europe's loss has been our gain.

### *The Negro Contributes to Our Way of Life and in Return Asks for a Square Deal . . .*

**The southern Negro farmer seeks to free himself from the share-crop system.** Amendment XIII [98] made about four million Negroes a free people. They were free from their white masters, but slaves to their conditions. They were penniless, almost without property, living in a land in which many of the whites were determined to "keep them in their place."



Disappointed in their hope that every Negro would receive from the government 40 acres and a mule, they began to settle down on the land. Most settled in the South where they had lived, though a very few moved west.

Without money the Negroes were unable to buy farms, stores, or any other business. They turned to a practice known as share-cropping. The Negro would go to a white planter and arrange to settle on a piece of land. The planter advanced him seed and fertilizer, and gave him a cultivator and a mule as well as a shack in which to live. The planter received no money, but at the end of the season the Negro gave him from a third to a half or more of his crop in payment for these advances. The remaining

share the Negro sold, and with the money bought the provisions necessary for living during the winter. The next summer the same process was repeated.

It is clear that under this system the Negro had little opportunity to advance himself. Planters insisted that most of the land be planted to cotton as that was a sure money-crop. This led to a rapid wearing out of the soil. Even as late as 1929 the average yearly income of share-croppers was but \$38. Finally, as one authority wrote: "There are a great number of state laws to defend the planters' interests. There are few laws which defend the tenants' interests." There was little in these conditions to encourage thrift or ambition.

Yet, in spite of these conditions,



many Negroes have struggled hard to improve themselves. Many found it to their advantage to pay a cash rent for their farm. Their annual average income was nearly double that of the share-cropper. Tenants and share-croppers together number about 700,000 families.

Many Negroes have purchased their own farms. In 1940 in six important southern states a total of 105,000 Negroes owned in whole or in part nearly six and a third million acres of land. For the entire country in that year the total reached nearly ten and a third million acres. Still, in the South today only one out of every eight Negroes owns a farm, while two out of every five white people own theirs.

**In the northern cities the Negro finds life a hard struggle.** Although there were some opportunities for the exceptional Negroes to get ahead on the farms, there was little chance for the great mass of these people. And so they began to turn toward the northern industrial cities for jobs. While only one-twentieth of the Negroes lived in the North in 1860, by 1940 this had increased to about one-quarter. About half of them lived in the ten important industrial cities shown on the map on page 382.

The Negroes met obstacles in the North as in the South. Even though most of those who went north were unskilled, many were capable carpenters, blacksmiths, and machinists. Northern employers were slow to take on Negro workers, except at unskilled jobs. Many did not want to mix white and colored help.

Others thought that Negroes could not do skilled work. The labor unions, too, were unwilling to admit Negroes as members. Consequently, the Negroes found work only at unskilled jobs such as janitors, elevator operators, railway porters, and odd jobs. Later, they entered the meat-packing, coal mining and steel industries.

It was difficult for colored people to secure decent housing. Their pay was low and they were forced to accept slum tenements such as those in Harlem, the Negro section of New York City. As one Negro author points out: "Those who came to Harlem lived in unheated railroad flats with dirty walls ripped and unpainted, and roaches creeping about the floors and woodwork. From dark unlit hallways came musty odors mingling with the smell of cooking." It was the same in Chicago, Detroit, and elsewhere.

Even when Negroes obtained more money and could afford better homes, they found their way blocked. Real estate dealers were unwilling to rent or sell them houses in the better neighborhoods. There are many instances on record of residents in northern communities banding together to prevent the arrival of a new Negro family. Negroes aptly raise the question as to whether or not this is a democratic practice.

In spite of these obstacles the Negroes have made great progress. During the Second World War, President Roosevelt issued an order demanding that all defense industries stop refusing to hire Negro labor. Many labor unions now ad-

mit Negroes to their membership, and are helping them to get better jobs.

Through the years the Negroes have made good in industry. Employers are finding them efficient workers at both partly-skilled and skilled factory jobs. Their own business enterprises have increased so that today Negroes operate over 70,000 business concerns in over 200 different lines. In 1930 there were over 50 banks doing an annual business of 75 million dollars which were organized, financed, and managed entirely by Negroes. Nevertheless, our colored citizens do not yet have equal opportunities with white people for jobs.

**The Negro contributes to our way of life.** The Negroes have always been loyal to our country. Beginning with the Revolutionary War when 3,000 saw service, they have a long record of faithful service in the armed forces. In the Second World War more than half a million colored troops served with distinction in the army, navy, and marines.

When the Negroes were freed, about 90 per cent of them could not read or write, yet many were eager for an education. Within a dozen years more than half a million, young and old, were attending school. By 1940 only one out of ten who were over 25 years old had not attended school. The average Negro has had more than five and a half years of schooling, while the average white person has had about eight and three-quarters years. Considering that the Negro public

schools often have much less money than white schools, this is major progress in so short a time.

Among the great Negro leaders was Booker T. Washington, principal for nearly 35 years of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. This colored gentleman was born in slavery and had worked his way through school. When asked to take over the principalship at Tuskegee he found no buildings. Beginning with 30 students he cleaned an old church and opened the school. Gradually he bought more land and built more buildings. The students learned while working.

Booker T. Washington always emphasized the importance of mastering a trade so that Negroes could get jobs. With jobs they would have an income, making possible a home and respect in the community. Many other schools have followed this idea until today thousands of young colored people are well trained for skilled jobs.

Through education the Negroes have advanced. Dr. George Washington Carver, also born in slavery, was one of our greatest agricultural scientists. He made over 300 products out of peanuts and over 100 products from the sweet potato. Dr. Daniel H. Williams, a Negro, was the first surgeon in the world to perform a successful operation on the human heart.

In the arts the Negroes have given America the wonderful voices of Marian Anderson, Paul Robeson and Roland Hayes, singers who are recognized the world over for their talents. The play, *Green Pastures*, with an all-Negro cast of 100 char-



George Washington Carver at work studying a diseased plant that was sent to his laboratory. This great Negro scientist took particular delight in agricultural chemistry. He made such varied products as milk, butter, coffee, pickles, shaving lotion, ink, and other things from peanuts alone. (Wide World)

acters, was one of the great theatrical successes in New York. The Negroes have also given us distinguished poets and outstanding painters.

Such stars as Joe Louis and Henry Armstrong in boxing and Jesse Owens and John Woodruff in track have been great leaders in athletics. The Negroes have, indeed, given America much. In return they ask to have a fair chance at good jobs and a square deal.

### *Summary of the Unit . . . .*

In this unit—"We, a Nation of Immigrants, Turn to the Better

Things of Life,"—we have seen how many different streams of people have come to our shores. They have helped to make ours a better country in which to live. The main points of the unit are:

1. Horace Mann was the father of the public school movement that gives most boys and girls an opportunity for an education. Junior high schools, junior colleges, and colleges have been designed to improve education for all.

2. Our people have brought about many reforms. We have freed the slaves, provided better treatment for the insane, the deaf and dumb, the poor debtors, and other unfortunates.

3. Courageous leaders such as Jane Addams have awakened our people to the need of wiping out the slums and of providing better opportunities for children.

4. Reforms in the use of alcoholic drinks led to the passage of Amendment XVIII in 1919 and its repeal in 1933.

5. Our people have enjoyed music more and more. Both popular and serious music have been composed, played, and sung increasingly during the last hundred years.

6. Our artists turned from sign painting and portraits in the early days to painting scenes of everyday life of our people today.

7. Our people have sought

amusement in the theater. From the barn-like theaters of the early days to the movie palaces of today, able actors have carried on the show.

8. Since 1890 immigration from southern and eastern Europe has surpassed that from northern Europe. Recently, Canadians and Mexicans have also come to our country to live.

9. The Negroes have gained their freedom and since that time have made remarkable progress in view of the many handicaps they have faced.

10. Both immigrants and Negroes have contributed a great deal to almost all phases of our national life.

### WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

Show that you understand the following terms by using each in a sentence that explains its meaning.

1. old immigration
2. new immigration

3. share-cropper
4. tenant

### WHY IS THIS A RED-LETTER YEAR?

1890: Why is this a convenient date to distinguish two different streams of European immigration?

### CAN YOU FIND ANSWERS TO THESE?

1. Why did the Europeans want to come to America? Where did some of the different groups settle and find jobs?
2. Where have immigrants from Canada settled? From Mexico?
3. Why did the "old immigrants" tend to look down upon the "new immigrants"? What regulations have been made regarding immigration?
4. In what ways have the immigrants shown that they were sincere in their desire to be "good Americans"?
5. Give examples of immigrants who have made outstanding contributions to business and science; to the fields of art and music. What other fields have they also entered?
6. Why did the Negroes turn to share-cropping? Explain the position of the Negro in the share-crop system.
7. What evidence is there that the Negroes have improved their economic position in the South since the days of slavery?



8. What gains have the Negroes won in industry and business?
9. What advance have the Negroes made in their education? Why is Booker T. Washington considered a great Negro?
10. Give an example of an outstanding Negro in education, science, music, and sports.
11. *Summary Question:* Why have there been changes in attitude among our people toward the immigrants and the Negroes?

### Activities for Unit Seven

#### CAN YOU MAKE IT?

1. *Frieze.* Prepare a frieze of four or five pictures on one of the following themes: (a) immigrants enter the United States (show why they came, their costumes, where they went, the jobs they took and how they lived); (b) the contributions of outstanding Americans to our music, painting, and theater; (c) the work of a settlement house; (d) the Negroes in American life.
2. *Cartoon.* Prepare a cartoon illustrating one of the following topics: (a) We open our schools to all. (b) Reforms improve the conditions of the unfortunate. (c) The United States raises bars against immigration. (d) The "old" immigrant looks at the "new" immigrant. (e) What shall we do tonight: radio, movies, theater, concert?
3. *Maps.* Enlarge the map on Negroes in the United States shown on page 382. Prepare a short talk explaining this map to the class. Or enlarge the map on page 378 showing where recent immigrants have settled. Also prepare a short talk to explain this map to the class.
4. *Letter.* Imagine that you were a recent immigrant from some country in southeastern Europe. Write a letter home describing your trip over, the job you got, and how you are getting along. Also contrast food and other features of our life with those in the old country. For further information you might interview someone who was an immigrant. Also see the *Building America* pamphlets, VI, "We Americans," and IX, "Italian-Americans."
5. *Table.* Prepare a table of outstanding artists in one of the fields of the fine arts. In the first column place their names and in the second their accomplishments. For additional information see the list of books under "To Find Out Who's Who."

#### I TEST MY SKILLS

6. *Field Trip.* Seeing is believing. Organize a field trip for one of the following: (a) to a local or nearby museum; (b) to a settlement house; (c) to a naturalization court; or (d) to a district inhabited mostly by foreign-born. Before going on the trip you should make careful preparation. First, decide where you are going. Second, how you are going. Third, make arrangements with the proper authorities for your visit. Fourth, select a spokesman to make the interviews. Fifth, be prepared to take notes on the interviews. Sixth, it is very important to be courteous, quiet, and orderly. While on this trip your actions speak not only for yourself, but for the whole school. Seventh, if any free materials are given out, be moderate in taking them.

Eighth, when you are through do not neglect to thank your host for his courtesy. Finally, prepare a report of your visit so that you may share your experiences with other members of the class.

7. *Making and Using a Survey.* There are often untapped gems of information right at hand. One way to find this out is to make a survey. Suppose you make a survey of the nationalities and racial groups in your class. First, prepare a brief questionnaire to be answered. You might ask: (a) Where were you born, your father, your mother, your grandfather, and your grandmother? (b) What kind of work did your father, your mother, your grandfather, and grandmother carry on? Let each pupil take this home and get it filled out. When the replies are returned a committee of three could tabulate the information. From this information prepare a bulletin board report. Separate maps would show the location of the home lands of fathers, mothers, grandfathers, and grandmothers. Well-labeled charts could be prepared to show the variety of work that these people contribute to America. Possibly from this information you could find someone who would be willing to come to your class and talk to you about his home land.

### WE WORK IN GROUPS

8. *Play.* Write a play based upon the naturalization ceremony. It does not need to stick strictly to the actual procedure of a naturalization court, but may be adapted to bring in more of the spirit of the making of Americans. The scene could open with an empty stage to which comes an attendant to light candles placed in back of the judges' bench. Then will follow, dressed in dark robes, four assistant judges and the chief judge. Last will appear the candidate for naturalization. The judge calls the candidate before him and asks questions on his birthplace, when he arrived, the work he is doing, and if he desires to become a citizen. Then the candidate is questioned by each of the four assistants. One asks simple questions on United States history and the Constitution, another inquires about the use of English and our literature, a third asks about some of our customs and laws, while the fourth asks the candidate to repeat the American's Creed and the oath of allegiance to the flag. Finally, the chief judge makes the candidate a citizen, congratulates him, and offers words of inspiration. The scene would close by the retirement of the judges and the new citizen. Then the attendant will quietly come in and snuff out the candle lights. If carefully prepared, such a play would make an excellent program for a patriotic holiday.

### WE THINK FOR OURSELVES

9. *Panel Discussion.* Do you think the movies are a benefit to our way of life? Let a panel of six discuss this topic. One member would act as chairman, introducing the topic and the speakers. One member of the panel could discuss the rise of the movie industry and tell something of its importance. A second member might examine the effect of the movies on the theater. Try to decide whether the movies encourage or discourage the development of local drama groups and widespread participation in plays. The third panel-member could discuss the value of movies as entertainment. The fourth member might speak of movies as education and information. The fifth member could discuss the menace of propaganda pictures, crime

movies, cheap and poorly acted shows, and the influence of our movies abroad. Following the panel, the class could question the pupils on the stand they have taken. Excellent additional materials may be found in two *Building America* pamphlets, II, "Movies," and VI, "The American Theater."

## WE TURN TO OTHER BOOKS

### 10. *To Get More Information.*

RUGG, HAROLD, *America's March Toward Democracy*. Pages 212-44, 263-67, and 391-431 describe social life in the colonies, the abolition movement, and reforms.

RUGG, HAROLD, *The Conquest of America*. Pages 337-55 give further details on the immigration movement and on the life of the Negroes in America.

WISE, W. E., *Jane Addams of Hull-House*. This book emphasizes the life of a famous woman, but Chapters 11, 12, 13, and 14 give an excellent picture of the work of a settlement house.

BURK, CASSIE, AND OTHERS, *America's Musical Heritage*. An easy text that tells the facts about the development of music in the United States. It includes the old and new, and instrumental as well as vocal music.

FLOHERTY, J. J., *On the Air, the Story of Radio*. A well-illustrated and easily read book describing the details of broadcasting.

BECKER, JOHN, *The Negro in American Life*. An interesting collection of pictures with brief comments showing the contributions of Negroes to our life from Revolutionary days up to the present.

### 11. *To Find Out Who's Who.*

BEARD, A. E. S., *Our Foreign-Born Citizens, What They Have Done for America*. The lives of 47 great citizens who came to America from abroad.

BAKELESS, K. L., *Story-Lives of American Composers*. Details about the lives of Stephen Foster, Victor Herbert, John P. Sousa, Irving Berlin, and ten others.

COOPER, A. C., AND PALMER, C. A., *Twenty Modern Americans*. More people who have helped make the U. S. A. a great country. Walt Disney, Charles Steinmetz, Yehudi Menuhin, Drs. Will and Charlie Mayo, and Jane Addams are a half dozen that every boy and girl should know.

IRWIN, GRACE, *Trail-Blazers of American Art*. The stories of Gilbert Stuart, Winslow Homer, James M. Whistler, Augustus St. Gaudens and John Singer Sargent are here, and others besides.

EWEN, DAVID, *The Story of George Gershwin*. From the moment a piano entered his home this boy took to music, and became a great modern composer.

MALVERN, GLADYS, *Curtain Going Up*. The story of Katherine Cornell that not only tells you about a fine actress but gives behind-the-scenes stories of the theater.

GRAHAM, SHIRLEY, AND LIPSCOMB, G. D., *Dr. George Washington Carver, Scientist*. The life of a great Negro. Born in slavery, his persistence and curiosity brought discoveries undreamed of before, yet he shunned fame.

12. *To Read a Historical Story.*

BISCHOFF, ILSE, *Painter's Coach*. The experiences of a wandering portrait painter in New England in the early 1800's.

SKIDMORE, HUBERT, *River Rising*. York Allen decided to be a doctor. He had many adventures as a teacher in the Blue Ridge Mountains trying to earn money for his education.

KNOX, R. B., *Footlights Afloat*. The adventures of wandering minstrels on a Mississippi showboat in the 1880's.

HESS, FJERIL, *Handkerchief Holiday*. Marcy Curtis works among the foreign-born and learns three important things.

ANGELO, VALENTI, *Hill of Little Miracles*. The story of Ricco and his Italian and Irish neighbors who live on Telegraph Hill overlooking San Francisco Bay.

MEANS, F. C., *Shuttered Windows*. A northern colored girl visits her relatives in South Carolina. She is so impressed with their needs that she decides to remain and work among them.

13. *To Look at the Past in Pictures.*

*Pageant of America*: X, 244-335, about elementary and high schools and colleges; XI, entire volume devoted to painting, sculpture, music, and other fine arts; XII, a volume telling about the stage and the theater; XIII, describing architecture and houses from colonial days to the present.

*Building America*: I, "Housing," "Health" and "Recreation"; II, "Movies"; III, "Education" and "Seeing America"; IV, "Crime"; V, "Arts and American Craftsmen" and "Community Planning"; VI, "We Americans," "Radio," and "The American Theater"; VII, "America Discovers Its Songs" and "Libraries"; VIII, "Photography" and "Our Spanish-Speaking People"; IX, "Italian-Americans."

## WE SUMMARIZE THE UNIT

14. *Headlines*. Select from this unit ten outstanding events. Prepare a headline for each. Each headline should tell not only of the event but also why it is important.
15. *Round Table Discussion*. Man cannot live by bread alone. Let four members of the class discuss the changes and reforms by which people today live richer lives than those of earlier days. Each person could emphasize one of the following: improvements in education; reforms help the unfortunate; music, theater, and art give entertainment; and Negroes share increasingly in our life.
16. *Exhibit*. Prepare an exhibit entitled "Richer Living." Let a committee of three plan the things to go into the exhibit. The committee might consider how music, art, and the theater have improved our ways of living as well as the reforms. They might like to have a section showing how immigrants and Negroes have added to our ways of life. Once the committee has decided, they will announce the program to the class. Materials will be brought in and an exhibit made up. Be sure that you have neat and attractive labels. Group things properly. You might invite other classes to your exhibit, appointing guides to explain each group.



**DO WE UNDERSTAND THE IDEAS OF THE UNIT?**

17. *Table.* Prepare a table that shows the development of our fine arts by periods. Use these three time periods: colonial period, 1800 to 1890, and since 1890. Other columns would be headed: art, music, and theater.
18. *An Example.* Can you give an example of each of the following: (a) changes in education, (b) reforms to help the poor people, (c) organizations for young people, (d) changes in immigration, and (e) progress among the Negroes?
19. *Looking Back on the Artist.* A possible title for the unit drawing found on pages 342-43 might be "The American Dream." What is the American Dream? What ideas in this Dream has the artist illustrated? What ideas have been omitted?



# Unit Eight

## *American Democracy Marches on to Aid the Common Man*

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- 23. Government in a Democracy Operates Through Political Parties
  - 24. Political Bosses and Powerful Groups Sometimes Control Our Political Parties
  - 25. The National Government Responds to the Demand for More Democracy
  - 26. The States and Cities Become Laboratories for Democratic Experiments
- 

Think of American Democracy as a mighty political stream. As it travels its course in the 1800's and 1900's, it is fed by two branches. From one branch sometimes pour dark evil-looking waters. When political parties and their leaders stoop to corruption, this branch makes the main stream unclean. Special interests working through political parties also help to increase the flow of the corrupt waters.

From the other branch run the clear blue waters of clean politics and increased democracy. Challenged by the rival stream, the volume of clear blue water seems to increase. This branch carries the waters of democratic reforms or improvements. Here run the hopes of a better America: civil service reform and woman suffrage among many. Through its glistening waters shine the reforms of Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson and Wisconsin's Governor La Follette. Fortunately the waters of democracy and reform finally determine the nature of the main stream.







## Chapter 23. *Government in a Democracy Operates Through Political Parties . . . . .*

*More than 50 years ago an Englishman wrote a famous book about our government. Of our political parties, he wrote: "In America the great moving forces are the parties. The government counts for less than in Europe, the parties count for more.*

*"There are now two great and several minor parties in the United States. The great parties are the Republicans and the Democrats. What are their principles [or rules of action]? That is what a European is always asking of intelligent Republicans and intelligent Democrats. He is always asking because he never gets an answer. After some months the truth begins to dawn upon him.*

*"Neither party has any clean-cut principles. Both have traditions [an inherited past]. Both claim to have tendencies. Both have certainly war cries, organizations, interests, enlisted in their support. But these interests are in the main the interests of getting or keeping the patronage [offices] of the government.*

*"Parties go on contending [fighting] because their members have formed habits of joint action. The American parties now continue to exist, because they have existed. The mill has been constructed, and its machinery goes on turning, even when there is not grist [grain] to grind.*

*"But this is not wholly the fault of the men; for the system of government requires parties, just as that of England does. These systems are made to be worked, and always have been worked, by a majority. A majority must be gathered into a united and organized body. Such a body is a Party."*

*In the early 1900's an American compared our chief political parties to armies. "We should not be far wrong," he wrote, "if we should declare that there are two or more great armies in existence. Each is controlled by a select few whose main ambition is victory."*

## *Political Parties Are Necessary to the Working of a Democracy . . . . .*

A well-organized party is the key to political success. Political parties, we read in Chapter 8, go hand in hand with democracy. Like powerful dynamos, they keep the wheels of government going. If a party is to capture the government at election time, it must be as well organized as an army. To insure success, party workers must labor hard not only before elections but also between elections. The secret of success is a good organization plus hard work.

Each of the great political parties has an organization that looks like a great pyramid. At its broad base, as the chart on page 398 shows, are the voters—millions of them. Next are the thousands of *local* organizations. These may be village, town, or city committees. The organization of cities is in turn divided. The smallest division is the precinct, while over that is a ward consisting of two or more precincts.

Above these local organizations is the *county* committee. Next, the group that makes the party plans for the entire state is the *state* committee. At the top of the pyramid is the *national* committee. Naturally there is some overlapping in the work of these committees. Because of the large numbers serving on these various committees, real power tends to fall into the hands of the chairmen. They become the higher officers of the party army.

The local organization is, how-

ever, the one closest to the voters. It covers the smallest area, a precinct including 350 to 400 voters on the average. If the precinct leader makes good, he may rise in the party's organization. He is therefore usually a tireless worker. He knows that if he is to count on the voters of his district, he must keep them happy between elections.

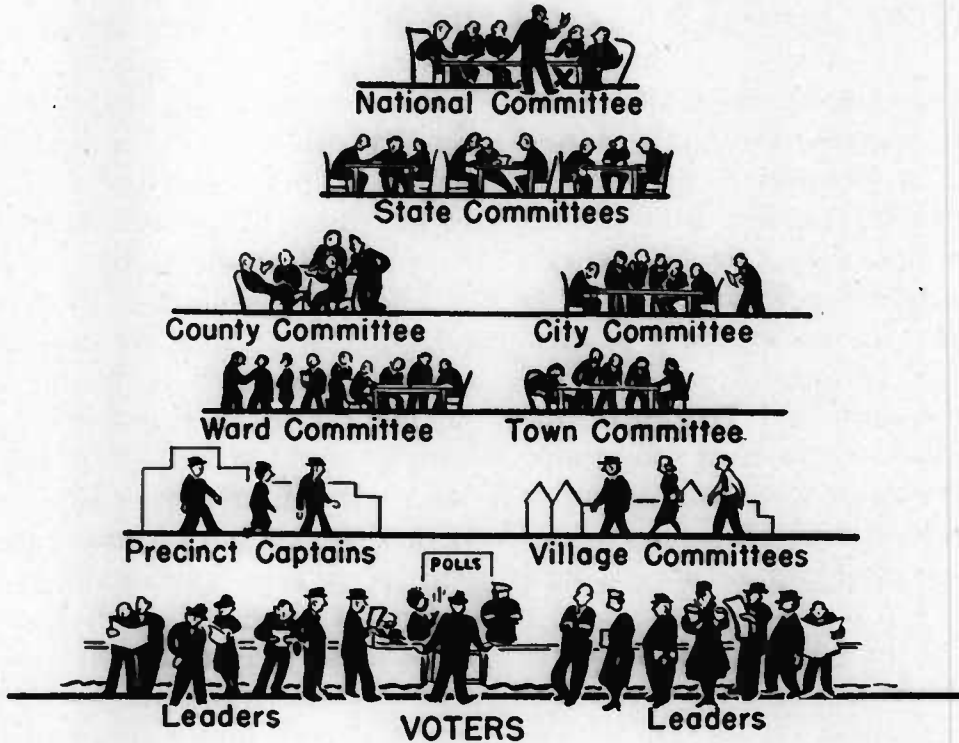
The leader's office—a local political club in a large city—is always open to voters. The leader keeps his eye on youth just reaching the voting age. He helps the foreign-born with their citizenship papers. If possible, he finds jobs for the unemployed. Free legal advice is available; and if there is need, often free medical service, too. The political club becomes the poor man's clubhouse. A poor family may be helped with gifts of food, fuel, and even cash if it is in temporary need.

The local leader is also a busy man socially. He attends funerals in the district as well as marriages and christenings. He himself holds parties, picnics, and dances for young and old. Such methods win friendships—and votes. Some leaders can predict their districts' vote with amazing accuracy. That is how a party organization works in some of our largest cities.

Outside the larger cities the county committee is the important party organization. It usually has great power and is able to give orders to town and village leaders. In many counties a county boss is either a committee member or controls the committee.

Discipline in a political army is sometimes strict. "I want to say,"

## HOW A PARTY ORGANIZES



said a city leader, "that if any man does not carry his precinct, he'll be fired. If a man means anything in his precinct he can carry it. If he doesn't he has no business in politics."

**Political parties work like a well-oiled machine.** A large-scale test of party organization comes when a President is elected. The ability of the national, state, county, and local committees to work together is at stake. Sometimes there may be friction between the national and state organizations, but usually peace prevails within the party. Under the leadership of the chairman of the national committee, the party prepares for the battle of the ages.

In a presidential election, the na-

tional committee of each party, with members from each state, has certain duties to perform. One duty is to arrange for the big national convention of the party. At the convention party leaders draw up a set of ideas—called a platform—for which the party stands. The convention also names presidential and vice-presidential candidates. After the convention the national committee conducts a campaign. And it raises millions of dollars to carry on that campaign. How political parties can arouse the nation is illustrated by the campaign and election of 1860—the most important in our history.

In 1860 the Democratic party was sharply divided over the slavery question. As a result, the party split,



held two conventions, and put two presidential candidates in the field. The northern Democrats nominated Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois; the southern Democrats picked John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. Another group called the Constitutional Union party nominated John Bell of Tennessee. What would the new Republican party do?

On a May day in 1860, 10,000 persons crowded into the Wigwam—the Republican convention hall in Chicago—to learn the answer. Three days later the convention was ready to nominate. A delegate from New York put in nomination William H. Seward, that state's able leader and the party's best-known member. Then Illinois named Lincoln. "I rise to put in nomination," shouted another delegate, "the man who can split rails and maul Democrats—Abraham Lincoln." On the third ballot Lincoln was voted the party's candidate over Seward. The convention went almost mad with excitement. For 24 hours Chicago celebrated.

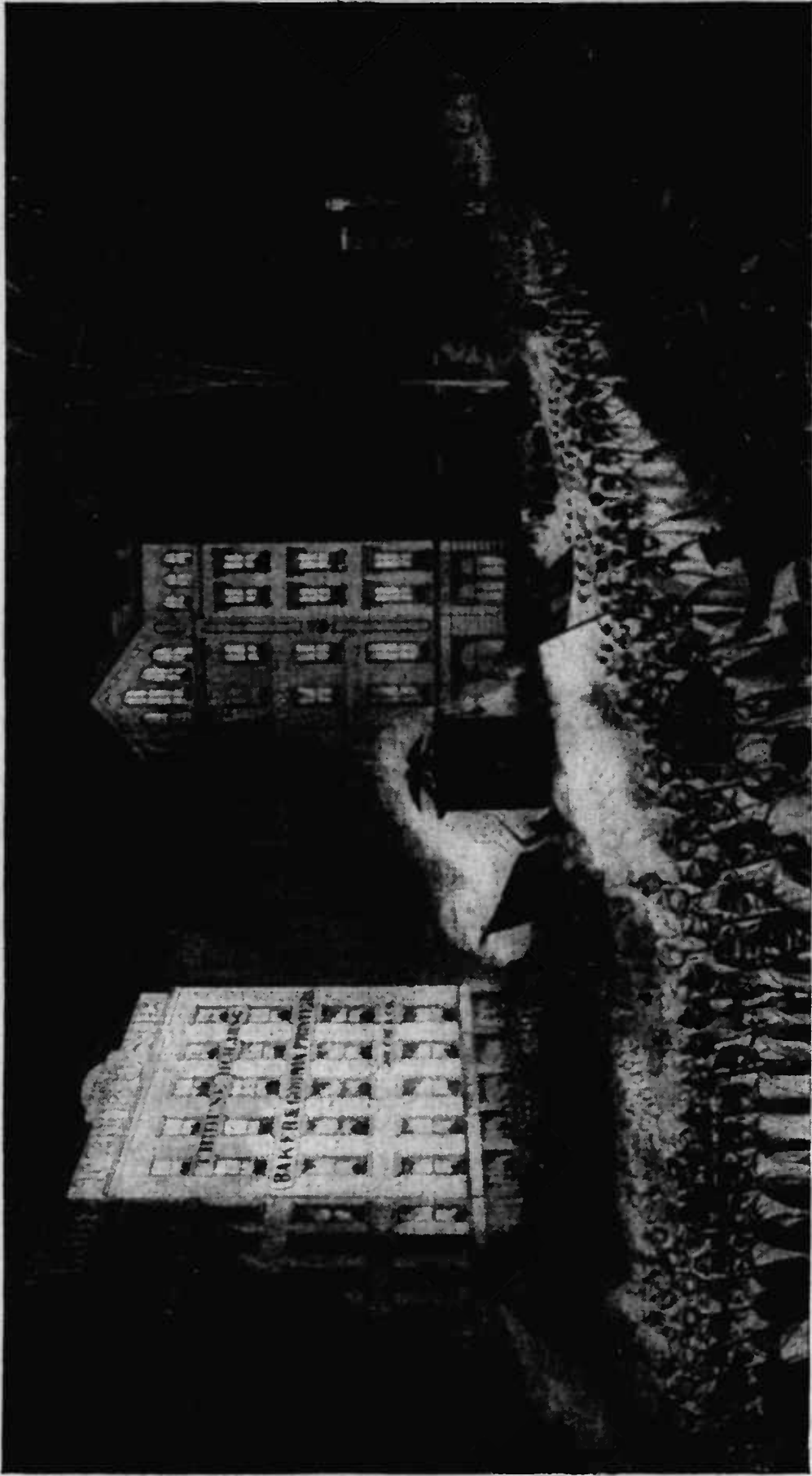
From May until November the campaign was lively, with its endless torch-light parades, mass meetings, and campaign songs. One of the favorite songs was "Honest Abe of the West," sung to the tune of "The Star Spangled Banner." Throughout these months Lincoln remained at his home in Springfield, Illinois. Douglas, on the other hand, spoke in nearly every state. The two remaining parties campaigned wherever they believed they had a chance to win supporters. Large sums of money were

raised and spent by the parties. When the campaign ended and the votes were counted, Lincoln was President-elect. The Republican party had won a national campaign for the first time.

*For 24 Years—from Lincoln to Cleveland—the Republicans Control Our National Government . . . . .*

**The Lincoln Republicans combine idealism with practical measures.** The Republican party was born in idealism. That idealism was the main plank of the 1860 platform. The Lincoln Republicans were absolutely opposed to the further extension of slavery into the territories. On the other hand, they were opposed to abolition or the wiping out of slavery in the states where it already existed. And yet it was Lincoln who became the Great Emancipator—the President who freed the slaves. But that was done as a war measure during the War Between the States. If southern states dropped out of the war, said Lincoln, their slaves would not be freed. The South did not quit.

But the Republicans of 1860 did not carry all their eggs in the basket of idealism. They were very practical about economic matters. They were also careful to have a platform that would appeal to various groups in the nation. For the farmer they stood for free land. They also promised the West its first transcontinental railroad which was to be built with government aid.



This great torch-light parade shows one important method of campaigning in 1860. It also demonstrates the enthusiasm for the Republican candidate, Abraham Lincoln, in New York City. The torch-carrying paraders wore caps and capes alike. These were made of glazed material which protected the wearers from the burning torches. The Democrats also conducted similar parades. (*Harper's Weekly*)

To the business men of the North and East, the Republicans promised a *protective tariff*. That is, a high tax would be placed on goods coming into the country from abroad, which competed with goods manufactured here. This was to protect the interests of the business man and the laborer. The Republicans argued that under such protection both profits and wages would rise.

Some one has pointed out that this platform was a combination of the ideas of Hamilton, the Federalist, and Jackson, the Democrat, which we read about in Chapter 8. The Hamiltonian ideas, however, were more emphasized than the Jacksonian. In the 24 years following Lincoln's election, the Republican platform was to change in detail but not in basic ideas. These were the years when Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, Ulysses S. Grant, Rutherford B. Hayes, James A. Garfield, and Chester A. Arthur held the Presidency for the Republicans (see Appendix III, page 602). During this period the Republicans also kept a fairly firm grip on Congress and they controlled the Supreme Court.

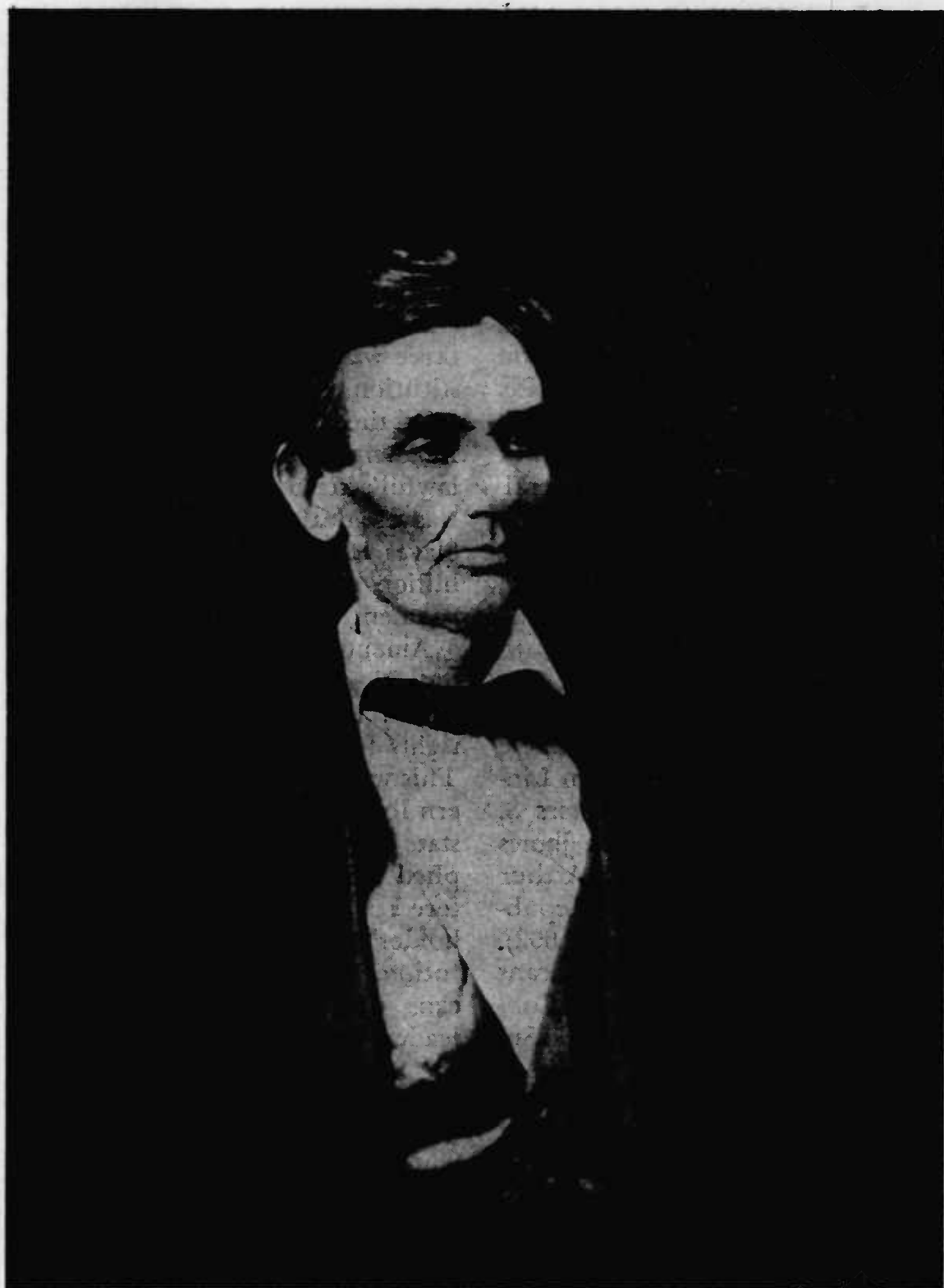
**After the War Between the States, the Republicans try to keep the southern Democrats in political chains.** Lincoln's tragic death at the hands of an assassin at the close of the war removed a great and good President when the nation most needed greatness in its leaders. With Lincoln gone, control of the party fell into the hands of men who wished to punish the South for its part in the War Between the States

(1861-65). They wished also to keep out of power the proud old Democratic party of Jefferson and Jackson. Old King Cotton and his long reign must be destroyed—forever.

In Congress, Republicans planned a program designed to keep them in power and the Democrats out. Their first step was to add three war amendments to the Constitution. Amendment XIII [98] freed the slaves. Thus was Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation made lawful after the war. A terrific blow was also dealt the southern planters. Slaves to the value of about three billion dollars were freed without payment to the owners.

Amendment XIV [100-03] gave the Negro citizenship and civil rights. It also took away political rights from many southern whites. This was done by denying to southern leaders the right to hold either state or federal offices. This part applied only to Southerners who before rebelling had taken an officeholder's oath to support the Constitution. By this clause the Republicans denied the ablest southern leaders a share in the rebuilding of the South.

The Negroes' right to vote was, in a general way, granted by Amendment XV [105]. This privilege was granted by the Republicans partly because they believed that the millions of Negroes would support the Republican party—the party that had freed the slaves. By these amendments, however, the condition of the Negro undoubtedly improved. That was an important gain coming from this period of Republican leadership.



Presidential candidate Abraham Lincoln sat for this photograph in June, 1860. He promised the photographer he would be "dressed up" for the occasion. This favorite campaign photograph, carefully retouched, was distributed widely. A year earlier Lincoln wrote a friend, "I do not think myself fit for the Presidency." But the voters thought otherwise about "Honest Abe." Today Lincoln stands with Washington in the hearts and minds of our people. (Stefan Lorant, *Lincoln, His Life in Photographs*)



When Lincoln's successor, Andrew Johnson, opposed Congress for some of its high-handed methods, the Republicans attempted unsuccessfully to remove Johnson from office. This was an example of the readiness of the Republican Congress to ride roughshod over any opposition to their plan for rebuilding the South after the destruction of the war.

The plan—taking leadership from the southern whites and giving it to the newly freed Negroes—has been called the “crime of reconstruction.” Putting enforcement of the plan into the hands of certain white politicians from the North and South and the newly freed Negroes, proved unwise. At that time the Negroes were unprepared for such responsibility. Misrule and corruption on a large scale naturally resulted. The debts of the South already huge because of the war mounted to dizzy heights. The Republican attempt to put the defeated South in political chains succeeded, but the cost was staggering.

**The Republican party fails to cement the Union and loses favor.** Knowing that the political weather vane can swing violently, some northern Republicans began to fear the political effects of their actions. In the South there were signs that the whites were preparing to take over their own affairs at the first opportunity. Like Americans at all times and places, Southerners believed that they were entitled to home rule.

At first, southern whites used fear

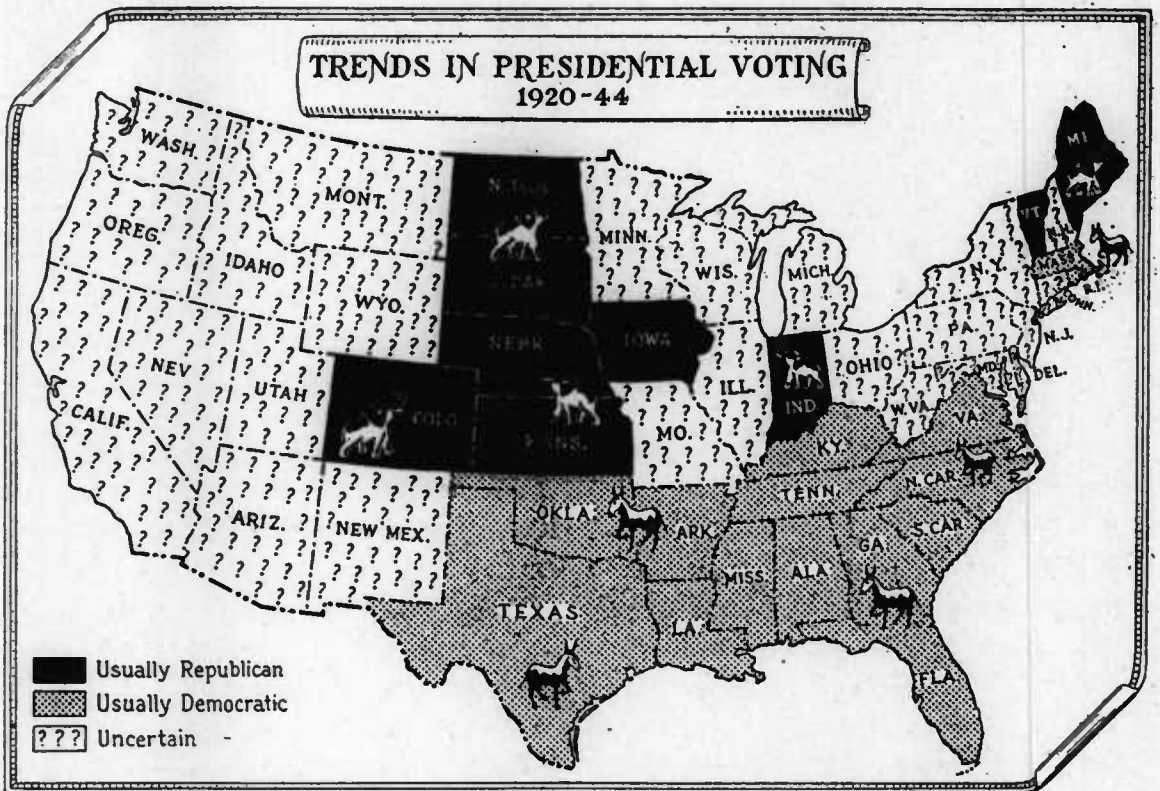
as a weapon. Operating through secret societies—one was the Ku Klux Klan—they attempted to frighten the Negroes out of all desire either to vote or rule. When these activities turned into violence, the federal government broke up the Klan.

Quarrels among those in control of southern governments led in time to their downfall in most states. When—12 years after the war—President Hayes took over Republican leadership, he promptly ended the unworkable Republican plan. Now southern leadership turned to the unfinished business of rebuilding the South.

When the southern whites regained power, they wrote new state constitutions. In the new constitutions the right to vote was taken away from many Negroes by setting up requirements which the Negroes could not meet. These requirements might be taxpaying, reading tests, or tests of ability to interpret the Constitution. Since most of the Negroes had been denied educational opportunities, they lost their right to vote when they could not pass the tests. Today, it is estimated that only about one-tenth of southern adult Negroes are registered voters. About four million are without the right to vote.

With most Negroes denied the ballot, the whites were again in control of their governments. The southern whites immediately struck back at the party responsible for the “reconstruction” period—the 12 years which stirred up more hate than the war itself.

They struck back at the Republi-



cans by forming the "Solid South." Beginning in 1880, the ten ex-confederate states which most felt the iron heel of Republican reconstruction voted the Democratic ticket in election after election (see map, above). Planters, farmers, and business men joined forces to support the Democrats regardless of men or issues. The Solid South meant, then, a section voting Democratic by large majorities. The Republicans had failed to crush the southern Democrats.

In the North the Republicans were slipping. Men were sickening of the harsh reconstruction policy. Dissatisfied Republicans had even formed a liberal wing of the party. They did not believe that the Republicans had cemented the Union. They felt strongly that the party which had freed the slaves was capable of other great things.

### *The Old Democratic Party of Jackson Comes Back to Power for a Brief Period . . . . .*

In electing Cleveland the voters give the Democrats another chance. The great advantage of a two-party system lies in its convenience. When you tire of one, you try the other. If the "Ins" become careless and corrupt, the cry goes up, "Turn the rascals out." If the "Ins" are unable to solve the problems of the times, then the voters turn to the "Outs." If, by chance, the "Ins" prove themselves inefficient and corrupt at the same time, then the "Outs" are almost certain to come back. Such an occasion is one of those rare times when almost anyone could be elected as the candidate of the "Outs."

Let us glance backward a mo-

ment. When the old Democratic party was unable to hold a united front on the slavery issue, the new and untried Republicans were elected. Although the war was won under Lincoln's leadership, his party, after his death, did a poor job on reconstruction. When, in 1884, the voters elected Grover Cleveland, a Democrat, they simply decided that it was time to turn the government over to the Democrats.

Did the Democratic platform suggest that, if given power, the Democrats would greatly change the course of government? In general, no. Except for a policy of lower tariff rates, the Democratic platform was not much different from the Republican stand of that year. In the last sentence of their platform, the Democrats expressed the hope "that the popular voice will announce in favor of new men." Give "new men" a chance, that was the real issue.

The Republicans had nominated James G. Blaine, their most popular man. The campaign of 1884 was fought on differences between candidates rather than on platform differences. The reform element in the Republican party deserted Blaine for Cleveland, which placed them in a position of being Democrats. They claimed, however, that they were still Republicans and insisted that Cleveland was "better than his party."

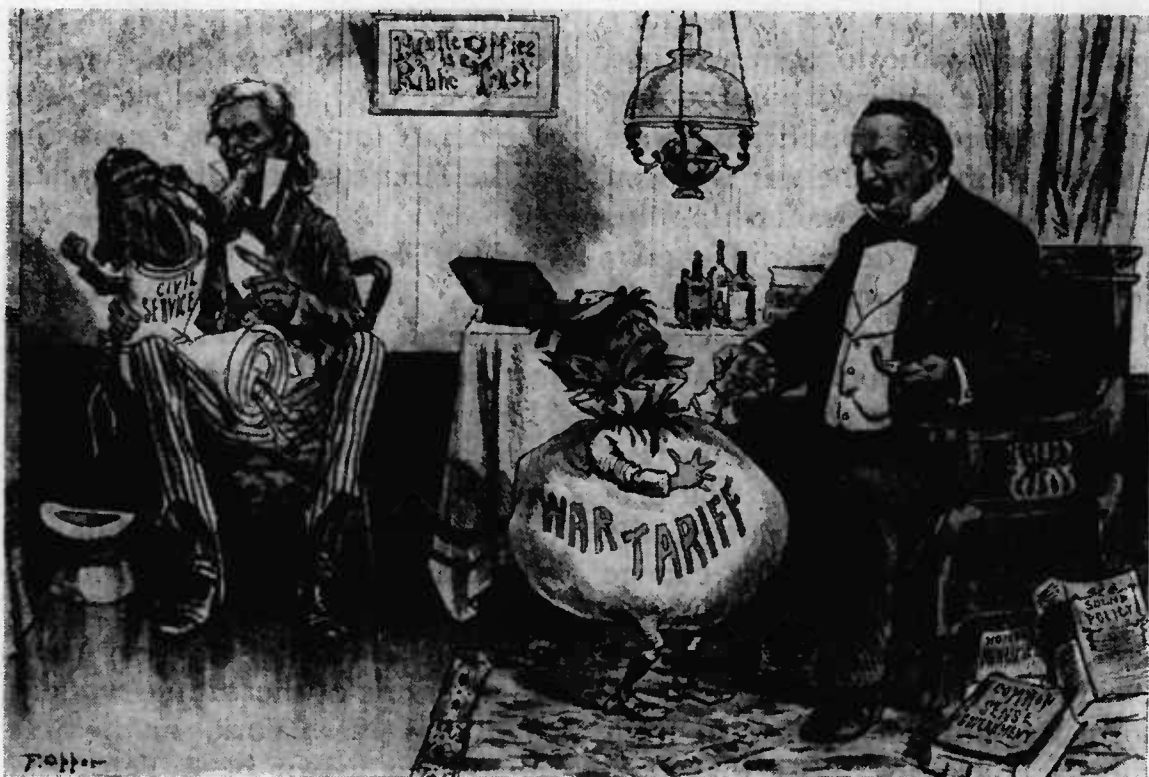
When the reform Republicans combined with southern, northern, and western Democrats to elect Cleveland, a majority of voters was simply calling in a new doctor. His medicine (or party principles)

might not differ greatly from that of the Republican doctor, but the time had come to change doctors. So the Democrats found themselves in the White House again—after 24 years.

**Under Cleveland the Democrats steer a straight course.** Grover Cleveland was a blunt, outspoken man, absolutely fearless and honest. "I have tried so hard to do right," were almost his last words in the Presidency. His record before going to Washington was a solid but not a brilliant one. The son of a minister, he went from one office to another in the state of New York. After serving as sheriff in a western county of New York, he became the reform mayor of Buffalo, and finally reform governor of New York.

Cleveland believed in the old Democratic party. But he believed that the best way for it to come back to public favor was for it to follow the straight and narrow path of clean, honest politics. A "public office is a public trust," said he, and he tried to make the Democratic party live up to that. Cleveland believed also that the President should set an example of honest, fearless leadership—a leadership that would represent the entire nation and not merely the party.

Since the Democrats had been out of power for a long time, they were hungry for government jobs. Cleveland disappointed the politicians, therefore, when he failed to remove every Republican in sight. He was famous chiefly, however, for his vetoes. He vetoed more than 200 private pension bills which would



President Cleveland appears in this cartoon as a doctor. Uncle Sam is saying to the little civil service girl, "Don't cry, my child, he'll look after you presently. Your brother needs attention more than you do." (The Bettmann Archive)

have given special pensions to individual veterans of the War Between the States. After long and careful investigation the President found that some of them had been deserters, some had not enlisted at all. At least one claimed a pension because he injured an ankle while intending to enlist; another was collecting as many as 19 pensions.

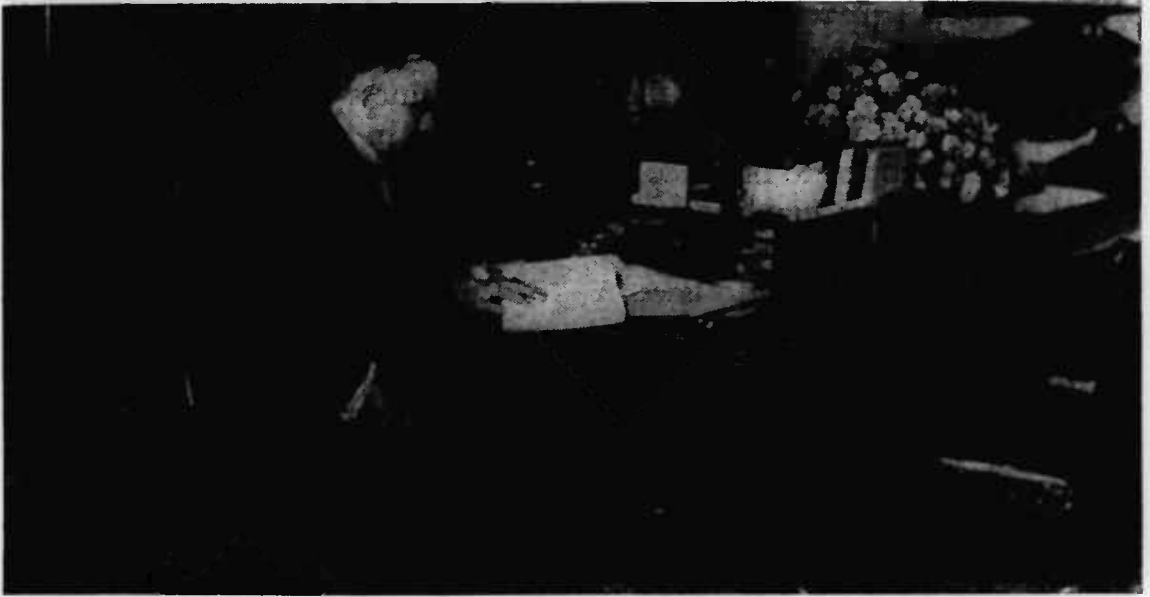
Cleveland also vetoed a bill which would have given pensions to all veterans. He vetoed a rivers and harbors bill, too. Under the latter bill, Congressmen would have been able to bring federal funds into their own districts for unnecessary dredging of rivers and harbors. This was just an old congressional custom. Altogether Cleveland vetoed some 300 bills, more than

twice the number vetoed by all previous Presidents.

Because he believed that the tariff rates were too high, he recommended when he ran for re-election that they be lowered. This was courageous action, but it cost him the election. After a single term for the Republican, Benjamin Harrison, Cleveland was again elected as the "most popular man in the country."

But his popularity was soon lost in a whole series of events, such as a depression, labor troubles, financial difficulties, and strained foreign relations. In the end the President's unbending desire to do what he believed right made him a "fallen leader." But the Democratic party in the long run could look back on





William McKinley was elected President in 1896 when he defeated Bryan in a bitterly fought contest. McKinley, as the "Advanced Agent of Prosperity," was strongly supported by big business. Big business was pleased with the "new" program which McKinley and the Republican party put into operation. (Harris & Ewing)

Cleveland's administrations with satisfaction. That was fortunate, for the Democrats were not to occupy the White House again for 16 years.

**The Republicans return again with a new program.** Cleveland's second administration experienced a bad depression. Depressions are bad for the party in power, because the voter holds responsible the President in office at the time. After the depression of the 1890's, the voters wanted a change.

The alarmed Democrats turned away from the conservative path trod by Cleveland. In doing so they adopted the most radical platform in their history and ran their most radical candidate, William J. Bryan. In spite of all the Democrats could do, the Republicans won the election of 1896. William McKinley, the "Advanced Agent of Prosperity," and the Republicans were

again in control of the federal government, including both houses of Congress.

Major McKinley, a kindly gentleman, had served with distinction in the War Between the States, rising from the rank of a private to that of a major. He later represented Ohio in Congress, and finally was Ohio's governor. McKinley was a follower of public opinion rather than a leader. He was a conservative and not a reformer. Unlike Cleveland, he got along well with Congress. He believed that what the country wanted was a period of calm and quiet, during which business would be given an opportunity to develop without interference.

This point of view was strongly shared by his campaign manager, a manufacturer who looked at all public questions from a business man's standpoint. The Republican platform of 1896 mirrored this view

also. It stood squarely for a protective tariff and other measures designed to help business. Here, then, was the "new" Republican program—one intended to produce national and business happiness.

The Republicans moved at once to turn their promises into laws. A special session of Congress passed a tariff bill which established a new high in protection. When McKinley showed no interest in legislation to regulate business, big business felt that the "new" Republican program was made to order. While McKinley was in office, big business—industry, railroads, and banks—became ever bigger.

Big business was pleased when the Spanish-American War (1898) brought us new possessions and new prospects for trade and still bigger business. President McKinley was

easily re-elected. With the Republican program, prosperity returned. Big business was pleased with its influence in government.

In this chapter we have traced the activities of the major political parties from 1860 to 1900—32 years of Republicans and eight of Democrats (see Appendix III, page 602). We have seen how political parties make it possible for voters to select platforms and candidates to their liking. We have seen how the Republican party handled the thorny problem of reconstruction (1865–77). Later we saw that party replaced by Cleveland Democrats for a short period (1885–89, 1893–97). Finally, at the turn of the century, we saw the Republicans come strongly back to power with a program that promised national and business happiness.

### WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

By using each of the following terms in a sentence, show that you understand their meanings. Give an example when possible.

- |                         |                       |                               |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. precinct             | 5. political campaign | 10. Emancipation              |
| 2. ward                 | 6. Republican party   | Proclamation                  |
| 3. political convention | 7. abolition          | 11. "crime of reconstruction" |
| 4. political platform   | 8. protective tariff  | 12. Solid South               |
|                         | 9. Ku Klux Klan       |                               |

### WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?

**1860:** This date is important in our political history for several reasons. How many can you list?

**1861–65:** What unfortunate event is marked by these years? If dates are pegs upon which to hang important historical happenings, why do these dates seem especially convenient for such a purpose?

**1884:** Why is this date selected for special mention in this chapter?

**1896:** What political event is marked by this date and why is it singled out for special mention?

### CAN YOU FIND THE ANSWERS TO THESE?

1. Describe the organization of a political party, starting with the part of the organization nearest the voter.

2. Using the presidential election of 1860 as an example, show how national political committees work.
3. What did the Republican party under Lincoln's leadership stand for in 1860?
4. What were the provisions of each of the so-called war amendments to the federal Constitution? In what ways could these amendments have proved helpful to the Republican party of that time?
5. List the steps taken by the Southerners after the War Between the States to regain home rule.
6. Account for the election of a Democrat, Grover Cleveland, after 24 years of Republican Presidents.
7. Why is Grover Cleveland sometimes singled out as a great President?
8. What was the "new" Republican program under President William McKinley, and how successful was it?
9. *Summary Question:* This chapter traced the most important national political changes in the 40 years from 1860 to 1900. What were these changes, and why in your opinion did the American voters bring about such changes?

## Chapter 24. *Political Bosses and Powerful Groups Sometimes Control Our Political Parties*

*This is the story of Huey P. Long, once political boss of Louisiana. At the age of 25, he held his first office and immediately began building a political machine. Ten years later he became governor, and in 1930 a United States Senator. How "Boss" Long controlled Louisiana politics is well described in a reporter's words.*

*"The legislature is in session for the fourth time in one year. Confusion seems to reign. Huey Long is ubiquitous [everywhere]. Running up and down the aisles—to the Speaker's rostrum [desk] and back again. As United States Senator he has no status here beyond that of boss. This is Huey's Statehouse, Huey's legislature, Huey's state, his and his alone. Like a father romping in the nursery, he rushes about answering questions, dictating notes, wisecracking and clowning. Only the Long gang knows what is in the bills. Many of them have not even been printed.*

*"On Monday at 9 o'clock in the morning the Ways and Means Committee meets on the tenth floor of the Statehouse tower. All bills go to this committee made up of 17 members, 15 of whom are Huey's men. At five minutes to nine Senator Long marches in with his bodyguard and takes full charge. 'Before I explain these bills,' he says, 'I want to hear any comments by opponents.'*

*"Since the bills had only just come from the printer, the opposition, if any, is silent. Bill after bill comes up. Huey answers all questions, and scribbles amendments in his own handwriting. A motion to approve is put—the gavel falls and the bill is as good as law. Thirty-four bills—all designed to increase Long's power—are approved in seventy minutes."*

*Long's political methods, wrote another reporter, are "American politics of the machine school, plus a little gaudy drama." What Long did openly, some other bosses are likely to do quietly over an office telephone.*

*In 1935 Long was shot in his own capitol. The Long gang soon lost power.*



## *The Political Machine Sometimes Leads to Dishonest Politics . . . . .*

**Are political machines necessary?** In the last chapter we saw that political parties are necessary. There seems to be no other way to run our government. Also we saw that, if a political party is to be successful, it must be well organized. It must work like a well-oiled machine. We read, too, that local, county, state, and national committees must have chairmen. These chairmen are usually selected for their leadership ability. Party committee chairmen are men who make politics their business. They are what are called politicians. A well-run party organization may be and frequently is called a political machine.

The American practice of calling a party organization a political machine has led to certain difficulties. In the first place, because some political machines have been corrupt, political machines in general have come to have a bad meaning in the minds of many.

In the second place, a political leader is sometimes loosely called a "boss." This, likewise, has led to confusion, because "boss" like "machine" has an evil meaning for the average person. Theodore Roosevelt in his *Autobiography* advises on how to tell a leader from a boss. A leader, he says, "fights openly for principles." He has a following because he inspires confidence in his followers. His supporters believe that they can achieve more under him than under any one else. The

boss, according to Roosevelt, "is a man who does not gain his power by open means, but by secret means, and usually by corrupt means." He frequently works behind closed doors and relies upon greed and selfishness to gain his ends.

Theodore Roosevelt answered the question, "Are political machines necessary?" in this way. "A leader is necessary; but his opponents always call him a boss. An organization is necessary; but the men in opposition always call it a machine." We may conclude that political machines in the sense of a well-run party organization are necessary. Corrupt political machines, like corrupt party leaders, are neither necessary nor desirable.

**The political machine works day and night.** In the last chapter we saw that the precinct leader is a busy man. In a large city organization the ward or district leader occupies a middle position in the organization. He is over the precinct leader but under the boss. The boss, of course, is the head of the party organization for the city. The *ward leader* is the chief means of contact between the big organization and the rank and file of the party. As a result he is a very busy man. How busy is illustrated in one day's activities of a ward or district leader of Tammany Hall, the Democratic machine in New York City.

Here, in brief form, is the back-breaking schedule of a district leader in the 1890's.

"2 A.M.: Door bell rang. Was requested to go to police station to bail out a saloon-keeper. Furnished



A ward leader, to keep his job, must hold the voters' support. To do this he sometimes does what seem to be strange things. Here a New York City leader is giving a party in Central Park to the children of his ward, with ice cream and cake free to all. (Brown Brothers)

bail. Returned to bed at three o'clock.

"6 A.M.: Awakened by passing fire engines. Hastened to fire to give aid to fire sufferers. Took tenants who had been burned out to a hotel. Supplied clothes and food and arranged for temporary quarters until new apartments could be rented and furnished.

"8:30 A.M.: Went to police court. Secured discharge of four 'drunks' and paid the fines of two.

"9 A.M.: Appeared in city court. Directed district captain to act as lawyer for a widow who was in danger of losing her home. Paid rent of a poor family about to be ordered

out for failure to meet payments. Gave them a dollar for food.

"11 A.M.: At home. Found four men waiting—all wanted jobs. Fixed them up after nearly three hours.

"3 P.M.: Attended the funeral of an Italian. Hurried back to attend a Hebrew funeral. Went to the front in both the Catholic Church and the synagogue. Later attended the Hebrew confirmation ceremonies.

"7 P.M.: Presided over meeting of district captains at district headquarters. General conditions in the district were discussed, including a survey of all voters in the district.

Means were explored of winning over those who did not support Tammany. Orders were issued.

"8 P.M.: Went to church fair. Took chances on everything. Bought ice-cream for the children. Kissed the little ones, flattered their mothers. Took their fathers out for something down at the corner.

"9 P.M.: At club-house again. Spent \$10 on tickets for a church excursion and promised donation for a new church-bell. Bought tickets for a base-ball game between two teams of the district. Listened to complaints of a dozen pushcart peddlers in trouble with the police. Will go to Police Headquarters in morning to see about it.

"10:30 P.M.: Attended a Hebrew wedding reception and dance. Had previously sent a handsome wedding present to the bride.

"12 P.M.: In bed."

Sometimes the boss uses the machine for selfish purposes. A good political boss would probably also be a good boss in a large industry. He would be efficient and he would get things done. A political boss, like an occasional business man, can also be corrupt. When he is corrupt, it is usually because some business concerns are ready to join in the corruption. Both the boss and the business man hope to gain something to which they have no right. And since government is involved, the public suffers. That is, the people pay more taxes for public services than they should. Or they pay for services they never receive.

A corrupt boss uses the machine for his own selfish interest and that

of a few higher-ups, rather than in the public interest. A boss has three things for sale. First, if he is dishonest he sells "protection." That is, for a price he sees that unlawful practices are not interfered with by the police. This means that the boss makes deals with the so-called "underworld" of criminals. Second, he may—again for a price—bargain with certain powerful business interests to see that their interests are fully protected against legislation which they oppose. This brings the boss in contact with the so-called "upper world."

Third, the boss of a large city or state machine has many favors for sale. Certain businesses, such as bus, gas, and electric companies, can operate only with public permission. Under a corrupt machine, this permission is for sale to the highest bidder. Then there are contracts to let for public improvements. In each case, the boss may work hand in glove with the "upper world" of business.

How a corrupt city boss lets contracts is illustrated by the Tweed Ring shortly after the War Between the States. Boss Tweed controlled Tammany Hall, the Democratic machine in New York City. When a courthouse was to be built, many contracts were necessary. This is how the system worked. A contractor doing business with the city, which really meant the Ring or gang, was required to turn in padded bills to the city treasurer. Instead of charging the usual prices of services or materials, the contractors or sellers charged much more.

In the case of the courthouse, the



A group of vultures waiting for the storm of public anger to blow over, is the title of this cartoon. The cartoonist pictures Boss Tweed (foreground) and his gang as vultures pinning down the great state of New York. In front lie the remains of another victim—New York City. (*Harper's Weekly*)

contractors charged three times the real cost. When the bills were paid, the Ring got two and the contractors one out of every three dollars. No wonder the bill for thermometers, for example, was \$7,500. Or that one contractor received one million dollars for "repairing fixtures" in the new courthouse. A courthouse which was supposed to cost one-quarter of a million cost in the end eight millions.

**Is there no cure for corruption?** In this and other ways, the Tweed Ring stole more than 45 million dollars from New York City taxpayers. Finally, however, the forces

for good caught up with Tweed, and he died in jail without money or friends. But corrupt machine rule was practiced beyond New York City. At one time or another nearly every large city had its corrupt leaders. Sometimes it was a Democratic machine; other times, a Republican. Some states have had corrupt party machines, too. After the War Between the States, even the federal government under Grant had its rings and corruption.

Fortunately, the black pages in our history have not been nearly so numerous as the bright, glorious pages. Nevertheless, the black ones are there, and they do reappear



from time to time. Why? Is there no cure for corruption? The answer is "Yes, if—." But there are a number of "ifs."

Yes, if the special interests—the underworld and the upper world—are driven from their places of power by an aroused public. Yes, if the public ceases to be amused at newspaper accounts of corruption and stops dismissing the matter by saying, "Well, the boys are at it again." Yes, if fearless men or "reform" administrations are elected and supported in office by people who want good government. Yes, if elected officials enforce courageously laws now provided for the control of the special interests. Yes, if additional laws aimed at wiping out special privilege are passed when necessary.

Yes, if Mr. and Mrs. Citizen are willing to take their democratic rights seriously every day in the year. It is not enough to vote on election day and then leave the business of government entirely in the hands of the professional politicians. The alert citizen—he who believes that democracy is the greatest way of life in the world—will not laugh off corruption. He will demand investigation of it. He will insist that those charged with dishonesty be tried and punished if found guilty. But above all, he will drive from office the party or the machine responsible for corruption.

Democratic methods sometimes seem to work very slowly. But sooner or later the voters are aroused. When that time comes, they go to the ballot boxes with determination. And they "turn the rascals out."

### *The Giving of Political Offices to Party Workers Leads to a Demand for Reform . . . .*

"To the victors belong the spoils." When, as we read in Chapter 8, Andrew Jackson favored the spoils system, he honestly believed in it. The party which won the election was entitled to the non-elective public offices, he thought. It was good democratic reform to take these offices from the aristocracy of officeholders and give them to the common people, he insisted. There was more to fear, he felt, from having men too long in office than in having frequent changes.

When Jackson was criticized for removing experienced men, he replied that "the duties of all public officers are . . . so plain and simple that men of intelligence may readily qualify themselves for their performance." But loyal party men hungry for the spoils might easily overlook Jackson's emphasis upon intelligence. Certainly the applicant who wrote another President was not too much concerned with requirements. "Dear Sir," he wrote, "I am a young man wich I would like to beter my self. The busines I am at is Junk business, but I would rather have the business in the govment, either in the Cabnet or as watchman."

In the "horse and buggy age" of Jacksonian Democracy, Old Hickory was probably right when he said that the duties of public office were plain and simple. But as the country grew and especially as it became a machine-age nation, everything



became more complex. Increasingly, the people looked to the government for more and more guidance. Jackson's government never had to prepare pamphlets on how to care for a baby or what to feed chickens. Jackson's spoilsmen did not have the difficult problem of regulating hundreds of thousands of miles of transportation by rail, bus, and air. Even handling mail was easy when Jackson was President.

The machine age emphasized the need for trained and experienced public employees. As time passed, the Presidents began to rebel against the spoils system. Lincoln complained bitterly in the opening days of the War Between the States about office-seekers hindering the war effort. In the end, however, he removed a larger percentage of officeholders than any other President. The war increased the number of workers in the *civil service*, as employees in non-military services of government are called. But it was not until after the war that the first steps were taken to find a substitute for the spoils system.

The first effective step toward reform was taken by the Republican, President Hayes, in the 1870's. Without congressional aid, he tried to clean up the New York Custom House. There five Republican officials had removed 1,678 men in 1,565 business days. When Hayes removed the chief officer—Collector Chester A. Arthur—both Congress and the New York machine were up in arms in defense of the spoils system.

**The murder of a President speeds civil service reform.** When James A. Garfield succeeded Hayes, the reformers were hopeful. Garfield had favored civil service reform for years. But four months after his inauguration, President Garfield was shot by a disappointed office-seeker. When he died at the end of the summer of 1881, the shocked nation had made up its mind. The death of a President was too high a cost to pay for an out-of-date spoils system. Politics or no politics, it must go, said an aroused nation.

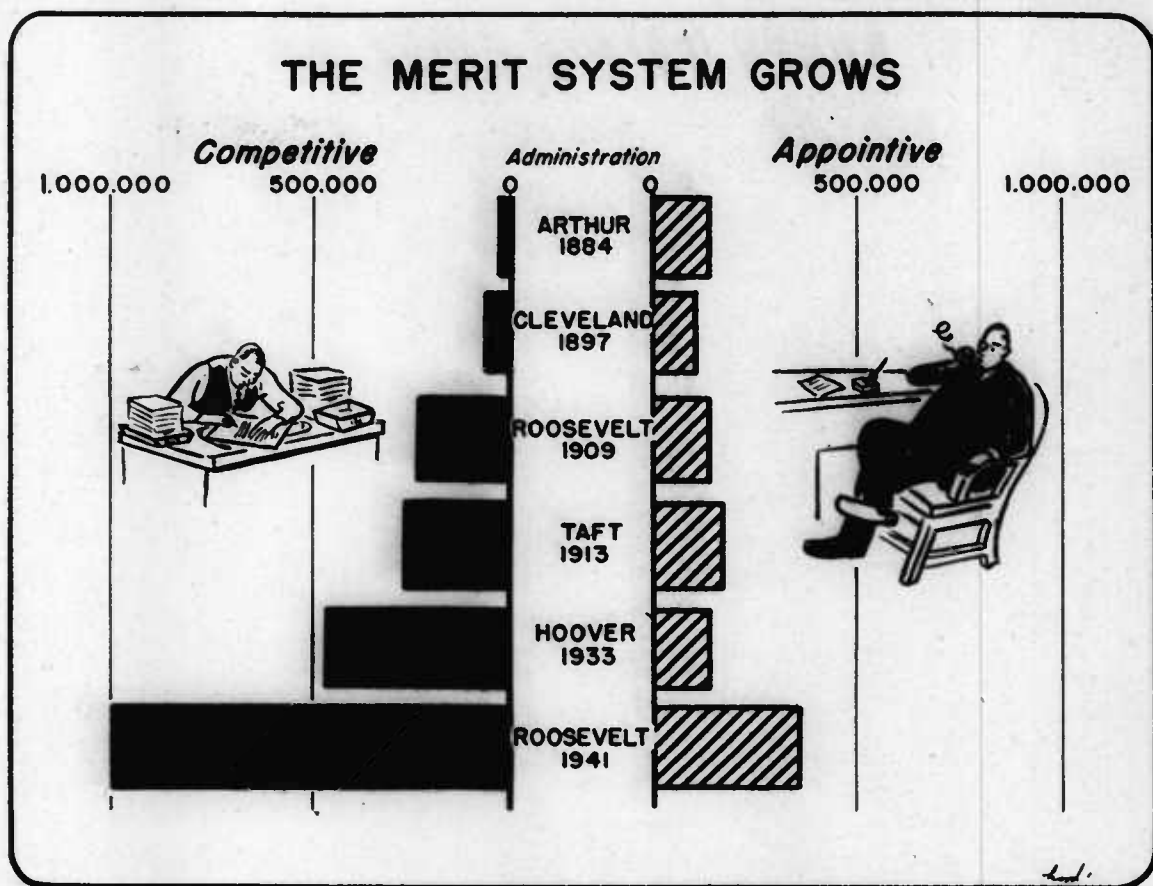
The murder of the President had two immediate effects. First, Vice President Chester A. Arthur succeeded to the Presidency [60]. Arthur, you recall, was the collector of the port of New York who had been removed by Hayes because of his activities as a spoilsman. But to the credit of President Arthur he was soon to prove himself quite different from the machine politician, Collector Arthur. The second effect was the public demand that Congress act immediately on civil service reform.

To the surprise of many, Arthur recommended to Congress a civil service bill. He even said that he would accept any reform bill passed by Congress. Congress could no longer delay action. On one side was an angry public demanding reform. On the other was a President pushing Congress. Over all was the spirit of a murdered President.

During the debate on the reform bill, some Congressmen fought hard to save the spoils system. One die-hard member said that tossing pennies was a better method of select-



The assassination of President Garfield shocked the nation into civil service reform. The President was shot twice by a disappointed office-seeker, as he was about to take a train in Washington to attend his college's commencement exercises. When, several months later, he died, the nation demanded reform of the old spoils system. The new Congress promptly passed the Pendleton Civil Service Act in 1883. (*Harper's Weekly*)



ing employees than using the silly examination questions. Some years later a President was to reply to this by saying, "If we selected employees according to the length of their noses, it would be better than the political spoils system of appointment." Finally, Congress passed the bill and Arthur signed it. The Pendleton Civil Service Act (1883), as it was called, is perhaps our most important political reform, for it laid the foundation for the merit system in civil service.

The reform provided that federal civil service employees would increasingly be selected on the basis of merit or special fitness for a particular kind of government work. The Pendleton Act explained how fitness would be the chief require-

ment. (1) Written examinations would be open to all who believed themselves prepared. (2) Appointments to and promotions in office would go to those with highest marks. At first, however, the reform applied to a limited number of offices. (3) No longer could the "Ins" remove civil employees because they belonged to the "Outs." (4) A commission was to make and enforce civil service rules. (5) Presidents could place new offices under the merit system, as they saw fit.

**The merit system spreads slowly.** Although the Pendleton Act laid the foundation for a great reform, it took many years before most federal employees were placed on a merit basis. When the merit system

was started under Arthur, it included only about one-tenth of all federal employees (see graph, page 418).

Just before we entered the Second World War about three-fourths of the federal government's one and one-third million civil workers were under the merit system. The war raised the number of federal employees to a record total of over three millions. Although many of the new workers qualified through examinations, they were appointed only for the duration of the war. About 95 per cent of the more than three millions were under the rules of the Civil Service Commission.

The reform spread into the states, too. New York and Massachusetts led the parade of the states in this important reform. Today, some 20 states have state-wide merit systems in use. More than half of these were adopted in the 1930's and 1940's. Cities, likewise, have seen the need of adopting the reform, but here progress has likewise been slow. About three-fifths of the cities of 10,000 or more people have adopted the merit system for one or more departments. Despite progress, the use of the spoils system to build up political machines still exists—especially in our cities and states.

### *Well-organized Groups Put Pressure on Politicians . . .*

**Many organizations keep special agents to influence government.**  
The life of the average politician

is not too happy. Since he wishes to be re-elected, he almost always has his mind on the next election. And that is understandable. For in one way or another his constituents—the “folks back home” whom he represents—do not let him forget that the day of reckoning is coming. If he votes one way, he displeases some constituents. If he votes the other way, he is bound to displease others. Sometimes they write or telegraph him, trying to influence his vote.

When John Citizen writes his Representative or Senator or President on his own, that is democracy at work. It is then up to the officeholder to determine what the majority wants. But if the officeholder receives a number of letters and telegrams which are alike or almost so, he knows that some organized group is at work trying to make a minority sound like a majority. If such pressure does not mislead the officeholder, he may ignore it. But he is likely to be influenced by it, because he fears that the organized group has the means to defeat him in the next election.

A group which organizes for the purpose of influencing public opinion is called a *pressure group*. It has a special axe to grind. It hopes that it can get the public as well as those responsible for our governments to help in the grinding of that axe.

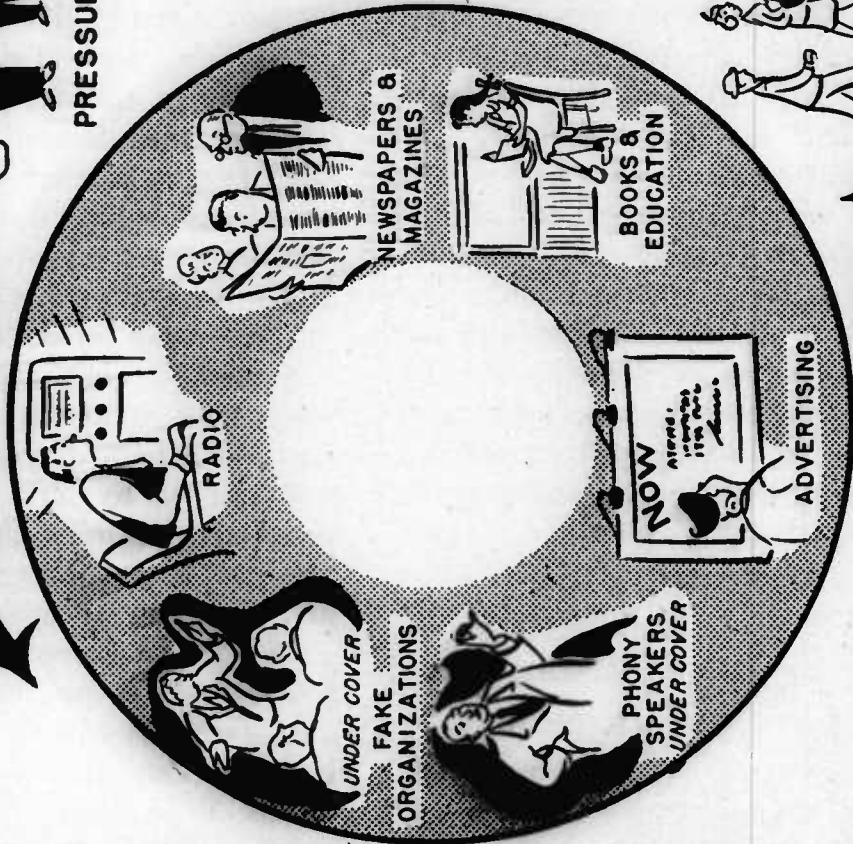
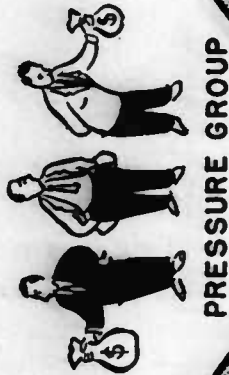
How do pressure groups operate? Some work in the open, others under cover. Whether under cover or in the open, they try to do three things. First, they try to influence nominations and elections. Second, they try to influence legislation.



# PRESSURE GROUPS AT WORK

INDIRECTLY THROUGH  
PUBLIC OPINION

DIRECTLY ON CONGRESS  
& GOVERNMENT AGENCIES





They do this, as was just pointed out, by putting pressure on the law-makers. This is done either by appealing directly to the legislators or indirectly through the voters. Third, by the clever use of propaganda, the pressure group tries to win the public to its viewpoint (see chart, page 420).

Well-organized and well-financed pressure groups usually employ highly-paid and very capable special agents called *lobbyists*. The chief job of the lobbyist is to influence legislation in the state and national capitals. Washington has more than 500 lobbyists. A lobbyist can influence law-making in a number of ways. He is clever at publicity. He knows newspaper and radio men. Sometimes they will help him spread his ideas. He may appear before legislative committees. He may appeal to Congressmen—in their offices or at social gatherings. Indirectly he may even try to reach the President.

In a free country as large and varied as ours, there are hundreds of pressure groups. Some are important and very powerful. Some may be organized for a particular occasion and then disappear. Among the most important and powerful pressure groups today are those representing: (1) the farmers, (2) big business, (3) labor, and (4) war veterans.

**Pressure groups perform certain services.** Pressure groups can be good or bad. In general, a pressure group is considered good if you like what it stands for; bad, if you do not like it. For example, when cer-

tain business interests fight a bill which would bar "false and misleading" advertising of foods, drugs, and cosmetics, their pressure groups are serving certain manufacturers and newspaper and magazine publishers. They are not organized to help the consumer.

In a democracy all groups have the right to protect their own interests. When, however, pressure groups use corrupt or underhand methods, John Citizen is likely to protest. In the 1930's a pressure group used practices which many believed unfair. A bill was before Congress to regulate the large electric power businesses. Swinging into action, the public-utility pressure group had 200,000 telegrams against the bill sent to Congressmen. An investigation showed that the public utilities had overstepped. Hundreds of telegrams had been sent by one company's employees without the consent of the "signers." Hundreds of others had "signatures" of names copied from the telephone directory. This campaign cost the utilities \$700,000.

Sometimes pressure groups work more directly to corrupt politics. Occasionally, they may make deals with bosses or machines. They do not care which party they support, so long as they get the results. The power of Boss Long in Louisiana was based upon a workable understanding between machine politicians and big business men. Corruption was widespread.

The use of corruption by pressure groups is, fortunately, not the rule. Many groups reach their goals only after years of patient, quiet

work. By the slow process of education, the voter is at length convinced. When he is convinced and sufficiently stirred up, he writes his Representative or Senator. When the pressure is great enough, Congress or the legislature acts. That is the story behind public education as we know it today. Fifty years of pressure were necessary to put woman suffrage in the Constitution. Labor lobbyists worked hard to reduce labor's week to 40 hours. But the list could be made almost endless.

Patience, good organization, and continued pressure can produce results. Politicians tend to yield to the most powerful influence on them. Political bosses and small powerful groups can control our parties only when the people permit it. Organized public opinion can have the force of a hurricane. When aroused to action, it can destroy bosses and reduce pressure groups to their proper influence in public affairs. Here, then, is another good example of desirable results when democracy really works.

### WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

The following terms are necessary to a clear understanding of certain developments in our political history. Use each in a sentence, with an example, to show your grasp of the meanings.

- |                      |                      |                     |
|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. politicians       | 5. Tweed Ring        | 9. merit system     |
| 2. political machine | 6. special interests | 10. pressure groups |
| 3. political boss    | 7. spoils system     | 11. lobbyists       |
| 4. corruption        | 8. civil service     |                     |

### WHY IS THIS A RED-LETTER YEAR?

1883: Why is this one of the most important red-letter years in the reform movement in this country?

### CAN YOU FIND THE ANSWERS TO THESE?

1. Why is it a little difficult to answer the question: "Are political machines necessary?"
2. How may a corrupt political boss use his power to the disadvantage of the people?
3. What responsibilities do citizens have to bring an end to corruption on the part of dishonest politicians? Is the politician alone to blame for corruption when it exists?
4. Why did the machine age emphasize the weaknesses of the spoils system?
5. What events forced upon Congress a reform of the civil service?
6. What is the Pendleton Civil Service Act, and how did it lay the foundation for the merit system in civil service?
7. To what extent has the merit system replaced the spoils system in national, state, and local governments?
8. In what ways may pressure groups operate? What are the most powerful pressure groups today?

9. Give several examples of results gained by certain pressure groups, which most people would regard as gains for democracy.
10. Can anything be done about pressure groups that do not use fair means to present their cases?
11. *Summary Question:* This chapter presented practical politics at work, with examples of corruption and with examples of reform. As an adult member of a political party, what could you do to see to it that the words "politics," "politicians," and "political machines" do not necessarily mean something undesirable?

## Chapter 25. *The National Government Responds to the Demand for More Democracy*

*In the early 1900's all was not well in America, as this letter to Theodore Roosevelt indicates.*

*San Francisco, Mar. 6, 1907*

*My dear Mr. President:*

*I am not seeking proof of crime and dishonesty. If I get that, I would turn it over to you or to a criminal prosecutor. What I am after is the cause and the purpose and the methods by which our government, city, state, and federal, is made to represent not the common, but the special interests; the reason why it is so hard to do right in the United States; the secret of the power which makes it necessary for you, Mr. President, to fight to give us a "square deal." In brief, I want to be able some day to explain why it is that you have to force the Senate to pass a pure-food bill or one providing for the regulation of the railroads . . .*

*And please don't misunderstand me. This is a point on which you, Mr. President, and I have never agreed. You seem to me always to have been looking down for the muck [meaning political filth], I am looking upward to—an American Democracy. You ask men in office to be honest, I ask them to serve the public.*

*But this I acknowledge too: Fighting dishonesty as you are, you are doing more than all the rest of us so-called muckrakers put together to show the American people that the cause of graft, and the result of all our corruption, is simply misrepresentation in government, and that the cure is to regulate, to control, or, if these fail, to own those businesses which find it necessary to their success to corrupt men and cities and states and the United States . . .*

*Yours with sincere respect,  
J. Lincoln Steffens*

## *The Cry of the Early 1900's Is for Reform . . . . .*

The "muckrakers" provide ammunition for the reformers. Some Americans were inclined to think of corruption as an incurable disease which now and again attacked democratic government. They looked upon political corruption as they did upon cancer. It was a terrible disease but not something to talk about. Today intelligent people know that human cancer can be cured, that the thing to do is to seek medical treatment at the earliest sign of trouble.

That was the position which a small but forward-looking group of writers took toward corruption—the cancer on the body politic—in the early 1900's. They favored no hush-hush policy. Rather they believed in standing on the roof tops and telling the world about the greedy political bosses and selfish pressure groups that were abusing democratic government. Like the Populists you read about in Chapter 15, the muckraker also went after the trusts and railroads.

The journalists or magazine writers who dug deep into the political filth of the 1890's and early 1900's were called *muckrakers*. They were given that name by Theodore Roosevelt. He got it from *Pilgrim's Progress*, where he read about the man with the muckrake. This man was so intent upon raking up the filth on the ground that he lost a heavenly crown.

The muckrakers were fearless writers. First, they made sure of

their facts. Then they wrote boldly. They named the names of men and places where corruption existed. They showed the methods used and the far-reaching nature of corruption. They laid bare the evil practices hatched by the wicked combination of politics and business. In short, in turning the bright sunlight of publicity upon the filth, they exposed corruption wherever they found it.

One writer exposed unbelievable conditions in the meat-packing industry. One—a woman—wrote a history of the Standard Oil Company, emphasizing its business methods which made a monopoly. Another muckraker told about the railroads and their questionable practices. Some gave their attention to patent medicines and misleading advertising. Still others turned the spotlight on the evil practices of some other businesses. The corruption of the city was not overlooked. Lincoln Steffens, whose letter to President Roosevelt was just quoted, wrote one book called *The Shame of the Cities*. He also wrote articles on corruption in the states.

The shocking nature of these articles and books finally aroused the easygoing public. The muckrakers had provided plenty of ammunition for the reformers. All that was needed was a leader who would make the most of the situation.

**Theodore Roosevelt captures the spotlight in this age of reform.** As occasionally happens in history, the times produced that leader in the person of Theodore Roosevelt. "T.R." or "Teddy," as he was called





Theodore Roosevelt was a vigorous campaigner. It made no difference to him whether he was campaigning for office or for some reform in which he believed. A thing worth talking about in public was worth getting enthusiastic about, he felt. (Wide World)

by many, had just succeeded McKinley, the third President to be shot. When Roosevelt took over the Presidency, he said that he would carry out McKinley's policies. But it was soon clear that the new President was not the man to carry out another's policies. He favored least of all the McKinley practice of a "hands-off" policy toward big business.

Young Roosevelt plunged into politics soon after his college days. First, in the early 1880's, he served as a legislator in New York state. After several years spent in recovering his health "in cowboy land," as he called the Dakotas, he returned to political life. He served as chairman of the federal Civil

Service Commission and still later as Police Commissioner of New York City. In each position he stood for reform.

In McKinley's first administration, Roosevelt was Assistant Secretary of the Navy. When the Spanish-American War began, he resigned to help recruit the Rough Riders, a regiment of horsemen in the army. Colonel Roosevelt returned from Cuba a military hero. With the support of the Republican boss, he was soon elected governor of New York. When he proved to be too much of a reformer for the Republican machine, the boss decided to "bury" him by making him Vice President on the second McKinley ticket. Usually the Vice President is con-

sidered to be at the end of his political trail. McKinley's death unexpectedly upset the boss' plans.

Roosevelt entered the White House at the age of 42—our youngest President. There was scarcely a dull moment in the seven and one-half years he lived there. There were few days when he did not get the headlines in the newspapers. He loved publicity and he was not modest. The story is told that a printer, setting type for one of Roosevelt's many books, had to send out to the type foundry for more capital "I's." In good part, however, he used publicity to bring the need for reform to the attention of the people.

To the big business interests and the old-line politicians, he became "Theodore the Meddler." The special interests also called him a "wild-eyed revolutionist." Everybody seemed to criticize him except the masses. They looked to him for leadership in the new age of reform. A prominent visiting Englishman said that the two most unusual things in America were Niagara Falls and Theodore Roosevelt.

**The "Square Deal" is Roosevelt's program.** Theodore Roosevelt's political, social, and economic ideas fitted nicely into the age of reform. He believed in the Square Deal. By this he meant fair treatment for all groups in our nation but special privileges for none. First, he believed that big business should be regulated but not prohibited. Second, labor was entitled to certain rights, including the right to strike, but it must not be lawless.

In the third place, all social classes should stand equally before the government. It should make no difference whether one were rich or poor, white or colored, Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish. Wrongdoers of whatever group must be punished, said the President. For this purpose, he would keep a "big stick." In other words, the government would use force upon people to make them act decently, if necessary.

However, "Teddy" felt that, before this Golden Rule for democracy could work, one important change was in order. The gap between the classes and the masses must be narrowed considerably. The causes for widespread discontent and suffering must either be removed or greatly reduced. He did not believe that the country was in a healthy condition if the rich grew richer and the poor grew poorer.

Roosevelt had one other strong conviction. He was certain that a courageous President could do much to make this country a better place in which to live. When, however, he carried out his policy of leadership, he was called a dictator by those on whose toes he stepped. Jackson and Lincoln had earlier been called dictators. So, too, were Wilson and the second Roosevelt later.

Taking his cue from the evils exposed by the muckrakers, Roosevelt went to work. Under his leadership, Congress passed laws further regulating the railroads. Congress also established federal inspection of all meats going into interstate commerce. Stirred by the muckrakers and prodded by the Presi-

dent, Congress passed the first pure food and drug act. Striking at unruly big business, Roosevelt started a "trust-busting" campaign.

Civil service reform made good gains under Roosevelt. By fearless leadership, he settled a troublesome coal strike. Through speeches and conferences, the need for conservation of natural resources was brought home to a careless nation. Although he stirred up a storm of protest, Roosevelt was the first President to invite a Negro to dinner at the White House. Forty years later the second Roosevelt was to have the first Negro overnight guest at the White House without the event becoming front-page news.

**The cry for reform brings four changes to the Constitution.** Our Constitution is hard to change. To amend it requires a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress and the vote of three-fourths of the states. It is safe to say, therefore, that the Constitution is amended only when there is a strong demand. When it is amended four times in 20 years (1913-33) in the interests of more democracy, that suggests that the cry for reform is both loud and long.

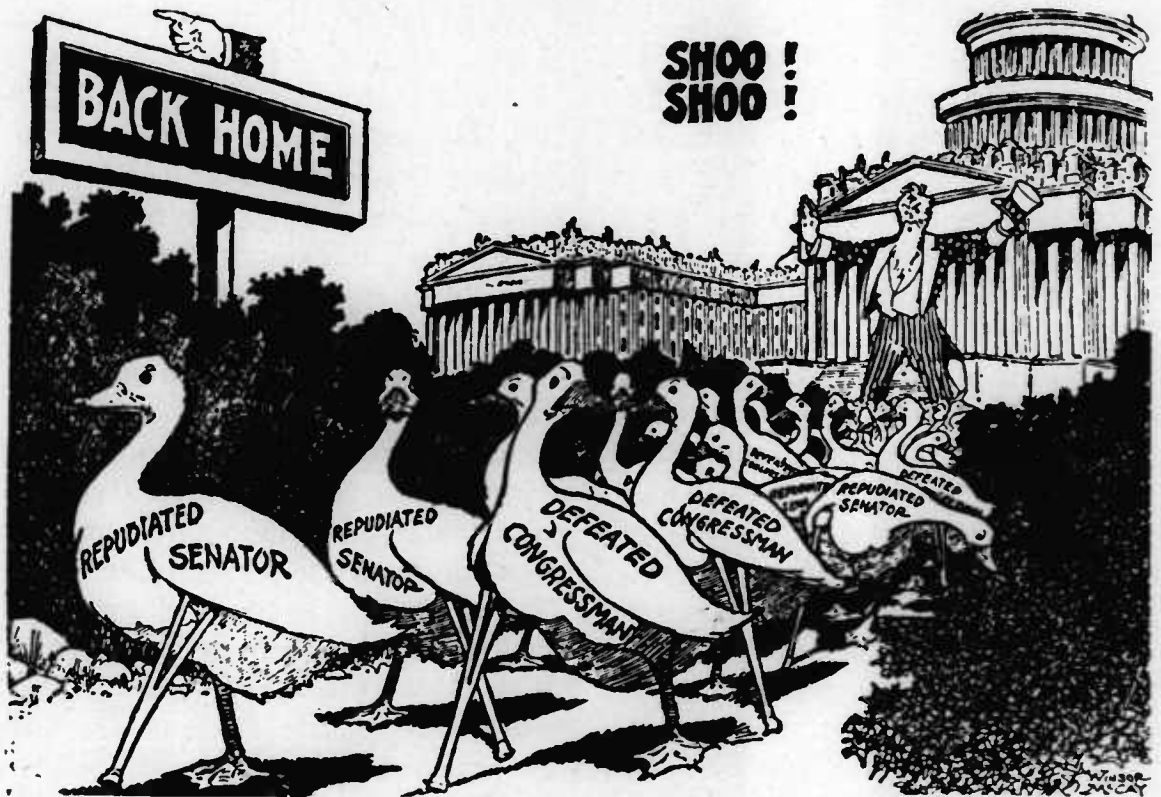
The first change in 1913 was Amendment XVI [107], which provided for an income tax. This amendment gave Congress power to lay and collect taxes on incomes. An earlier attempt to do this by law had been declared unconstitutional. Amendment XVI made "ability to pay" the test. A person making \$1,500 a year would not pay so much as one making \$15,000. Be-

cause the tax increased on a step basis with higher incomes, a person earning \$15,000 paid more than ten times the tax paid on a \$1,500 income. Many believed that this amendment made the Constitution more democratic in a general sense.

In 1913, also, Amendment XVII [108] was added. This change provided that United States Senators should henceforth be elected directly by the people. Before this Senators had been elected by the state legislatures. The country, the West especially, had come to feel that the old method played right into the hands of the special interests. By controlling the state legislatures, the interests could make Senators. So strong was this conviction that the Senate was referred to as a "Millionaires' Club." Direct election of Senators was one way of reducing what Steffens called "misrepresentation in government."

While the people were in a reforming mood, they added an amendment which doubled the number of voters in the nation. The famous Woman Suffrage Amendment—Amendment XIX [114]—was added in 1920. But this change is so important that the last section of this chapter will be devoted to it.

In one more change—Amendment XX [116-17] in 1933—representative government was made more democratic. Amendment XX required a new Congress to get down to business on January 3—two months after the November election. Before this the new Congress did not meet in regular session until 13 months after election. Under this amendment the newly-



Amendment XX provides for a session of the newly-elected Congress in January following the November election. Before 1933 the *old* Congress made laws until March following election. The old Congress included members—called “lame ducks”—who had been defeated in the election. (McCay in the *New York American*)

elected President was required to take office on January 20 instead of March 4. When the Constitution was made, we were in the horse-and-buggy age. Roads were poor and travel unbelievably slow. To-day's streamlined trains and fast airplanes have, therefore, made it possible to speed up representative government.

### *Wilson Becomes President when the Republican Party Splits . . . . .*

The Republican party splits wide open over the question of how much reform. In 1909 Theodore

Roosevelt left the Presidency to his chosen successor, William H. Taft, and went to Africa to hunt big game. Taft had been Roosevelt's Secretary of War. Roosevelt believed that Taft would carry on the unfinished business of reform. The public believed it too, but it looked forward to less shouting and less waving of the “big stick.” Perhaps the calm and good-humored Taft would succeed in healing some of the wounds left on the Republican party by Roosevelt.

Although Taft equaled and in some ways even bettered Roosevelt's record, the general feeling was that Taft was not a reformer. Some felt that his conservative nature had led him too far in the direction of



the "standpat" or old-line Republican politicians. Others felt that his defense of a high tariff put him on the side of the special interests. The voters showed their displeasure with Taft by electing a Democratic House of Representatives in the next Congressional election. This looked bad for the Republicans. Frequently a strong mid-term swing against the party in power means that the party will lose the Presidency in the next election.

About this time Roosevelt returned from his hunting trip. Looking over the situation, he soon decided that Taft had not carried on reform with proper enthusiasm. To make matters worse, the two elements in the Republican party fell into open warfare. The liberals were fighting the conservatives. Convinced that Taft was not entitled to a second term, "Teddy" tried to win it for himself. When he failed to keep the nomination from Taft, Roosevelt "bolted" or left the Republican party. Roosevelt took his followers into the new Progressive party. This was a third party movement which Republican liberals organized under Senator Robert M. La Follette's leadership.

With the Republican party split wide open, the Progressives held their convention. Singing "Onward Christian Soldiers" and the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," the gathering seemed more like a religious meeting than a political convention. The convention adopted a forward-looking platform—one that strongly favored reform. Then it handed Roosevelt the Progressive nomination. The new party left the

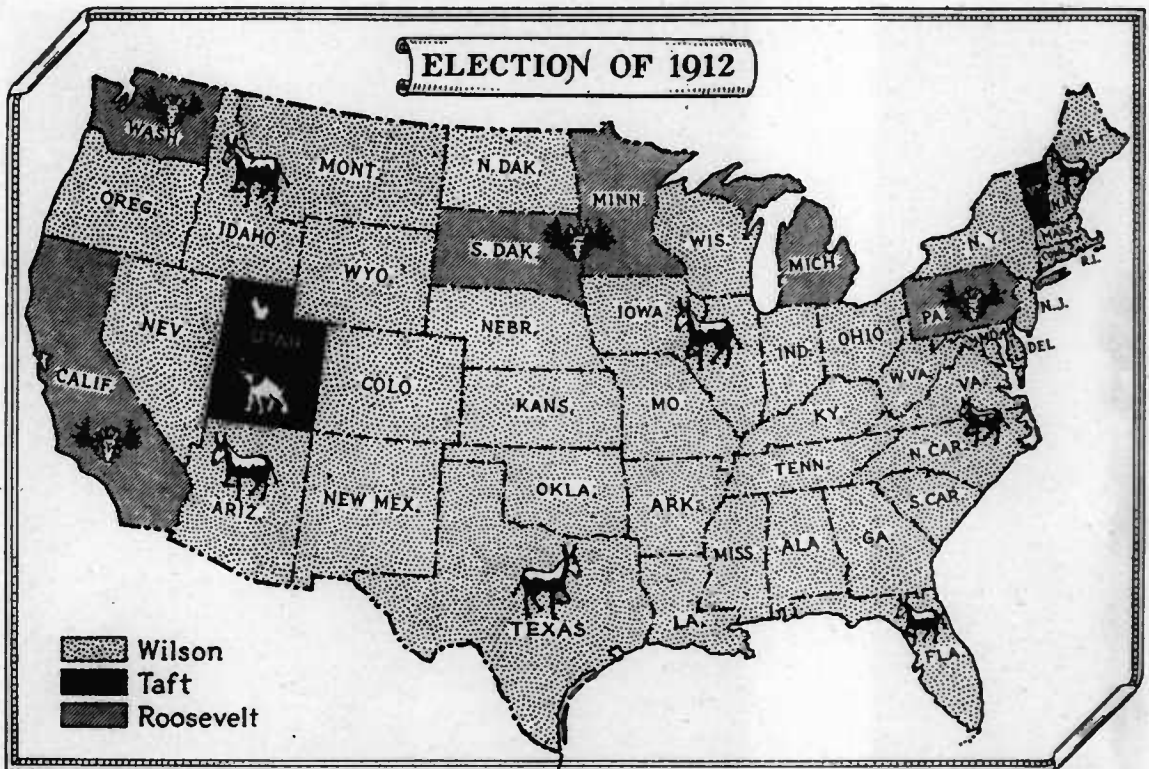
convention determined to defeat Taft.

**The Democrats make a professor of history President.** The Democrats looked upon the election of 1912 as a made-to-order opportunity to win the Presidency. The Republican party was split into two parts: the conservative Republicans and the Progressives. A good Democratic candidate ought to have no trouble winning. Under these favorable circumstances, the Democratic convention nominated a candidate only after a stormy battle and some 40 ballots. They nominated Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, whose only political experience had been two years as governor. Before that he had been a college president and a professor and writer of history and government.

Each party adopted a reform platform. The Progressive was the most radical of the three; the Republican, the most conservative. The Democratic platform stood between the two. So, too, did Wilson take a middle position on issues between Roosevelt and Taft. The campaign of 1912 was one of the most important in our history. Roosevelt took the spotlight as he stormed the country. Finally, toward the end of the campaign, he was shot by a crazy man. Not seriously wounded, "Teddy" insisted upon making his scheduled speech before going off to the hospital for a few weeks.

The polished and dignified professor-candidate, Wilson, toured the West. In his speeches he made a strong appeal for what he called the New Freedom. By this he meant an





America free from certain influences that were interfering with democracy. First, he wanted an America free from the control of the special interests. Second, he wanted business free from the control of a few big businesses. In short, he was opposed to monopoly. He wanted to give the little business man a chance. Third, he wanted Congress free from the high pressure and underhand methods of powerful lobbies.

When the votes were counted, Wilson, a "progressive with the brakes on," was elected (see map, above). The split in the Republican party put a Democrat in the White House for the first time in 16 years. And it was only the second time since the War Between the States. Wilson's New Freedom suggested that the Democrats would carry on where Roosevelt's earlier Square Deal had left off.

**Under Woodrow Wilson the Democrats carry on the reform program.** Wilson's record as governor of New Jersey also indicated that he was sincerely interested in reform. But we will understand his reform record better if we understand something of Wilson the man. He was a man of considerable knowledge and of great self-confidence. He believed, moreover, that a matter was either right or wrong. He found it hard to meet opponents half way or to compromise, as the politicians put it. He was, therefore, accused of having a one-track mind. This he did not deny.

His views on presidential leadership are important. He believed that a President must assume leadership over Congress. He considered himself the party leader. The results of Wilson's leadership were, many thought, good for the party and the country. They were also



**Outgoing President Taft** accompanies incoming President Wilson from the White House to the Capitol for Wilson's first inauguration. The election of 1912 put a Princeton graduate in the White House in exchange for a Yale man. The third contender—Theodore Roosevelt, a son of Harvard—had been there before Taft. (Brown Brothers)

good for reform. To impress his program on Congress and the public, he delivered his congressional messages in person. No President had done this since the days of Washington and John Adams.

Losing no time, Wilson forced through Congress a series of reform acts which struck boldly at the special interests. He drove through Congress a lower tariff, the most difficult of all bills. It proved to be the lowest tariff since Lincoln's time. Next in order was the Federal Reserve Act which aimed at further regulation and reform of banking. Then two bills were passed which struck at big-business monopolies.

In a year and a half Wilson had done much to check the privileged few. How far he might have carried the New Freedom, we will never know. The outbreak of the First World War and the problems of protecting our rights, pushed reform into the background.

"Political progress," wrote a great reformer, "comes in waves. After each crest there is bound to be a recession [backwash], but then comes a new crest. And our faith in democracy promises us that each succeeding wave will wash a little higher up on the beach than the one before." Woodrow Wilson was responsible for making the waves

of political progress wash higher on the American political and economic beach.

### *Women Win Their Long Struggle for the Right to Vote*

A few brave women demand the right to use the ballot. The long struggle for the right of women to vote is the story of one of the nation's greatest reforms. Victory finally came in Wilson's time. In order to win the right of suffrage, women had to overcome a great handicap. Both in the Old World and the New women were considered inferior to men. Even girls learned dancing that men might be pleased. "Take care what you are about," a girl was sharply reminded at a colonial dance. "Do you think you came here for your pleasure?"

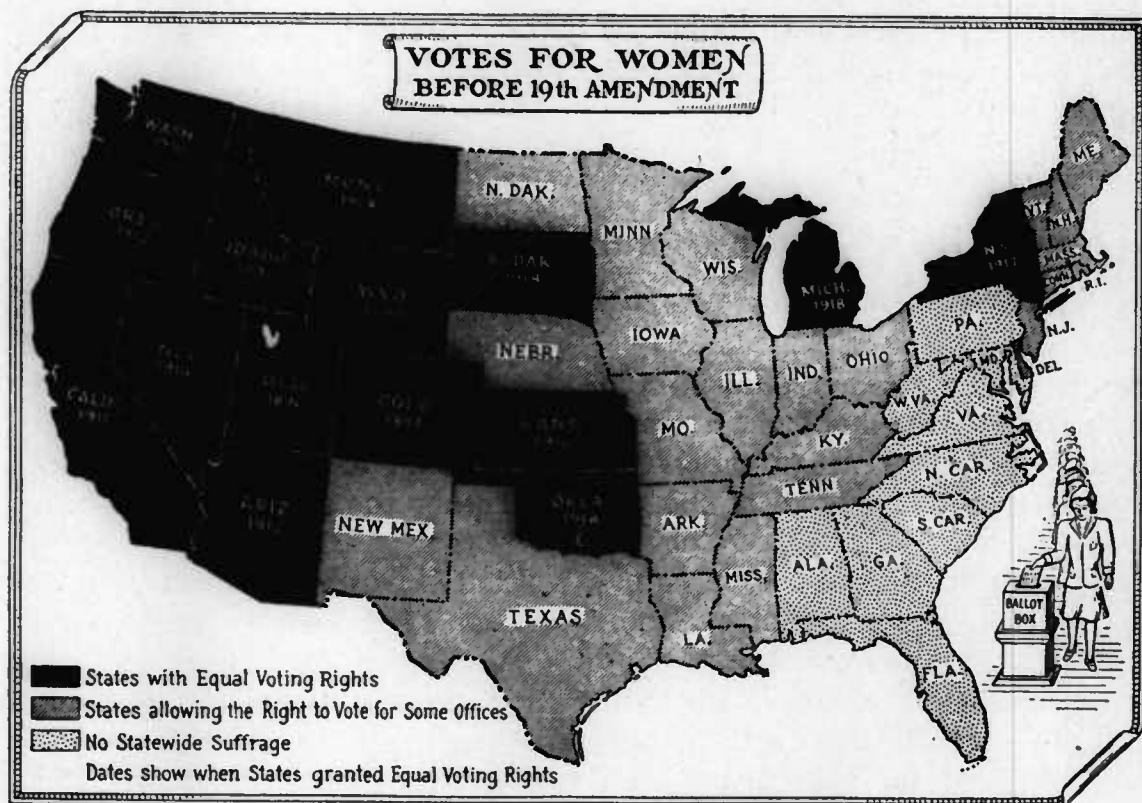
An early colonial governor warned women about meddling "in such things as are proper for men whose minds are stronger." For years women did not challenge man's high and mighty position. In 1776, however, the first blast came. John Adams' wife, Abigail, sent this warning to her husband while he was attending the Continental Congress. "If particular care and attention are not paid to the ladies," she wrote, "we are determined to foment [stir up] a rebellion. . . . [We] will not hold ourselves bound to obey any laws in which we have no voice or representation."

Needless to say, Abigail Adams did not start a rebellion. Little happened, in fact, until 1848. In that

year a Woman's Rights Convention was held at Seneca Falls, New York. There 100 women and men adopted a Declaration of Sentiments, which followed the form of the Declaration of Independence. The chief grievance was the denial of voting rights to women. The newspapers looked upon these reformers as cranks. Women's work in the War Between the States caused many men to change their minds. But when the war was over, women were again pushed aside. They were told, "This is the Negro's hour, the women's hour will come."

A handful of women did what they could to hasten that hour. Immediately after the war the struggle took on new life. In one year (1869) three important events occurred. The territory of Wyoming granted woman suffrage. Two woman suffrage associations were formed. A constitutional amendment granting the right of women to vote was proposed. Although Congress was cool to the appeal, the West was not. By about 1900 the campaign was showing results. At that time there were four woman suffrage states—Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, and Utah—all west of the Mississippi.

The outstanding woman suffrage pioneer was Susan B. Anthony, a born reformer. She left teaching to work for freedom for slaves and for temperance or moderation in drinking. But the greater part of her life was spent in fighting for woman suffrage. Twice she was arrested for unlawful voting when she tried to prove that women could vote under Amendment XIV, which granted citizenship rights to Negroes.



"Votes for women" is written into the Constitution. By the time we entered the First World War, about a dozen western states had joined the parade of woman suffrage states (see map, above). Women's part in the war rapidly broke down the old opposition to their plea for voting rights. Then, too, women were more and more being accepted in the business world. Less was heard about woman's place being the kitchen.

That the women were gaining ground was shown by the action of the political parties. The Progressive party came out for woman suffrage in 1912. Four years later both the Republicans and Democrats said they favored votes for women. Neither party, however, was ready to meet the issue squarely.

During the war the women put pressure on Congress and the Presi-

dent. For a year and a half women picketed the White House and the Capitol. At last President Wilson surrendered. He asked Congress to act on the proposed amendment that had been before it for years. Prompt action followed. The states likewise acted without delay. By the terms of Amendment XIX [114], sex was no longer a bar to voting. Fifty years had passed since the Susan B. Anthony amendment had been proposed. In 1920 women of every state helped to elect a President for the first time.

Did women really want to vote? Would they use the ballot? Such questions were asked frequently. The answers are hard to get at because there are no statistics or figures covering the number of women voting in all the states. According to one estimate, about one-third of the votes cast in the 1920





Woman suffrage was favored by both the Republican and Democratic parties for the first time in 1916. But the re-elected Wilson did not press the matter enough to suit the women. Then they turned from parading in our cities to picketing the White House and the Capitol. (European)

Presidential election were those of women. In the 1940 election it is believed that about one-half of the votes were cast by women. If these estimates are reasonably accurate, the answer is "Yes" to both questions.

Accurate statistics in the community in which one of the authors teaches point in the same direction. In 1920, 46 per cent of the total vote was cast by women. In 1940 more women than men voted—53 per cent, to be exact.

There is no doubt that women are more awake to political issues than they once were. As mothers they have shown more and more interest in the public education of their children. They therefore not only vote on such matters, but frequently are elected members of school committees. Women's organizations, such as the League of

Women Voters, are increasingly active. In the presidential election of 1944 women were greatly concerned over the war and postwar issues.

While the Second World War was being fought, a movement got under way to give the ballot to young men and women between the ages of 18 and 21. Georgia was the first state to take this step. To what extent other states follow Georgia remains to be seen. Many believe that this may be the next important step taken to extend democratic rights.

The demand for more democracy raised in the early 1900's left its mark on the national government. Roosevelt's Square Deal was followed in time by Wilson's New Freedom. The Constitution was amended four times in 20 years to make it more democratic. Democracy was marching on for the common man and the common woman.



**WHAT DO THEY MEAN?**

Show that you understand the following terms by using each in a sentence. Give an example when possible.

- |                |                      |                    |
|----------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| 1. muckrakers  | 3. income tax        | 5. the New Freedom |
| 2. Square Deal | 4. Progressive party | 6. woman suffrage  |

**WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?**

- 1912:* Why is this date given emphasis in this chapter on democratic reform?
- 1913:* Two events of first importance are suggested by this date. What are they, and why are they important?
- 1920:* In the story of American democracy this is a date that ought to be on a historical time line. What event does it mark?
- 1933:* In terms of the Constitution and democracy why should this date be emphasized?

**CAN YOU FIND THE ANSWERS TO THESE?**

1. What kind of ammunition did the muckrakers provide for the use of the reformers?
2. Why was Theodore Roosevelt a good leader for the new age of reform?
3. What did Theodore Roosevelt do in a practical way to help along the cause of reform?
4. In 20 years (1913–33) four amendments were added to the Constitution in the interests of greater democracy. What did each amendment provide, and how did each increase democracy?
5. Why did Roosevelt break with President Taft and thus split the Republican party?
6. Why did Woodrow Wilson win the election of 1912? For what did he stand?
7. What were Wilson's ideas on presidential leadership, and what were the results for reform?
8. Why were women denied the right to vote before 1920?
9. What were the important steps that finally led to the adoption of the Woman Suffrage Amendment?
10. *Summary Question:* A quotation in this chapter states that "our faith in democracy promises us that each succeeding wave [of reform] will wash a little higher up on the beach than the one before." What evidence is there in this chapter that this may be true?

## Chapter 26. *The States and Cities Become Laboratories for Democratic Experiments . .*

*This is a true story about the "tool makers" of democracy and the "tools of democracy." It is also the tale of some advice given as well as some received by a great Oregon reformer of the early 1900's.*

*Although this man was a lawyer by training, he was also a blacksmith. This is the advice given by the reformer—and some questions he asked.*

*"Blacksmithing is my trade. And it has always given colour to my view of things. For example, when I was very young, I saw some of the evils in the conditions of life, and I wanted to fix them. I couldn't. There were no tools.*

*"We had tools to do almost anything with in the shop, beautiful tools, wonderful. And so in other trades, arts and professions; in everything but government.*

*"In government, the common trade of all men and the basis of all social life, men worked still with old tools, with old laws, with constitutions and charters which hindered more than they helped. Men suffered from this. There were lawyers enough; many of our ablest men were lawyers. Why didn't some of them invent legislative implements [tools] to help the people govern themselves? Why have we no tool makers for democracy?"*

*These were the questions of a reformer who, as a boy, wanted to grow up to be a Moses. He wished to be a great lawgiver who could, like Moses, lead the people out of darkness into the land of promise.*

*At the age of seven this reformer-in-the-making received some advice from his blacksmith-father. The lad—his name was William U'Ren—had been called a liar by another boy. Since William had been told by his mother that only "dogs delight to bark and bite," he did not settle the matter on the spot. He decided, however, that the insult required some action. But first he sought his father's advice. After some thought, the father said to the son: "Never hunt a fight, boy, but never run from one; never suffer wrong or injustice."*

# OFFICIAL PRESIDENTIAL BALLOT—County of Wayne

## Tuesday, November 7th, 1944

VOTING INSTRUCTIONS—Place a cross either in the circle at the top of the preferred party column or in the square before the names of the preferred candidates.

Before leaving the booth, fold the ballot so that the initials of the inspector may be seen on the outside.

NAMES OF OFFICES VOTED FOR:	REPUBLICAN TICKETS	DEMOCRATIC	PROHIBITION TICKETS	PROGRESSIVE PARTY	SOCIALIST PARTY	UNITED STATES PARTY	COMMONWEALTH PARTY
PRESIDENTIAL <small>Electors of President and Vice President of the United States</small>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/> THOMAS E. DREWY <small>JOHN W. BRICKLEY</small>	<input type="checkbox"/> FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT <small>HARRY S. TRUMAN</small>	<input type="checkbox"/> LEATH A. WATSON <small>ARTHUR W. JOHNSON</small>	<input type="checkbox"/> DONALD A. TRIMBLE <small>ABRAHAM A. ALBALADE</small>	<input type="checkbox"/> NORMAN THOMAS <small>DANIELSON HARRIS</small>	<input type="checkbox"/> CERALD E. B. SMITH <small>HARRY ROMER</small>	<input type="checkbox"/>

This Australian ballot is a copy of the official *presidential ballot* used in Michigan in 1944. The voter could vote for electors of any one of seven parties. The use of a booth and the properly folded ballot returned to the ballot box, assure a secret vote. Another ballot covered other offices.

### *The People Gain More Control over Their State Governments . . . . .*

The voter wins the right to name candidates for office. We read in Chapter 24 that democratic governments can become ill for one reason or another. They can suffer from the disease of dishonest machine politics or from the power of the special interests. But democracy is not ill long before there is a demand for reform. We saw in the last chapter how the cry for reform rises. We read also how certain reforms were finally brought about. When American democracy sickens, the people cry for a cure. And that cure takes the form of a demand for more democracy.

One of the most hopeful signs for the future of democracy is the people's faith in their ability to govern themselves. They have clung to that faith since Jackson's days. It was about Jackson's time that the common man got the privilege of vot-

ing. But that did not mean so much as it seems. In the cities he might still not be free to vote as he wished. The machine could check on how he voted, for voting was not secret.

Until the late 1800's voting was a rather public event. It might be by a show of hands or by voice at the voting place. Or it might be by party ballots. That is, one party might use a pink ballot and another party a white ballot. Finally, the voters' demand for privacy in voting won them the *Australian ballot* or secret voting.

The Australian ballot reached us indirectly from Australia. It is a ballot printed by the government. It is given to voters by election officers only at the voting place. The ballot lists the names of the candidates who have been named according to law. All parties are on the same ballot. With the ballot in hand, the voter goes to an enclosed booth. There he can vote as he wishes—in secrecy. When he leaves, he places his folded ballot in the ballot box guarded by election offi-

cers. The Australian ballot spread rapidly through the states. Today every state except South Carolina uses it.

Having won the right to vote as he wished, the common man next wanted a share in naming the candidates on the ballot. In general, candidates were nominated or named in a party convention. Although the voter might elect delegates to the convention, still the naming of candidates was done indirectly. Moreover, powerful bosses or interests could and often did control conventions.

To put an end to machine-picked candidates, the *direct primary* was introduced. Under the direct primary system the voter nominates by ballot the candidates of his party. The names of these candidates appear on the final election ballot. The direct primary came out of the West. Today it is used in every state except Connecticut and Rhode Island.

**The people fashion new tools to control their state legislatures.** The direct primary was the first of four new tools which the tool makers of democracy were to invent. Although the direct primary gave the voter a share in nominating candidates, it did not follow that elected candidates would obey the wishes of a majority of the voters. Under such circumstances laws which the majority wanted might never be passed. Or, equally bad, laws might be passed which the majority did not want.

The second tool was the *initiative*. The initiative gave the voters

power over a balky legislature. Under certain conditions the voters could make their own state laws. By securing a certain number of voters' signatures, any citizen could draw up a law and have it placed before the voters on the regular ballot. The voters could vote for or against the proposed law. If a majority voted for the proposal, it became a law without the legislature's action.

The initiative, then, put law-making directly into the voters' hands, if for any reason the legislature failed to act. The initiative is frequently used on issues where a strong feeling exists. It has been used on questions such as legalizing dog racing, the sale of intoxicating liquors, and the public ownership of natural resources.

The third tool was called the *referendum*. The referendum provided that under certain conditions laws passed by the legislature be laid before the voters for their "Yes" or "No" vote. A certain percentage of voters could, by signing proper papers, force the legislature to place a law before the voters. If a majority of voters voted against the law passed by the legislature, the law was dead. The referendum, then, permitted the voters to check a legislature which was not representing the will of the majority.

The initiative and referendum are twin tools which give the voters of a state power to turn the voting places into little legislatures when necessary. These tools can be used only on state laws and amendments to state constitutions. And, of course, only in those states which have adopted them. Coming out of

To vote on the following, mark a Cross **X** in the square at the right of YES or NO:—

QUESTION NO. 2.

LAW PROPOSED BY INITIATIVE PETITION.

Shall the proposed measure which provides that in any city or town which accepts its terms, the licensing authorities shall establish free public taxicab stands for the use of all taxicabs and motor vehicles for hire whose owners are licensed within such city or town, and shall abolish all other forms of taxicab stands on any public highway within such city or town, — **which was disapproved in the House of Representatives by a vote of 96 in the affirmative and 109 in the negative and in the Senate by a vote of 4 in the affirmative and 35 in the negative,** — be approved?

YES

NO

The initiative gives the voters power to vote for or against "laws" which the legislature rejects or refuses to act upon. In this example the legislature rejected the proposed law. (Courtesy Arthur J. Shinnors)

the Far West about 1900, the initiative and referendum have been adopted by almost half of the states. Of these only five are east of the Mississippi.

The *recall* is the name of the fourth tool. Under the recall voters dissatisfied with an elected official might take steps to remove him. By securing the required number of signatures, they might force the official to jump the hurdle of a special election any time before his term ended. If he received more votes than anyone else in the special election, he remained in office. If not, he was "recalled." About a dozen states and more than 1,000 cities have adopted the recall. But it is seldom used.

Can the people use the new tools of democracy wisely? The four new tools of democracy—direct primary, initiative, referendum, and recall—produced at least two immediate results. First, their use placed great responsibility upon the voters. Sec-

ond, the political bosses, the special interests, and conservatives claimed that the people would not be prepared to use the new tools. The masses would approve foolish laws. And above all they would do "radical" things, they said.

It is not hard to understand why the bosses and special interests were opposed to giving the people more control over their state governments. They realized that the new tools were, in effect, a "gun behind the door." They were not to be used every day. But they were to be used whenever the people felt that their representative government was not working in their interests. Even our Presidents disagreed upon the usefulness of the new tools. Conservative President Taft was opposed to the idea. Liberal President Wilson, on the other hand, favored the New Democracy.

In most states using the new tools, the voters have had from 25 to 40 or more years' experience in handling them. In that period, the



*To vote on the following, mark a Cross X in the square at the right of YES or NO:—*

**QUESTION NO. 4.**

**PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.**

Shall an amendment to the constitution providing for Absent Voting by Qualified Voters who by Reason of Physical Disability are unable to vote in Person which is further described as follows:—

This amendment to the Constitution of Massachusetts annuls Article XLV of the Amendments to the Constitution which related to absentee voting and adopts in its place a new Article XLV which authorizes the Legislature to provide for voting, in the choice of any officer to be elected or upon any question submitted at an election, by qualified voters of the Commonwealth who at the time of such an election are absent from the city or town of which they are inhabitants or are unable by reason of physical disability to cast their votes in person,—

which proposed amendment was approved by the General Court and in a joint session of the two branches held July 8, 1941, received 171 votes in the affirmative and 30 in the negative, and in a joint session of the two branches held May 27, 1943, received 184 votes in the affirmative and 61 in the negative, — be approved?

YES	<input type="checkbox"/>
NO	<input type="checkbox"/>

The referendum gives the voters power to vote for or against a proposal already approved by the legislature. In this example the General Court (legislature) had favored the proposed amendment. (Courtesy Arthur J. Shinnors)

charges made against the New Democracy have not been supported by the facts. In general, the voters have not turned radical. In Oregon, for instance, in one election in the early 1900's, the voters turned down more than twice as many proposed laws as they accepted. Among the proposals defeated was one for the government to go into the railroad business. Woman suffrage was defeated for the fourth time.

Two factors have made the voters' task unnecessarily hard. In the first place, ballots are frequently very long. In one city, to give an example, a recent ballot contained the names of candidates for 45 offices and 58 proposed laws. Shorter ballots would help solve this problem. Shorter ballots would be possible if city, state, and federal elections were held at different times. Fewer elec-

tive officials in our cities would also help. The elected officials would then appoint key men, but be held responsible for the results.

Second, in some states the initiative and referendum proposals are stated in such a long and legal manner that only lawyers can easily understand them. These shortcomings can be changed when the people demand reform. In spite of these handicaps, the voter has gained confidence in himself as he has used the tools year by year.

On the whole, the people have shown that they can use the new tools of democracy in the public interest. Experience has proved that the conservative predictions were wrong. On the other hand, the high hopes of the reformers have not been fully realized. There can be no question, however, that the tool



This voting machine is being used in a school election. It cannot be used when the curtain is open. Small levers over candidates' names are used to indicate choices. When the voter is through, he operates the large lever (upper left) to open the curtains. This records all choices and releases all levers. (Courtesy Detroit Public Schools)

makers of democracy did a good job.

### *The West Leads in the March toward a Greater Democracy*

**"Fighting Bob" La Follette** is a champion of reform. We have seen how the new tools of democracy and the tool makers came out of the West. In the foreword of this chapter we read that the blacksmith-reformer, U'Ren, labored in Oregon. Although U'Ren's reform efforts in Oregon were important, they were soon overshadowed by the brilliant work of another western reformer.

**THE BEGINNER.** No man fought more doggedly for state reform or

in the end more successfully than Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin. Born in a log cabin in Wisconsin shortly before the War Between the States, young La Follette knew what it meant to be poor. He worked his way through the University of Wisconsin by teaching school. After a brief law course, he wrote, "I had no money at all."

Learning that his county's district attorney received a salary of \$800 a year, he decided to run for the office. At the age of 25, then, he had his first struggle with the political machine which opposed him in the campaign. The young lawyer won. After two terms as district attorney, friends convinced La Follette that he should run for Congress. Despite the opposition of the machine, he was elected. When La

Follette went to Washington in Cleveland's first term, he was the youngest member of Congress.

Feeling unprepared for his new duties, La Follette went to Washington 11 months ahead of time. "I attended the sessions of the House as faithfully as though I were a member," he wrote in his *Autobiography*. "I studied the rules, followed every debate, read the *Congressional Record* each day. When there was an all-night session I remained all night."

Although the new Representative was a Republican, he soon showed signs of independence in his speeches and votes. This independence the party leaders did not like. The young Congressman took his duties very seriously, and was twice re-elected. When he ran for a fourth term, he was defeated in a Democratic landslide that left only one Wisconsin Republican in the House.

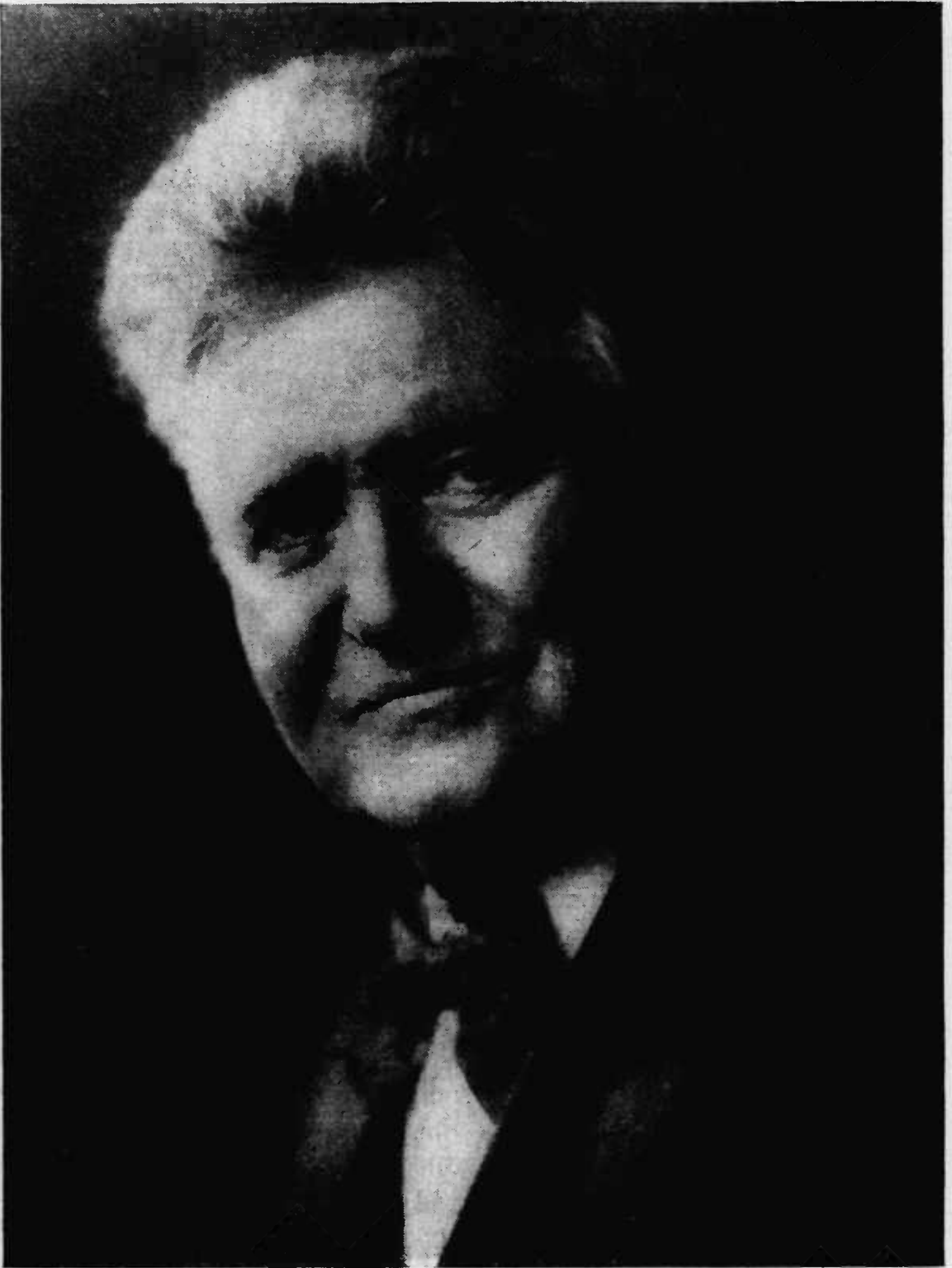
**THE OUTCAST.** In the early 1890's the ex-Congressman, now 35, returned to his Wisconsin law practice still poor in money. Soon he had an experience which changed his whole life. An important case against certain party leaders was to be tried before a judge who was La Follette's brother-in-law. According to La Follette, an attempt was made to bribe him into influencing his brother-in-law's decision. When he refused to have anything to do with the matter, the political boss misrepresented the situation in the newspapers. The boss decided that La Follette must be punished for this "crime" of disloyalty to his party. Fearful of the boss' power,

the papers and the party leaders turned on La Follette.

"No one will ever know what I suffered," wrote La Follette. "As I recall the fearful depression of those months, I wonder where I found the strength to endure them." For almost ten years La Follette was a political outcast. But these were the years that made the reformer who later won national fame for his fearless attacks upon special privilege. "I determined," La Follette said, "that the power of this corrupt influence, which was undermining and destroying every semblance [outward appearance] of representative government in Wisconsin, should be broken."

Without money or newspaper support, La Follette began to lay plans to free his state from the political bosses and special interests. Gradually the young Republicans began to see the need for reform and slowly they accepted La Follette's leadership. First, the reformers tried to win the governorship away from the machine. But four campaigns were necessary before they succeeded in electing "Fighting Bob" La Follette in 1900.

During this period La Follette, the champion of reform, was completing his plans. For the reformers needed more than control of the governor's office and legislature. They also needed a program that would convince the Wisconsin farmers that the La Follette Republicans were worthy of support. This program emphasized four reforms: (1) a direct primary system, (2) a fairer tax system, (3) a commission of experts to regulate the railroads and



**Robert Marion La Follette**, three times governor of Wisconsin and United States Senator for 19 years, was a politician. He was the kind of politician who thought that government should serve the interests of the people. He believed, too, that politicians should lead in bringing about reforms. He was, then, a reforming politician, one willing to fight for better government. He was a Republican politician, but he supported the reforms of a Democrat, President Wilson. When his party forgot reform, he became an independent. To our country he was "Fighting Bob," who died fighting the good fight. (Courtesy Robert M. La Follette, Jr.)

other public utilities, and (4) strict regulation of lobbies. These and other plans when finally made into law came to be called the "Wisconsin Idea."

**THE GOVERNOR AND SENATOR.** In all his public life La Follette was guided by three principles. First, he had complete confidence in the people. Second, he would not compromise on principles or accept half-way measures. He preferred defeat in the belief that in the end full victory would come. Third, he believed that honesty was absolutely necessary in both public and private life. He had no time for politicians or Presidents who would not keep their word.

As Wisconsin's governor for three terms, "Fighting Bob" turned that state into a political laboratory. He put the state on a good financial basis. He regulated the railroads. He pushed through a bill against lobbies. He stood for fair labor laws. He improved education. He put women in responsible positions, and he early favored woman suffrage. Under La Follette Wisconsin had the first state-wide direct primary. He was a leader in the movement to tax incomes and inherited wealth. La Follette made "Wisconsin the best governed state in the Union," according to at least one historian. But he did it against great odds, for the machine fought back every inch of the way.

Before his third term ended, Governor La Follette was elected a United States Senator. He remained a Senator until his death in 1925. "Fighting Bob" carried his enthusiasm for reform to Washington. He

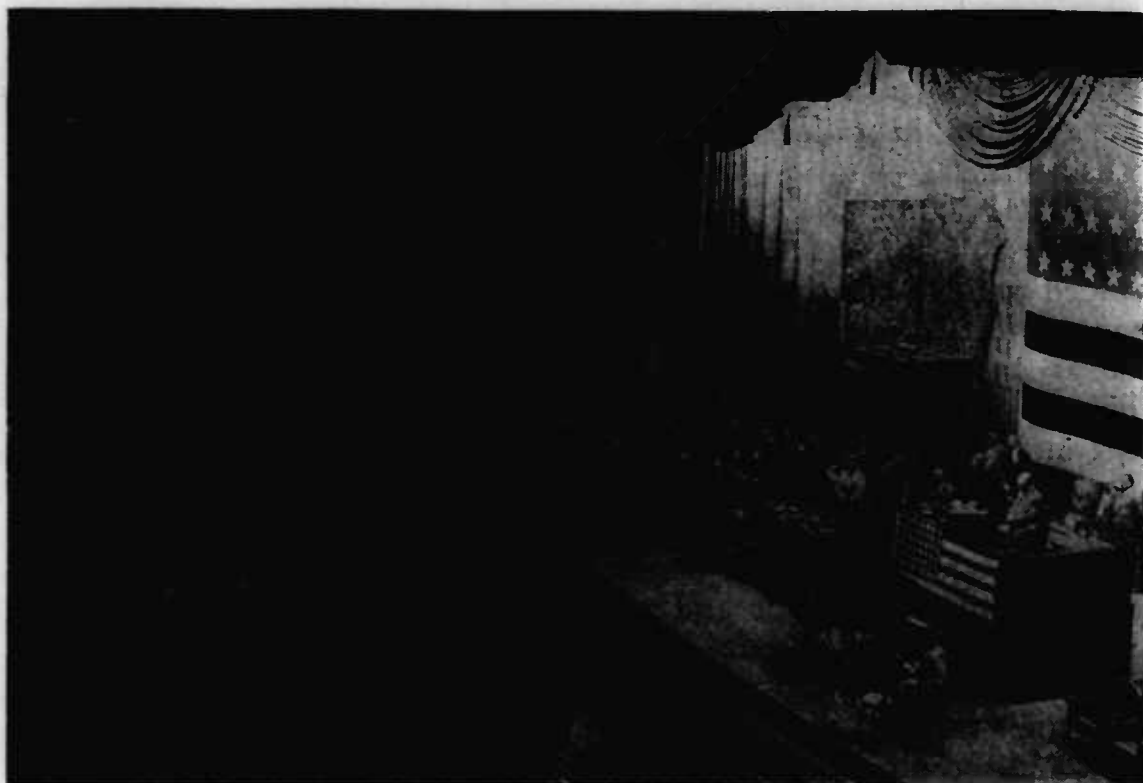
soon became an important member of a small group of progressive Senators ever awake to the need for curbing the political power of the special interests.

In 1912 Senator La Follette led an unsuccessful attempt of the Progressives to win the Republican presidential nomination away from the conservatives. Twelve years later he left the Republicans and ran for the Presidency as a Progressive. Although he got the largest vote ever received by a third-party candidate, he was defeated. Broken in health by the campaign, "Fighting Bob" died the following summer. For 44 years he battled against powerful enemies "to aid in bringing government back to the people."

**La Follette wins Wisconsin to his ideas.** How did La Follette win his state to his reforms? How did he build up a following so loyal that after his death Wisconsin sent one son to the United States Senate and another to the governor's chair? Hard, endless work—that is largely the answer. In this he had the full support of a very able wife. The name of "Fighting Bob" explains the rest. Several times he was close to a breakdown because of his long hours of work.

Without money, newspaper support, or the use of the spoils system, La Follette developed three methods of winning friends and votes. First, he was in direct and continuous touch with the voters. He did this by endless letter-writing, circulation of many pamphlets and speeches, and by personal appearances.





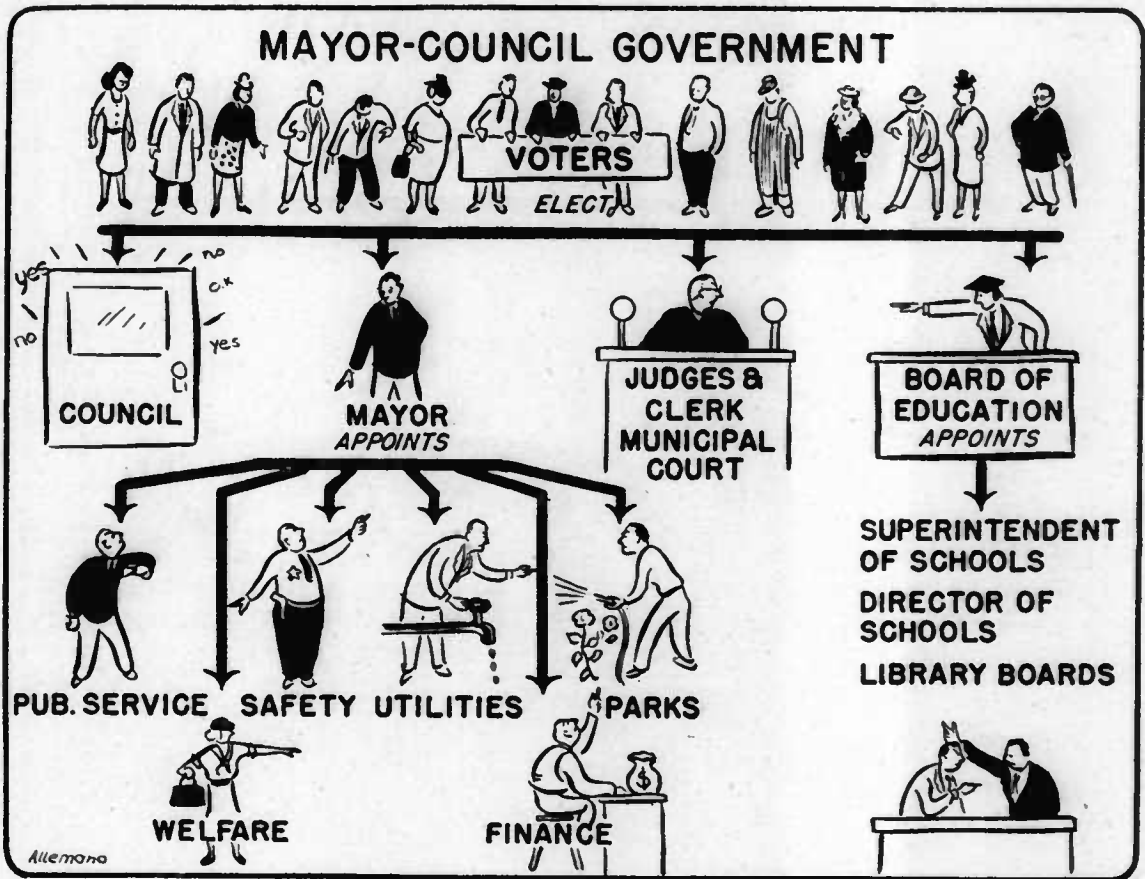
**The Progressive convention** of 1924 opens with prayer. This convention named Senator La Follette its presidential candidate. The large picture of the candidate stands on the platform below and to the left of the pictures of Washington and Lincoln. Newspaper men are in the enclosure in front. Only part of the first row of delegates shows. (Brown Brothers)

He was a tireless speaker and campaigner. He reached as many voters as possible during and between campaigns. In one campaign he spoke for 48 days in succession except on Sundays. He averaged over eight hours a day speaking. During this time he took only one meal a day at the table. His lunch consisted of a bottle of milk and a cheese sandwich of two crusts of buttered bread. His supper was the same. The bosses could not keep up with such a campaigner.

Second, he used the "roll call." This was a "let's-look-at-the-record" method. In his speaking trips, he would explain to the farmers why a certain reform was desirable. Then he would point out that the legisla-

ture was holding up the reform. Finally, he would read the record of how the representative from the district in which he was speaking had voted on important measures. By this method, "I cleaned up the legislature," said "Fighting Bob." To La Follette, there was nothing more effective in the long run than cold facts. He made good use of statistics to prove that railroad rates in nearby states were much lower than in Wisconsin.

Third, he used his messages to the legislature as propaganda for good government. He delivered his messages in person. As a result, more publicity was given them than if a clerk had mumbled them. As governor he vetoed half-way measures.



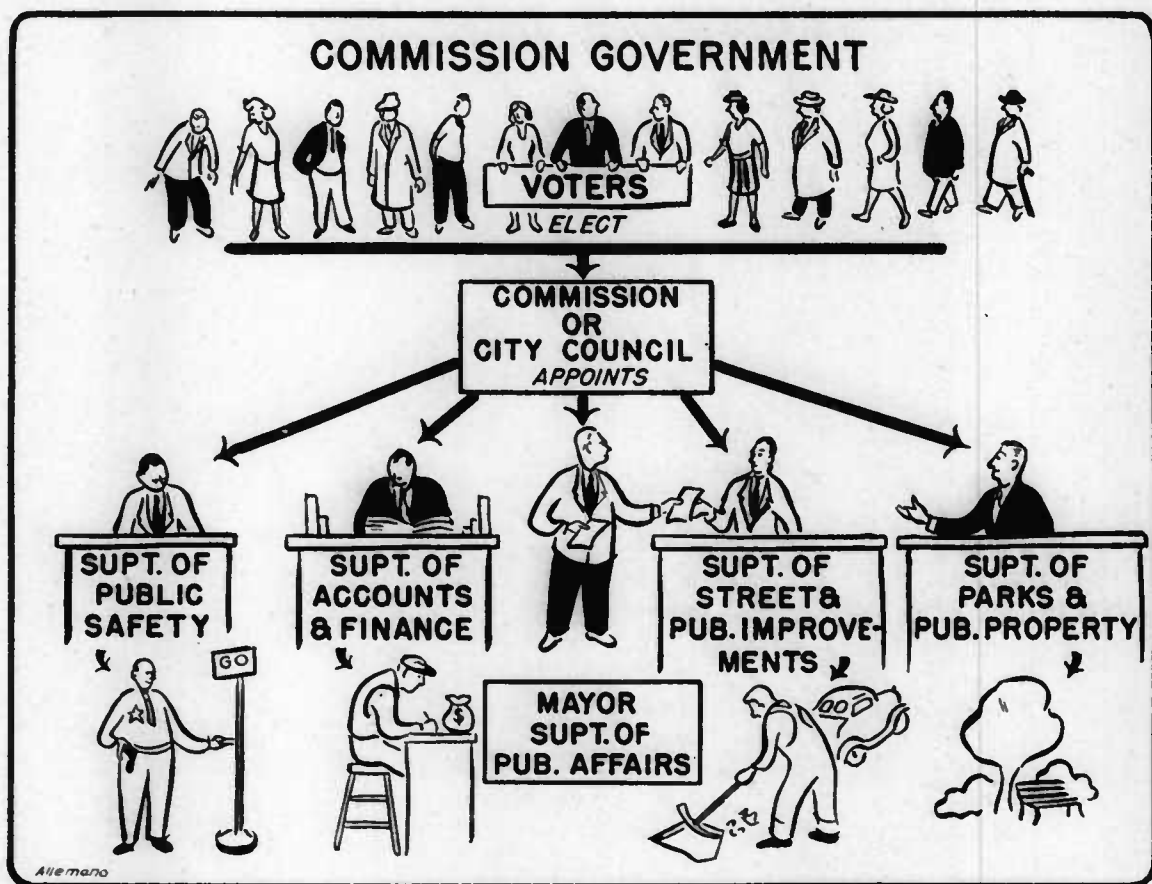
Then he explained to the people why he did it. Thus by bringing public pressure on the legislators, he would finally turn defeat into victory. Also every such occasion gave La Follette a chance further to show up machine politics.

By his methods and his program, "Fighting Bob" hoped to "reclaim and preserve for our children, not only the form but the spirit of our free institutions. And in our children must we rest our hope for the ultimate [final] democracy." La Follette, it is clear, was both a practical man and an idealist—a man with his feet on the ground but his head in the clouds. Whether it was La Follette's "Wisconsin Idea" or U'Ren's "Oregon System," the West led in the struggle for greater democracy.

### *The Cities Experiment with New Forms of Government*

A tidal wave forces Galveston to try a new form of city government. Just as the cry for reform arose in the states, so it was heard sooner or later in the cities. The existence of widespread dishonesty in city government was described in Chapter 24. At the bottom of much of the corruption in our city governments was the old-fashioned *mayor-council* type of government. As the chart shows (see above), the government consisted of three departments. There were the mayor, the council or law-making body, and the courts. In some cities the council had two houses.

Under such a system there was so

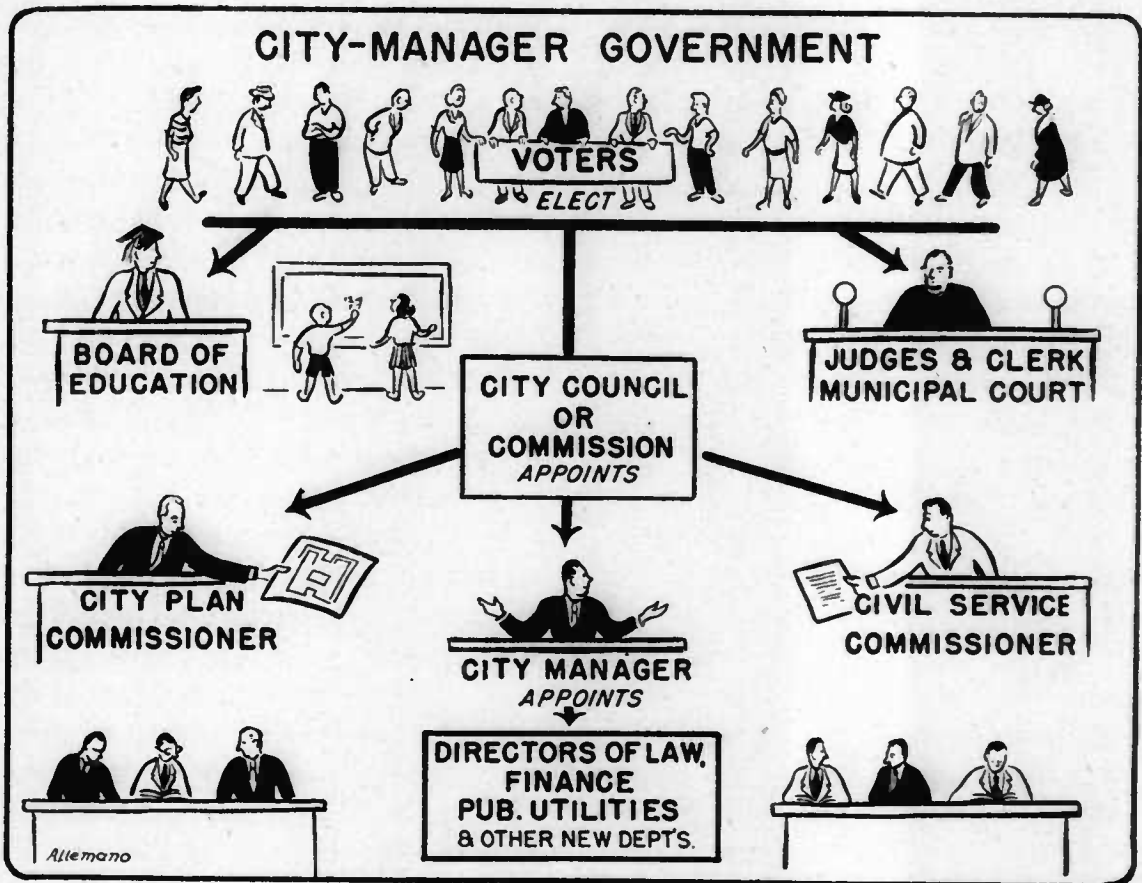


much division of authority that it was difficult to place responsibility. Even honest city officials found that there were too many bosses. In a small city of 26,000, for example, the head of the water department had to please 20 bosses: the mayor, the city councilors, and the water board members. While here and there "reform" mayors were able to operate the mayor-council government efficiently, in general it was not satisfactory.

A disaster in Galveston, Texas, created a substitute for the old mayor-council type of government. One night in 1900 that city was visited by a terrible storm and tidal wave. About one-third of the property and one-sixth of the population were lost. The old city government

was unable to handle the emergency. Five business men stepped in and took over the business of government until matters could be straightened out. So well did this "commission," as it was called, do its job that in the following year it officially replaced the old government.

A study of the chart of commission government on this page will make clear what *commission* government means. It is much simpler than the mayor-council type. (1) Usually there are five commissioners who are nominated and elected by the voters. These commissioners have two duties. Meeting together they make the laws. As individuals each heads a department such as public safety. One—the mayor—is



also expected to get the other commissioners to work together closely. The mayor as first commissioner also presides at public ceremonies. The commissioners' duties combine, therefore, legislative and executive affairs.

(2) The school board and city judges are not a part of the commission. But, like the commissioners, they are elected by the voters. (3) The voters control the commission, schools, and courts through the ballot which can include the initiative, referendum, and recall.

The chief advantage of commission government is its simplicity. If anything goes wrong with the city government, one of five men is responsible. He or all can be called to account. Disgust with the old

form of government led to the use of the commission form elsewhere. Today it is used in over 300 cities, with New Orleans the largest city in the group.

Some communities introduce the city manager as an expert in government. Use of commission government showed, however, that it had at least two weaknesses. First, the commissioners did not always cooperate so closely as was possible or desirable. Second, they were quite likely to be business or professional men. Frequently, they divided their time between their businesses and their commissioners' duties. Rarely were they experts in government.

To take care of these weaknesses, the city-manager form of govern-

ment was tried in several small cities. But again a disaster seemed necessary to introduce it in a large city. A bad flood in Dayton, Ohio, brought city-manager government to that city in 1914.

The *city-manager* form of government, as the chart shows (see page 449), is a slightly changed commission form plus an expert. (1) The commissioners make what laws are necessary. They also select and supervise the city manager. In other words, the commissioners no longer have charge of departments. (2) The city manager is an expert who is supposed to manage the city. That is, he is a non-political official whose success depends upon his ability to give the citizens the best kind of services at the lowest possible cost.

As an expert the manager is similar to a superintendent of schools or the manager of a large industrial plant. If the city manager is not efficient or for any reason is unsatisfactory, it is up to the commissioners to find a better one. If they fail to do so, the voters can vote other commissioners into office. Although city managers do not always avoid politics, city-manager government has proved popular. One of the outstanding examples of city-manager government is Cincinnati, Ohio. This form of government has spread rapidly. Today it is used in about 600 cities.

At the beginning of the Great Depression, Dover, Delaware adopted city-manager government. In the 1940's when this community of 5,500 people noted the fourteenth birthday of the new government, it pointed with pride to the benefits

enjoyed. During the period the city spent one and one-quarter millions on public improvements without borrowing a dollar. Moreover, taxes, which had paid for these improvements, had been reduced. In addition, some money borrowed by the old government had been paid back. Although the city-owned water and light plants had cut rates in half, they still operated at a profit. Finally, paved streets were doubled under city management.

Today most people would agree that our states and cities are better governed than in the early 1900's. Certainly the people have a larger share in their governments. As a result of this greater democracy, the states and cities have been more willing to try new ideas. They are, indeed, the political laboratories of our democracy.

### *Summary of the Unit . . . .*

In this unit—"American Democracy Marches On to Aid the Common Man"—we have followed the story of American politics in action. Viewing both the good and the bad, we have seen that:

1. The Republican party which came into power with Lincoln arose out of idealism but quickly slumped for a time into the revenge of the reconstruction period. From this developed the solid Democratic South.

2. The two-party system has seemed to favor the Republicans since the War Between the States, for they have held the Presidency most of the years since Lincoln's time.



3. Our political history has had its black pages of corruption growing out of the spoils system, the political machine, and the wedding of big business and politics. From the latter rose the power of the special interests. From the evils of the spoils system came the merit system (1883).

4. When a party became corrupt or careless in office, it was sooner or later replaced by the "Outs." Occasionally the times called for new or third parties.

5. When corruption raised its ugly head too high, a demand for reform was heard that could not be ignored. Such was the case about 1900 when the muckrakers pointed out the evil practices of big business and politics.

6. There followed in quick order

Theodore Roosevelt's Square Deal (1901-09) and Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom (1913-21). Then in 20 years (1913-33) came four amendments to the Constitution, which increased democracy. Chief among them was the Susan B. Anthony amendment giving women suffrage (1920).

7. In the states, beginning about 1900, four new democratic tools were invented and put to use: the direct primary, initiative, referendum, and recall. The leading reformer of state governments was "Fighting Bob" La Follette of Wisconsin.

8. In the cities, the commission and city-manager forms of government increased the common man's democratic power. Better government also resulted.

### WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

Giving examples, show how each of the following terms is necessary to an understanding of our history or government.

- |                      |                          |                             |
|----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Australian ballot | 4. referendum            | 7. mayor-council government |
| 2. direct primary    | 5. recall                | 8. city-manager government  |
| 3. initiative        | 6. commission government |                             |

### WHY IS THIS A RED-LETTER YEAR?

1900: Why should this date be singled out to mark a milestone in the improvement of city government? If this date is used as an approximate date, what political events might be tied to it?

### CAN YOU FIND THE ANSWERS TO THESE?

1. Why do we think of voting as one of the most important democratic rights? Why should we also think of voting as one of the most important responsibilities?
2. What were the four new tools which the tool makers of democracy invented, and how do they work?
3. How successfully and wisely have the voters used the new tools?
4. What discouraging experiences did "Fighting Bob" La Follette have in his struggles to free Wisconsin from the control of the political machine?
5. What methods did La Follette use to win his state to his reform program?

6. Why has the mayor-council type of city government lost favor in this country?
7. Using the chart in this chapter, explain the chief features of the commission form of government. How does it differ from the mayor-council type?
8. How does the city-manager form of city government differ from the commission type?
9. Why is the city-manager form more widely used than the commission type?
10. *Summary Question:* A laboratory is a workshop in which new ideas are tried out. If found good, the public is given an opportunity to use the idea or device. What new democratic ideas were developed in our city and state laboratories in the early 1900's?

### Activities for Unit Eight

#### CAN YOU MAKE IT?

1. *Letter.* As a citizen of Illinois in 1860 write a letter to your cousin in Pennsylvania, explaining why you think that Lincoln and the Republican party should be supported. Try to catch the seriousness of the election as well as the political excitement of the times.
2. *Chart.* Place an enlarged drawing of the chart—How a Party Organizes—on page 398 on the blackboard. Be prepared to explain it to the class and to answer questions that may be asked.
3. *Illustrated Chart.* Prepare an illustrated chart showing provisions of (a) the War Amendments (XIII, XIV, and XV), and (b) the amendments increasing democracy (XVI, XVII, XIX, and XX).
4. *Cartoon.* Draw a cartoon which illustrates how the merit system was an improvement over the spoils system.
5. *Newspaper Article.* As a newspaper reporter sent to "cover" one of La Follette's campaigns for the governorship of Wisconsin, write an article for your paper in the East. It should tell about the opposition to "Fighting Bob," what he stands for, how he campaigns, and what you think the result of the election will be.

#### I TEST MY SKILLS

6. *Making and Using an Election Map.* On an outline map of the United States, show the results of the last presidential election by states. Put Republican states in one color and Democratic states in another color. For the results by states, see "Electoral Votes for President" in the index of the *World Almanac*. When the map is completed, use it by answering these questions: (a) Where in general are the Republican states? (b) Where in general are the Democratic states? (c) Why do you suppose that in general the vote came out as it did? (d) How does your map compare with the one on page 404 of this book? (e) After making this comparison, what conclusions do you reach?
7. *Interview and Report.* Let one pupil arrange by appointment to interview an official of one of the local government departments: police, fire, library,

or school. The chief purpose of this interview is to learn the requirements for obtaining a position in the department. Prepare your questions in advance. Be brief and businesslike in the interview. Make careful notes of the information received. You will want to know to what extent the merit system is used. Are veterans given preference? You will ask more intelligent questions if you know the facts about the Civil Service Reform Act. When the interview is over, thank the official for his kindness.

Organize your information in good order for your oral report to the class. Use what notes are necessary, but do not read a report. If any printed information was given you, study it well. If any statistics are to be used, put them on the blackboard before you make the report. If any illustrative material is available, use it at the proper time. Be prepared to answer questions that may be asked.

## WE WORK IN GROUPS

8. *Round Table Discussion.* This unit has presented the chief democratic gains since Lincoln's time. The democratic problems of the nation, state, and city have been discussed. Let five persons conduct a Round Table discussion on the subject: "Our Democratic Progress." Under the direction of a chairman and the planning of the group, additional reading should be done on these topics: (a) political machines and bosses, (b) pressure groups and lobbyists, (c) democratic changes in the Constitution, and (d) reforms in national, state, and city governments.

Under the guidance of the chairman, who will be responsible for the smooth conduct of the discussion, each of the other four members will present one of the above topics. When the reports are made, the Round Table members will ask questions aimed at emphasizing important points. Or, if you have a good reason, question a member's position. Avoid, however, merely tripping up a friend. One purpose of this discussion is to exchange ideas. At the end the chairman will summarize the discussion and make some conclusions on the general subject. In addition to the text these readings will be helpful: H. Rugg, *America's March Toward Democracy*, chaps. xviii, xix, xxi; H. Rugg, *Citizenship and Civic Affairs*, chaps. ix and xii; *Building America*: V, "Politics"; IV, "Women"; H. Hanford and others, *State Government*, chap. ii; H. J. Akers, *City Government*, chaps. iii and iv.

## WE THINK FOR OURSELVES

9. *Democracy in Community, School, and Club.* The theme of this unit is the march of democracy. Having started democratic government in colonial days, our problem since has been to get more of it for more people. In this exercise you are asked to think about democracy in your community, your school, and your club. For each prepare a good list of these two things: Democratic Privileges Now Enjoyed; Desirable Additional Democratic Privileges. Then for each—community, school, and club—prepare a list entitled: My Responsibilities To. You will find these readings useful: H. G. Hix and others, *Towards a Better World*, chap. vii, "Applying Democracy in the Classroom"; L. Bryson and K. Smith, *Working for Democracy*, 127-62, 199-210, 213-28.

## WE TURN TO OTHER BOOKS

10. *To Get More Information.*

RUGG, HAROLD, *America's March Toward Democracy*. Unit VII is "The Struggle Over Government in the Age of Big Business, 1865-1914."

RUGG, HAROLD, *Citizenship and Civic Affairs*. Community government, political parties, government at work, and public opinion are topics discussed.

FLOHERTY, J. J., *Inside the F.B.I.* Here is a lively account of the activities of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, showing again that crime does not pay.

HANFORD, HELEN, AND OTHERS, *State Government*. A description of the organization of state governments, and how a state serves its citizens.

AKERS, H. J., *City Government*. A brief account of kinds of local government, with emphasis upon how a typical city government works.

PAULMIER, HILAH, AND SCHAUFFLER, R. H. (eds.), *Democracy Days*. A collection of the best prose and verse on democracy, tolerance and liberty.

11. *To Find Out Who's Who.*

MORGAN, JAMES, *Our Presidents*. Contains brief biographies of Lincoln, Cleveland, McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson.

BOLTON, S. K., *Lives of Girls Who Became Famous*. The activities of woman suffrage leaders—Susan B. Anthony, Anna H. Shaw, and Lucretia Mott—are briefly described.

HARLOW, A. F., *Theodore Roosevelt, Strenuous American*. Story of a frail boy who later became a powerful force in national and international affairs.

SHAW, A. H., *The Story of a Pioneer*. The author's connection with woman suffrage and the growth of the struggle are well described.

STEFFENS, LINCOLN, *Boy on Horseback*. Lennie Steffens' boyhood days in California of the 1870's is a true story well worth reading.

12. *To Read a Historical Story.*

CAUDILL, REBECCA, *Barrie and Daughter*. There is political feuding in this story of loyal Democrats in the Kentucky mountains more than 50 years ago.

HOWARD, ELIZABETH, *Sabina*. Pioneer Michigan of the 1840's is the setting for a story in which the position of "Females" of that day is stressed.

13. *To Look at the Past in Pictures.*

*Pageant of America*: IX, 44-75, 111-28, 130-46, 171-96, 210-14, 216-22, 239-44, 246-67, 269-84, pictorial history of the South after the war, civil service reform, the years of Cleveland and McKinley, reform under Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson.

ROGERS, AGNES, *Abraham Lincoln*. An excellent biography in pictures. *Building America*: IV, "Women"; V, "Politics."

JOHNSON, G. W., *Woodrow Wilson*. Pages 27-132—a pictorial biography.

## WE SUMMARIZE THE UNIT

14. *Time Ladder*. Make a time line in the form of a ladder which will show progress in our democratic life since 1860. Select your events from those listed under "Why Are These Red-Letter Years?" in each chapter of the unit.
15. *Illustrated Booklet*. Prepare a short illustrated booklet with original ideas, entitled "Democracy Marches On." In it show the different ways democracy has marched on since 1860 to aid the common people.
16. *Voices of History*. Selecting five people discussed in this unit, find an important statement made by each about our democratic way of life. Copy these carefully, noting where you found them. Add your own comment for each. These books will help you: R. Lawson, *Watchwords of Liberty*; H. D. Fish, *Pegs of History*; H. Paulmier and R. H. Schaffler (eds.), *Democracy Days*.
17. *Map of Presidents*. On an outline map of the United States show in what states our Presidents were born. Print the presidential names on the states. Then use a color scheme, such as red for a state with one President, blue for a state with two, and so on, to show which states can claim to be the birthplace of one or more Presidents. For information see "Presidents of the United States" in the *World Almanac*.

## DO WE UNDERSTAND THE IDEAS OF THE UNIT?

18. *Which Way Democracy?* Does democracy move forward or backward by these: Amendment XIII, Amendment XIV, Amendment XIX, the Solid South, the spoils system, the Tweed Ring, initiative, city-manager government, activities of pressure groups? Be ready to state your reasons.
19. *Playlet*. Prepare a short skit entitled "Votes for Women."
20. *My Community Scrapbook*. Make a scrapbook of this title. Include (a) a simple chart of your city's government, (b) names of chief officials by departments, (c) a table of government expenses for the past year, (d) a map of the community, if possible, and (e) a short historical sketch.
21. *Democratic Terms*. Can you explain the meaning of each of these terms with examples: political platform, Solid South, political machine, special interests, merit system, pressure groups, muckrakers, direct primary, referendum, commission government?
22. *Uncle Sam Ponders*. In the unit drawing, pages 394-95, Uncle Sam is seated on a platform labeled "We, the People." He is stroking his beard as he surveys the scene of the great American Democracy. What, in your opinion, is he thinking?





## Unit Nine

### *As the World Grows Smaller, the United States Realizes Its Duties as a Leader in World Affairs*

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27. We Find Ourselves the Center of a World Slowly Growing Smaller
  28. The United States and Its Neighbors Slowly Reach a Better Understanding
  29. Events Force Us to Take an Increasing Interest in the Far East
  30. Step by Step We Begin to Take Our Place in the Affairs of the World
- 

The United States entered the family of nations as a tiny and weak member. Many doubted that we would survive the family quarrels. Our government early established a Department of State to deal with foreign affairs.

Our official foreign policies have followed three great paths, each of which has had many side roads and byways. The first great path led to Europe. The second went to our various American neighbors. The third found its way to the Far East.

It is true that we became involved in world troubles, but for the most part we have tried to follow the signposts that pointed to: "Peace, commerce, and honest friendship." Our earlier government officials also tried to follow the signposts saying: "Keep out of the political affairs of others." In recent years our statesmen have looked more and more up the road marked: "International co-operation and good will."





## Chapter 27. *We Find Ourselves the Center of a World Slowly Growing Smaller . . . .*

*Benjamin Franklin's apartments outside of Paris were astir with the coming excitement of the day. Louis XVI was at last to give full recognition to the Yankees across the sea. Franklin was lighthearted and gay as he made last minute preparations to visit the king.*

*He carefully combed his thin white locks and gave a last glance at his rich suit of dark brown velvet and his silver-buckle shoes. Taking his fur cap that was the talk of Paris, he left his apartment and joined his fellow delegates for the court. The son of a candlemaker was going to visit the king of France.*

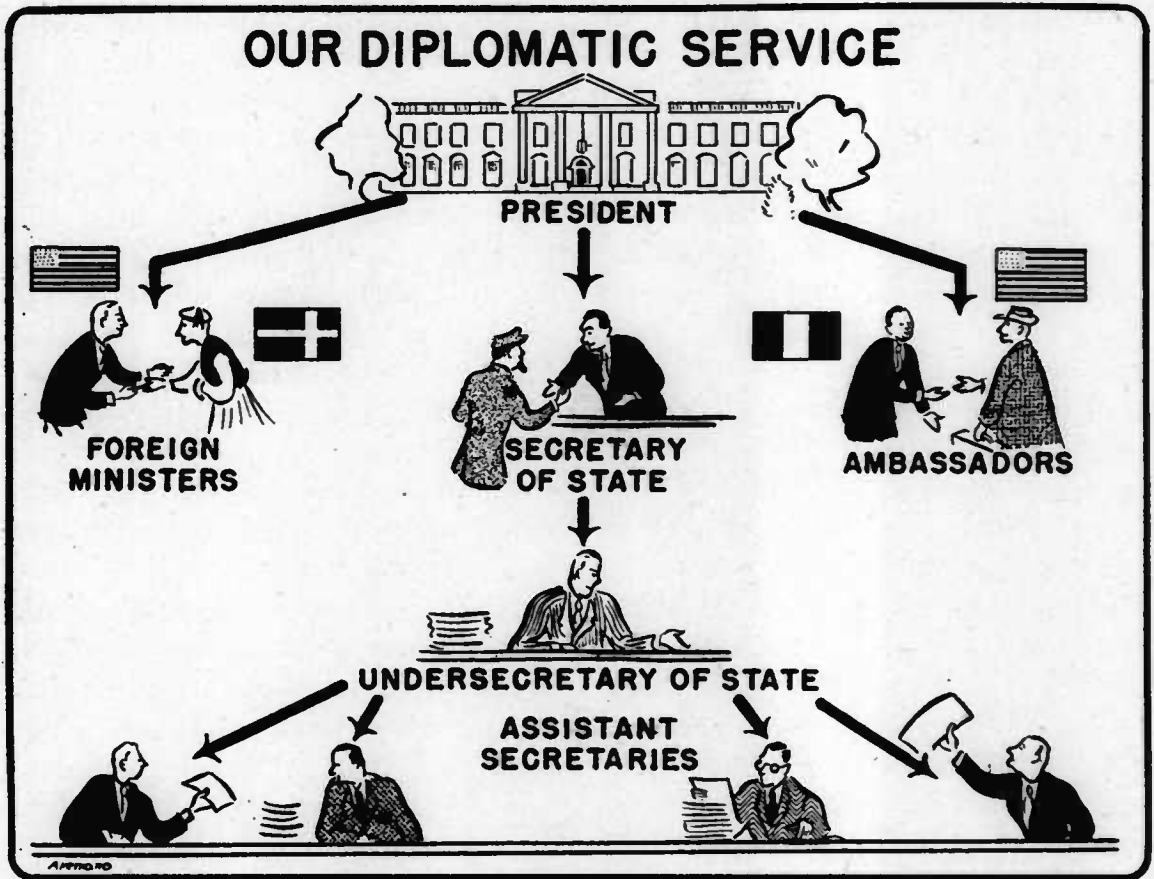
*The crowds had heard the news. They lined the alleys and courtyards to get a glimpse of the famous Dr. Franklin, author of Poor Richard's Almanac and diplomat from Philadelphia. The delegates called on Foreign Minister Vergennes who immediately led them up the great royal stairway. The huge doors of the king's apartments swung open slowly. The major of the Swiss Guards stepped forth and in a clear deep voice announced:*

*"THE AMBASSADORS OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED PROVINCES."*

*Franklin almost wept. The aged diplomat leaned on Vergennes and another Yankee delegate. They slowly moved toward the king through a crowd of bishops, nobles, diplomats, professors, and judges. Ladies rose in their honor. Finally they reached the king. Louis greeted them easily and pleasantly, yet simply. Taking Franklin's hand, he addressed the delegates: "Gentlemen, I wish that you would assure Congress of my friendship."*

*The youngest republic in the world had opened formal relations with the oldest and most important kingdom in Europe. Franklin was pleased. He could soon make the long journey back home.*





*Our Foreign Affairs Are Handled by a Secretary of State Who Is the Representative of the President . . . .*

Our Department of State deals with foreign affairs. America's first ambassador had won the hearts of the people of France. What was even more valuable, he won the support of her king. Dr. Franklin was a great ambassador. His name appears upon ten of the earliest treaties of our country. It was he who placed our foreign affairs upon a high level.

A nation cannot live unto itself alone. There are a thousand and one ways in which it must deal with foreign countries and peoples. The

President, by the Constitution [64], has charge of our foreign affairs. The nerve-center of our relations with other countries is the Department of State.

The Secretary of State, who heads this department, is appointed by the President and is responsible directly to him. It is the duty of the Secretary to keep the President informed of our relations with other countries. He receives foreign representatives, extending to them the best wishes of our country. He also arranges conferences and treaties between the United States and other nations. To carry on this work the Secretary has a large staff of assistants (see chart, above). The Secretary of State is the key person who works with the Presi-

dent to determine our actions toward other nations.

The field work of this department is in the hands of ambassadors, ministers, and other foreign service officials who represent the United States in foreign lands. These officials have many duties. They create good will and common understanding for the United States. They promote and protect the interests of our citizens. They gather valuable information on laws, business conditions and politics that would be of interest to our government. They help draft treaties and agreements with the countries to which they have been assigned. Their offices are always open to American citizens for help and direction while traveling abroad. Regular reports are sent to Washington where specialists decode secret messages and clerks read carefully the ordinary reports.

It is through these channels that the Secretary of State is able to give the President up-to-the-minute advice on important events in the world. With this advice the President, through the Secretary of State, conducts our foreign affairs.

**The making of a treaty between nations is a long and difficult task.** At times it appears that war is the chief method of settling disputes between nations. Actually, most disputes and troubles between nations are settled by a *treaty*. A treaty is a written agreement between nations. The United States has taken part in nearly 1,000 such agreements as a means of regulating our affairs with foreign countries.

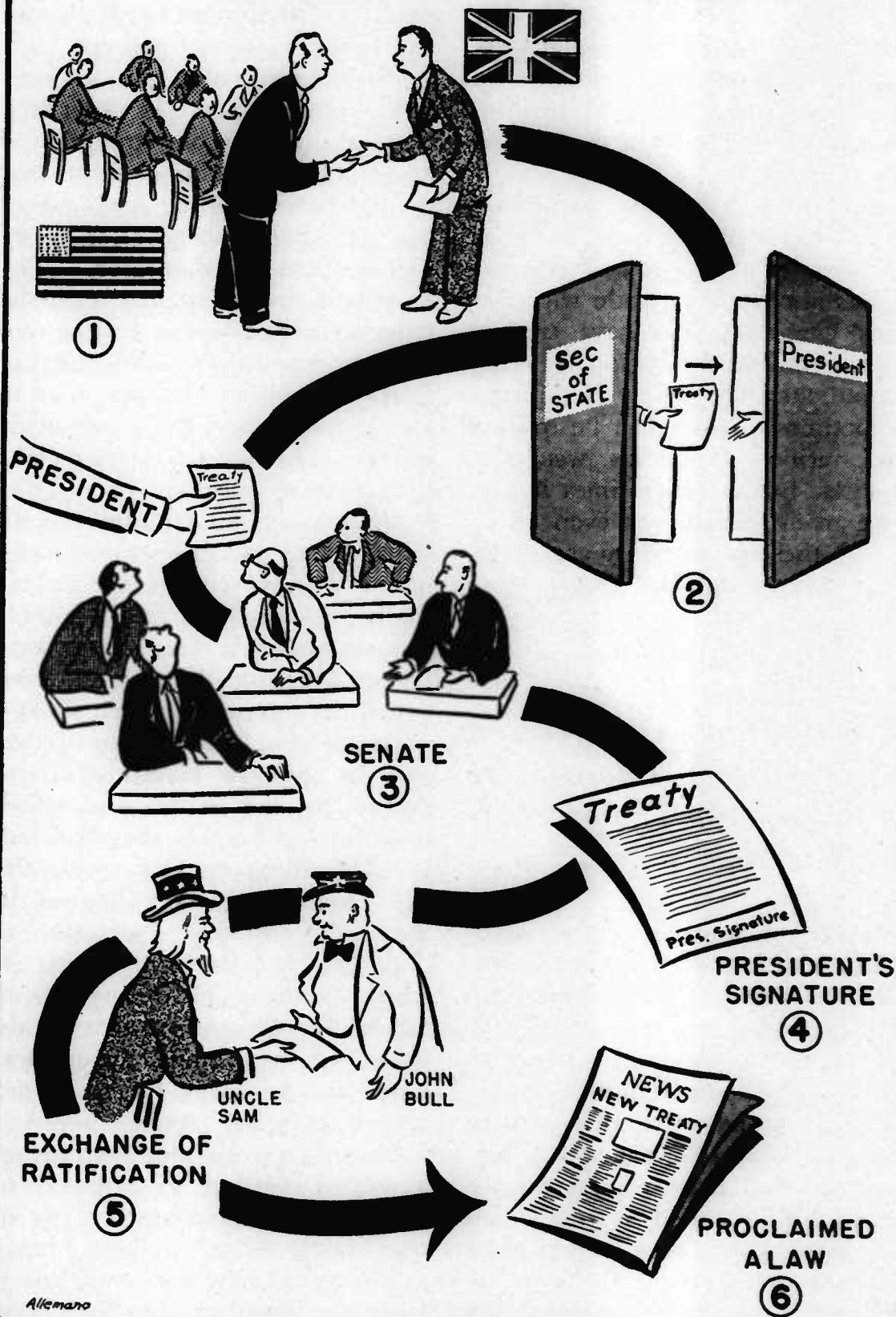
The necessary steps for the completion of a treaty can be shown by the arrangements made between the United States and Great Britain in 1932 for the return of escaped criminals (see chart, page 463). First, the President appointed our ambassador to Great Britain to act as our representative, while the King of England chose as his agent the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The two men met and *exchanged credentials*. These showed that each was given power by his government to act in this matter.

Next, the two men with a small staff of assistants started work. They investigated earlier treaties that dealt with escaped criminals. They wanted to make sure not to violate other treaties that each country had signed. They listed the types of crime and the conditions under which escaped criminals would be returned. They listed the British and American possessions to which the treaty would apply. Finally, the proposed treaty was signed by the two men and stamped with the official seals of the two governments.

The third step was to get this proposed treaty *ratified*, that is, it must be approved by each government. This is an important step, especially in the United States. All treaties must be approved by both the President and the Senate, the latter by a two-thirds vote. More than once our Senate has refused to ratify a treaty, blocking its acceptance. This time the Senate, after some debate, approved. The President then signed the treaty. The British government also ratified the treaty.

The final step was the *exchange*

# THE MAKING OF A TREATY



of ratifications in London. At a simple ceremony the delegates of each government notified each other that their governments had officially approved the treaty. Back in America the President issued a proclamation that made the treaty a part of the law of the land.

It is through a similar procedure that treaties of peace are made at the close of a war, or that arrangements are made to trade with foreign countries. We have treaties with almost every nation covering an unbelievable variety of subjects. Sometimes a treaty can be drafted and ratified in a few weeks or months, but at other times it may take many months or even years. All of these proceedings are under the direction of the Secretary of State.

### *Washington and Jefferson Believe that Our Interests Are Different from Those of Far-away Europe . . . . .*

Washington warns us against meddling in the affairs of Europe. When George Washington stepped into the Presidency he was faced with important problems in foreign affairs. The infant Republic of the United States was bounded on three sides by colonies of European powers who had little respect for us. Then, too, we had a treaty with France by which we agreed to go to her aid in the event she were attacked. This treaty, drafted by Franklin, enabled us to gain help

to win our independence. We also had to make arrangements to open again our trade with Great Britain and other European powers.

Washington's aim was to keep our country at peace in order that we might develop our strength and grow. The event most disturbing to that peace was the outbreak of war in Europe shortly after Washington was inaugurated. The French Revolution had changed from a struggle within France to a struggle against England and her European allies. The key men in our government had to decide quickly whether we should take part in these wars.

Opinion in our country was divided. Many citizens wanted to ignore our treaty with France and actually aid England, while others wanted to help France. A decision had to be made. Washington consulted his cabinet in which sat two great advisers, Hamilton and Jefferson. In spite of Hamilton's sympathies for the British and Jefferson's for the French, they both advised Washington to stay out of the war. Accordingly, Washington issued a *Neutrality Proclamation*. This was a statement saying it would be unlawful for any American or for the government to aid either side in the war. Europe was much too far away for us to get mixed up in her affairs.

Washington also sent John Jay on a special mission to England to reach an agreement on the right of our vessels to trade with France and to get the British to withdraw from the forts in the Northwest Territory. Jay's treaty was not satis



factory, but for the time being it prevented war.

As a result of his experiences in dealing with European nations, Washington, in his Farewell Address, advised us to trade as much as possible with foreign nations. But, he warned that we should not get tangled up in the political affairs of Europe. He said that our interests were different from those of faraway Europe and that we should stay out of her quarrels.

The advice of Washington in his Neutrality Proclamation and in his Farewell Address became a cornerstone in our foreign policy. Its important feature was: The United States should stay out of European politics and alliances.

**Jefferson and Madison try but fail to keep us out of a great European war.** Wars in Europe continued to play a leading part in our foreign affairs during the terms of the next three Presidents. England, a great sea power, was fighting a death struggle against Napoleon's powerful land armies. Each was trying to starve the other out. England established a blockade around western Europe to prevent the delivery of supplies and food by American ships to Napoleon's armies. Napoleon replied to this threat by closing the ports of Europe to any ships carrying British goods. Both sides began to seize American vessels that were on the way to an enemy port.

The trouble came to a head during Jefferson's second term when another problem arose. The British began to search American vessels for deserters. In fact many British

sailors did leave their ships for the higher pay of American merchant vessels. However, the British took not only their own sailors, but American sailors as well. Time and again Jefferson made protests, but with no success.

Jefferson did not wish to involve us in a European struggle, yet he wanted our shipping to be respected. He asked Congress to pass a series of embargo acts which forbade American ships to carry goods to European ports. Jefferson thought that France and England would be desperate for supplies and would agree to stop seizing our ships. Jefferson was mistaken.

The embargo did hit the British and French hard, but it hit the Americans even harder. Ships that had been making prosperous voyages were suddenly forced to remain idle in port. While ships rotted at docks, goods spoiled on the farms and in the warehouses. Farmers, merchants, and shipowners showered Congressmen with letters protesting the embargo. The laws were soon withdrawn.

Madison followed Jefferson as President and continued to try further peaceable means of settling the disputes. Congress passed a law that again opened trade with both France and England. It also stated that if one of the two powers agreed to treat our shipping fairly we would remain friendly to that power and stop shipping goods to the other. Napoleon immediately promised to respect our rights. Madison thought that he had won France to our side.

Madison then announced that we



would not trade with England unless she repealed her laws against our shipping. The English people were alarmed. They forced Parliament to back down and agree to stop seizing our ships. Unfortunately, Congress did not know this. Just two days earlier it had voted to declare war against England. All of Jefferson's and Madison's efforts to keep us out of a European war had failed.

**Our hopes of staying out of European conflicts fade in the War of 1812.** It would be a mistake, however, to believe that the declaration of war against England was wholly due to troubles over shipping and the seizure of sailors. This is proved by the fact that the Congressmen from the seaboard districts voted against the war. What were the other reasons?

For one thing, the people of the West turned the balance toward war. The westward movement pushed the Indians from their lands along the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. Naturally they objected and resisted. The frontiersmen thought that the Indian uprisings were due to the efforts of the British whom they accused of furnishing Indians with arms. Westerners also objected to the earlier embargo acts and the interference with American trade by the British navy. These actions closed foreign markets to western agricultural goods. Prices fell, causing a depression in the West.

In the election of 1810 several Congressmen who had followed Jefferson's efforts to keep peace were defeated. Among the many

new faces in Congress appeared a strong group from the new western states known as "War Hawks." It was the leadership of this group that rallied Congress to take stern measures against England.

We were ill-prepared to fight a war. We had only a small navy and almost no army. Calhoun's boast "that in four weeks time the whole of upper Canada and part of lower Canada will be in our power" was an empty threat.

We unsuccessfully tried to invade Canada at Detroit, Fort Niagara, and in the Lake Champlain region (see map, page 467). The next summer our troops invaded Ontario, engaging in a closely fought battle at Lundy's Lane. Other American forces crossed Lake Erie and burned the government buildings at York.

**British plans fail and we sign a treaty of peace.** It was on the sea that our earliest and greatest victories occurred. The *Constitution*, later dubbed "Old Ironsides," met and defeated the British ships *Guerrière* and *Java* in the autumn of 1812.

The following summer Oliver Hazard Perry, fighting on Lake Erie, was able to send this message: "We have met the enemy and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop." Our navy, aided by hundreds of privateers, captured a large number of British merchant and naval vessels. Even so, the British were too numerous and by the end of the war most of our ships were either destroyed or bottled up in port.

In the meantime the British, hav-



ing defeated Napoleon, turned their full attention to America. Yet their three drives into the Lake Champlain region, up the Mississippi Valley and into the Chesapeake Bay region all failed. The British caused the greatest damage when they invaded and burned the government buildings in Washington in revenge for York. They were soon halted at Fort McHenry in Baltimore. It was at this battle, while held a prisoner on a British ship, that Francis Scott Key penned the first verses of "The Star Spangled Banner." The British met their severest defeat at the hands of Andrew Jackson, hero of the West, who rallied his frontiersmen in a great stand at New Orleans. This turned out to be a needless battle. England and the United States had agreed upon peace two weeks before.

The treaty of peace, signed December, 1814, at Ghent, Belgium, was received in America weeks later with joy. "Bells pealed in church steeples; school children were released for a holiday; flags were hung out; and taverns were crowded with patriots drinking toasts to the triumph of a great cause." Yet, when the people soberly read the terms of peace not one of the issues for which they had fought was mentioned.

The treaty provided that fighting should cease and that the territories should remain as they were before the war started. "Not one inch of territory ceded or lost" as a slogan of the day described it. One important provision of the treaty provided that a special commission was

to be selected to determine the boundaries between our country and Canada.

### *The First World War Deals a Cruel Blow to Our Policy of Staying Out of Europe's Troubles . . . . .*

For nearly 100 years we follow the advice of Washington and Jefferson. Now that the War of 1812 was over, the people of the United States again decided to stay out of European affairs, a decision that was kept until after 1900. For nearly 100 years our government refused to sign agreements that might involve this country in the struggles of Europe. Two examples will show how we kept out of Old World affairs.

First, during Lincoln's time, only after considerable discussion did we send an observer to an international conference in Switzerland. This conference drafted new rules of war to permit better care of the wounded by the Red Cross. Although 20 nations accepted these rules within two years, the United States did not ratify them for 17 years. We were afraid acceptance might entangle our country in the affairs of Europe.

Again, when Cleveland was President, Germany called a conference of leading powers to discuss affairs in the Congo region of central Africa. The United States was invited to send delegates to help make arrangements to govern this "back-

ward" region. When the treaty was brought back to the United States, President Cleveland refused to send it to the Senate for approval. It would mean that this country would be taking part with European powers in joint control over land in Africa. Cleveland did not wish to take this step.

These two incidents should not be taken to mean that we had nothing to do with Europe. "Peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none," said Jefferson. We made treaties of friendship and commerce with most of the European powers. We exchanged ambassadors and ministers and maintained friendly relations with all Europe for many years.

Though we remained at peace with Europe, we continued to have many problems with certain European nations over American affairs. We had a long dispute with Great Britain over our boundary line with Canada. Two treaties silenced angry words and the matter was finally settled. Again, during the War Between the States a Confederate ship, the *Alabama*, sank many Union ships. Since this ship had been built by the British and sold to the Confederacy we entered claims against the British government for damages. The affair dragged on for ten years when the two governments agreed to select judges who listened to evidence from both countries. The judges awarded the United States \$15,500,000 which Great Britain paid.

The list of our dealings with European nations from 1815 to

1900 is long, but in none of them did we make an alliance. Nor did we become involved in any of the many European wars that broke out during this time. We did indeed follow the advice of Washington and Jefferson.

**As our interests abroad increase, we look at the world in a new way.** The passing of the years brought events that were to change the hermit-like attitude of the American people. By 1890 our frontier had disappeared and our lands were settled. Railroads and highways spanned the continent. Soon humming factories and tractors were producing more than simple tools and ploughing oxen had produced. Steamships were cutting down the time it took to carry the millions of dollars worth of goods across the mighty waters. Cables were laid and powerful presses turned out penny newspapers. America was growing up.

As America grew up she turned to new interests. The people of our nation turned from the old frontier on land to new frontiers in industry. Managers wanted new sources of raw materials to feed busy machines, while the factories needed new markets for surplus products. Many of these new markets were found in foreign lands as is shown by the increase of our foreign trade. While in the 50-year period after 1800 our foreign trade just about doubled, in the next 50-year period it increased seven times.

Men had money in their pockets too, and more in the bank. Bankers sought new places to loan this



money at a good rate of interest. Many found opportunities abroad in Latin America, in China, or in Japan. Even Europe welcomed surplus dollars to be spent there in building more factories and railroads. By 1911 two and one-half billion dollars of American money were invested in foreign lands. We now had a stake in the rest of the world.

That was not all. Americans began to travel. Some went to Europe for an education; others went to Asia and Africa as missionaries. Business men built sugar and banana plantations in Latin America. More and more our people were learning of other lands. Such journeys opened the eyes of our people to new opportunities and to new ideas.

Then, too, we learned something from others. The period from 1850 to 1914 was one in which the countries in Europe rivaled one another to see who could secure the most colonies in the undeveloped lands of Africa and Asia. Many in the United States asked, "Do not we too have a right to look beyond the seas?" This was the spirit which began in 1850 gradually to fill the American mind. We began to turn our attention to affairs abroad and wondered just how those affairs affected us.

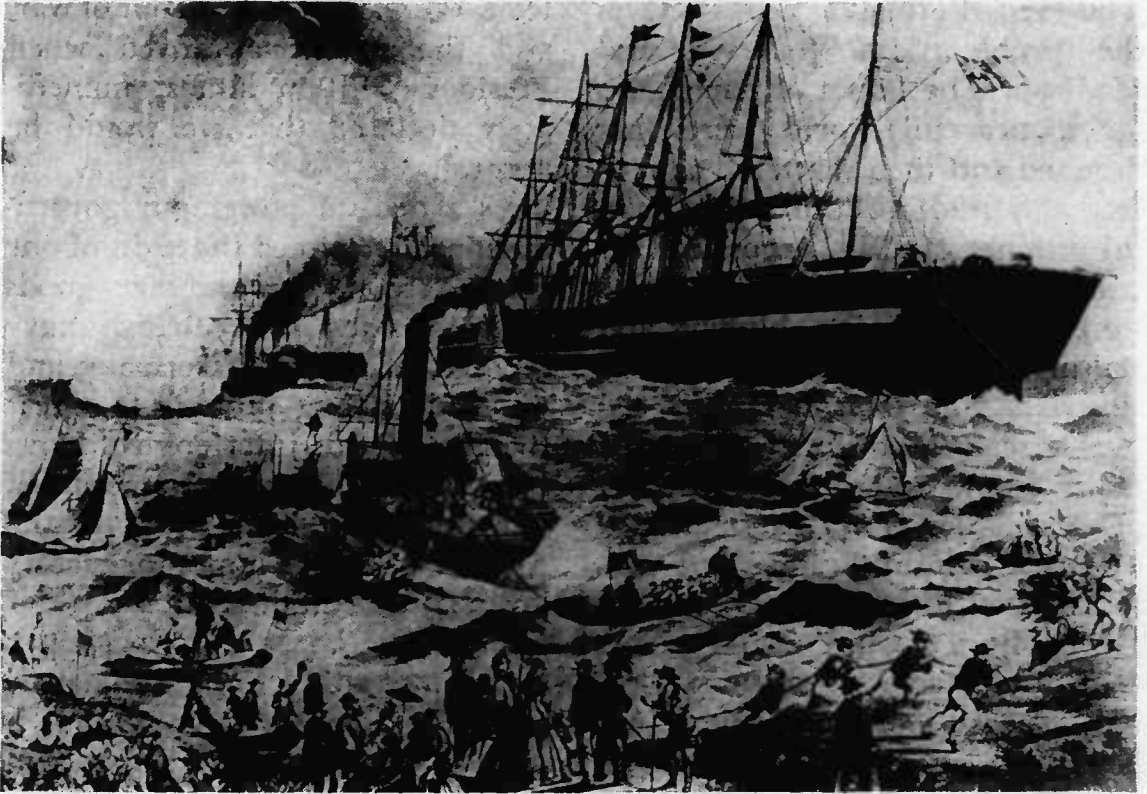
**Our government responds to the times and takes a greater part in world affairs.** Our government began to reflect the changed attitude of the American people during the era of international conferences that opened soon after our War Be-

tween the States. Between 1870 and 1914 more than 50 international conferences were held. The United States took part in more than 30 of these. We signed treaties that regulated weights and measures and arranged for the interchange of postal regulations with many nations.

We made treaties defining the rights of a naturalized citizen. A trans-Atlantic cable required treaties for its protection and use. We joined the Red Cross movement. Later we added treaties regulating the protection of copyrights and patents. Treaties on tariffs were followed by agreements on working conditions in mines and the use of women and children in factories.

From international dealings with the everyday affairs of trade, commerce, and decent human relations, it was but a step to political co-operation with other countries. At the turn of the present century we sent delegates to Europe to take part in two important conferences at The Hague, Netherlands. These conferences attempted to cut down the tools of war as well as armies and navies of the major powers. They also discussed and defined more clearly the rights of a neutral country in time of war. A Permanent Court of Arbitration was established. We showed our intentions to co-operate peaceably with other nations by signing in one year (1908) 25 *arbitration treaties*. Arbitration treaties provide that when nations are involved in a dispute they will refer the matter to expert judges rather than go to war. We had indeed begun to take





Laying the first trans-Atlantic cable, completed in the late 1850's. Other cables soon followed. Today the Americas are tied to all the other continents by cables, helping to bring the world closer together. The cost of sending messages to Europe by cable dropped from \$100 for 20 words to 25 cents a word, the approximate cost today. (Courtesy Western Union Telegraph Company)

part in the world movement toward international co-operation.

The Spanish-American war, which will be discussed in the next chapter, made the United States a world power, for it placed in our hands possessions in the western Pacific as well as in Latin America. Possession of the Philippine Islands forced us to take an interest in the affairs of China and the Far East. Our relations with Cuba and Puerto Rico combined with our natural interests in trade brought Latin-American affairs to our doorstep. The United States regularly sent delegates to the inter-American conferences held to establish more peaceful and better business con-

ditions among the American republics.

Distances were becoming less important. The world was rapidly drawing closer. Oceans were no longer barriers separating us from other continents, but were pathways over which an ever-rising tide of contacts was made. Events in the far corners of the earth were felt in New York, Denver, and Washington. As our Secretary of State said at the turn of the century: "The United States today cannot go back to what the country was fifty or a hundred years ago. Whether we will or not, whether for better or for worse, we must go forward." After 1900 we had world-wide interests.

The First World War again revives the problems of Jefferson and Madison. The hopes of Americans for a peaceful world were first dimmed and then shattered as they read the headlines during the fateful summer of 1914. Across the Atlantic two rival camps of powers were rapidly arming, bluffing and waiting for an opportune moment to strike. *The Central Powers*, led by Germany and Austria, wanted more elbow room and especially more colonies. *The Allies*, headed by Great Britain, France, and Russia, wanted to prevent the Central Powers from expanding and seizing control of their key positions.

The spark that ignited the European powder keg was an unwise visit by a young prince who was heir to the throne of Austria. He made a trip to Sarajevo, a town in an Austrian province that was full of revengeful Serbs who hated Austria. A shot rang out, and the prince was killed. Austria, backed by Germany, demanded satisfaction from Serbia. Unable to get her full demands, Austria declared war. Within six weeks almost all Europe was aflame.

For three long years the American people watched the conflict with mixed feelings. Most Americans sympathized with the Allies, although there were many who favored the cause of the Central Powers. The situation was much the same as that which faced Americans nearly 100 years earlier when Jefferson and Madison were in the Presidency. This time, however, it was the German Kaiser who wanted to rule Europe rather than Napo-

leon. We wanted to keep out of war, and the nation approved when President Wilson almost immediately declared that we would be neutral.

As a neutral power our government again claimed the right of our ships to sail the seas and carry goods to both sides. The British navy blocked shipments to Germany, and we made strong protests to Great Britain for this interference. However, by far the greatest amount of our trade and loans went to the Allies. Germany's hopes for victory lay in cutting off these supplies. Her submarines began sinking ships without warning. The submarine campaign was so successful that it seemed that Germany might win the war.

We wanted to keep out of the war, but we wanted the Allies to win. From the beginning we were suspicious of Germany's plans. We became even more suspicious when she invaded neutral Belgium to strike France. Stories of brutal treatment by Germans of captured Belgian children aroused our emotions. Germany gained more ill will when she torpedoed a British liner, the *Lusitania*, with a loss of over 1,100 lives including 128 American citizens. President Wilson protested to Germany, and for a few months the submarine warfare let up.

**Two millions of our soldiers go to Europe to fight for democratic ideals.** Early in 1917, however, Germany announced that she would sink on sight all American merchant vessels within the submarine zones around the British Isles and

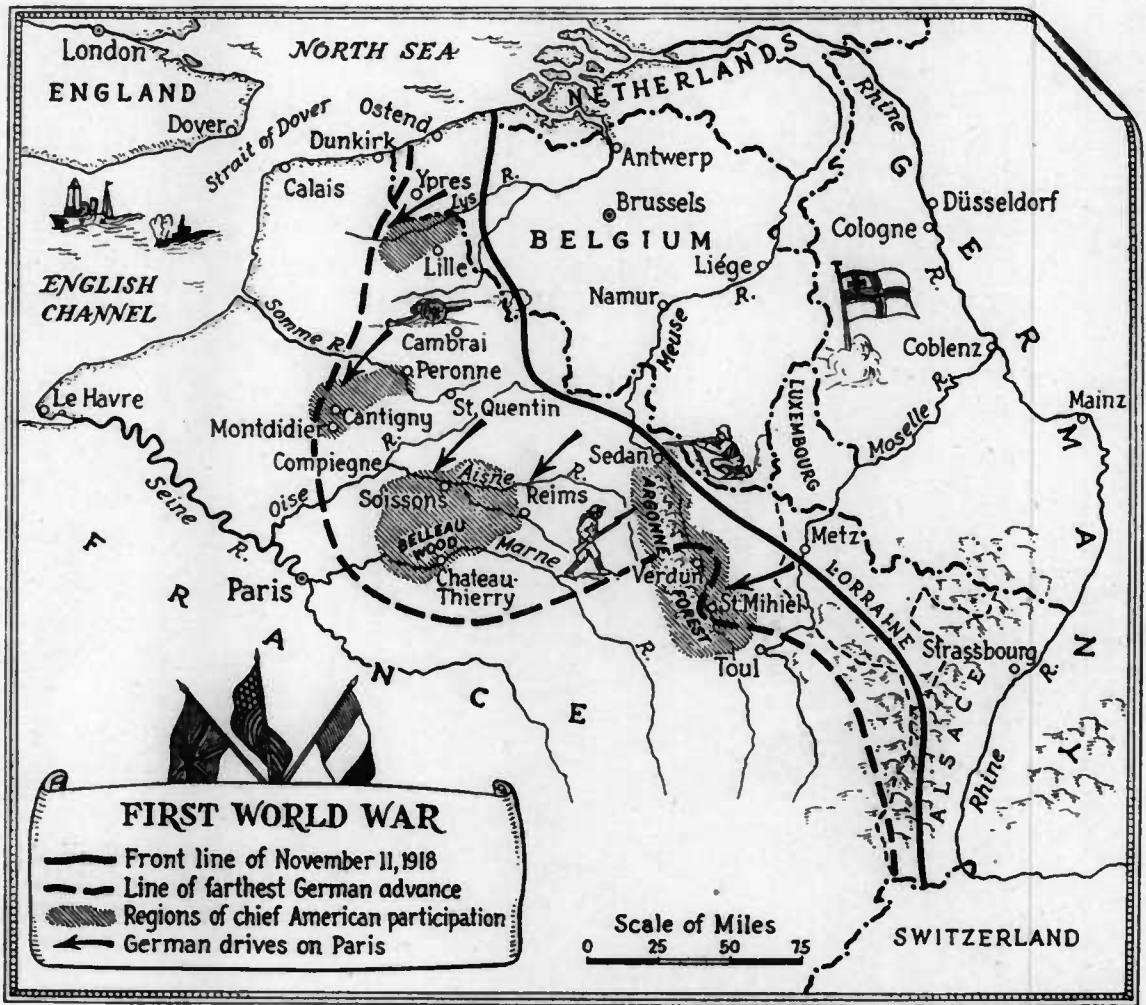


The sinking of the *Lusitania*, a British ship, on May 7, 1915, did much to arouse American opinion against Germany, though we did not declare war until nearly two years later. (European)

in the Mediterranean Sea. We could no longer remain neutral. We declared war on April 6, 1917, because of insults to our flag and because we wanted the Allies to win. President Wilson summed it up when he said it was a fight "to make the world safe for democracy." To most of our people the Allies represented ideals of liberty, freedom, and human decency, while the Central Powers represented selfish emperors and dictatorship.

Our navy was the first to swing into action. Submarines were hunted down, and the sea lanes kept open. The navy convoyed and transported vast quantities of supplies and troops to Great Britain and France. Not a single American troopship was torpedoed.

Our first soldiers arrived in France within three months, to be followed in the next year by two million more men. It was a tremendous task organizing a country to-



tally unprepared for war into the greatest war machine ever built up to that time. From civilian clothes to training camp to Europe took less than a year for many a boy. Yet during this time he was well fed, clothed, and trained to fight.

The turning point of the war came in the summer of 1918. Germany opened a tremendous drive and steadily forced the Allies back toward Paris. As the map on this page shows, they almost reached their goal. General Pershing and other Allied commanders placed all soldiers under the single command of the great Frenchman, General Foch. American troops were spread

along the lines where needed to bolster up the weak spots.

The marines stopped a German drive in a furious battle at Belleau Wood. Americans under the command of General Pershing helped to turn the tide toward Allied victory by defeating the Germans at Chateau Thierry in a blistering three-day battle. Finally, came the victorious Meuse-Argonne drive, the greatest series of battles in which American troops engaged. Lasting 40 days, it brought over a million troops into action. In this drive alone we suffered 120,000 casualties. Fighting ceased on November 11, 1918, and preparations were



made to draft the terms of peace.

The First World War showed that Americans could not afford to ignore events in other parts of the globe. We found that in the shrunken distances of the modern age

events in one part of the earth had important effects upon events in other parts of the world. In this new world we were now a major power.

### WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

Show that you understand the following terms, either by using them correctly in a sentence or describing their historical importance.

- |                       |               |                        |
|-----------------------|---------------|------------------------|
| 1. ambassador         | 6. ratify     | 11. The Allies         |
| 2. foreign minister   | 7. neutral    | 12. The Central Powers |
| 3. diplomatic service | 8. alliance   | 13. armistice          |
| 4. treaty             | 9. embargo    | 14. Meuse-Argonne      |
| 5. credentials        | 10. War Hawks |                        |

### WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?

1812-14: Why are these dates important in our military history?

1914: What event in Europe makes this important for us to remember?

1917-18: These are important dates in our military history. Why?

### CAN YOU FIND ANSWERS TO THESE?

1. What assistance does the President have in conducting foreign affairs? What are some of the duties of an ambassador?
2. From the chart on page 463 and the text, list the steps in making a treaty and putting it into effect.
3. How did the wars in Europe cause our early Presidents much trouble?
4. What two policies did Washington advise in respect to our foreign relations? Which did he actually start?
5. Compare Jefferson's handling of our affairs with Europe with Madison's policies.
6. In what way was the West influential in bringing about war with England in 1812?
7. By using the map on page 467 and the text, explain whether the Americans or British were the more successful in their war plans.
8. What facts can you suggest to show that the War of 1812 was unfortunate?
9. After the War of 1812, in what ways did we try to follow Washington's and Jefferson's advice?
10. Give four examples which show that the United States began to take an increasing part in world affairs after 1870.
11. In what ways were the foreign problems of our government from 1914 to 1917 similar to the problems in the years 1800 to 1812?
12. Why did we enter the First World War?
13. What contributions did the United States make toward winning this war?
14. What lesson should we have learned from the First World War?
15. *Summary Question:* What have been our policies in dealing with Europe?



## Chapter 28. *The United States and Its Neighbors Slowly Reach a Better Understanding*

*It was Tuesday, December 1, 1936. The halls of the Argentine Congress rapidly filled with excited people. Photographers busily took pictures of important officials; radio experts made last minute tests; news men glanced around to get "atmosphere" for their reports. On the main floor sat 175 representatives from 21 American republics. The United States had 26 members, while Argentina and Brazil each had 18. Other countries were suitably represented. The galleries were jammed with guests anxious to hear the opening of the conference.*

*Promptly the Argentine Foreign Minister called the conference to order. He presented President Augustín Justo (Ah-goos-teen' Hoos'-toh) of Argentina, who made a short address welcoming the distinguished visitors to beautiful Buenos Aires. Then came the moment for which all had waited.*

*President Franklin D. Roosevelt confidently took his place at the speaker's stand, facing microphones that would carry his voice to the entire world. He had been pleased at the tremendous reception given him yesterday by the people of Argentina, coolest of the nations toward the United States. Today the delegates and visitors gave him another wild ovation. Photographers flashed their bulbs and snapped their pictures. Delegates adjusted their earphones, for, as the President spoke, his words were to be translated into Portuguese, Spanish, and French so that each delegate could listen to the speech in his own language.*

*There was a lull, then President Roosevelt began his speech during which he was interrupted many times by ringing cheers and applause. Said the President:*

*"Members of the American Family of Nations: We have learned by hard experience that peace is not to be had for the asking. We are here to dedicate ourselves and our countries to that work.*

*"Each of us has learned the glories of independence. Let each learn the glories of interdependence."*

## *The Monroe Doctrine Builds a Fence Around the Americas*

The idea of the Monroe Doctrine is "America for the Americans." The conference of American republics at Buenos Aires had been called to consider ways of maintaining peace in a world edging toward war. This was not the first such conference. At different times during the past 50 years the nations of America had met to consider their problems. Not all of the earlier meetings were marked by the spirit of good will shown at Buenos Aires. To understand this change in attitude it is necessary to go back in history and trace the important developments in our relations with Latin-American peoples.

Curiously enough, our first Latin-American relations were directed toward Europe. You remember that Latin Americans were struggling for their independence in the early 1800's. These struggles had two effects in Europe. First, England approved of the revolutions. Independent republics not only weakened rival European powers, but opened vast new markets to British traders. Second, Spain and her Russian, Prussian, and Austrian allies were alarmed at the revolutions. They hated republics and were fearful lest they succeed. Furthermore, Spain and possibly Russia would lose vast and valuable possessions in the Americas.

Spain and her allies were planning to restore the revolting colonies to the mother country. Russia was pushing her claims southward toward present-day California. We

felt that increased possessions by European powers threatened our safety. England, moreover, did not wish to see her strongest rivals expand their power.

England believed that it might be an advantage if she and the United States acted together in this matter. England asked us if we would join with her to check the growing menace of European rivals. Here was an important decision. Should we join with a powerful European ally or should we work alone?

In spite of the advice of ex-Presidents Jefferson and Madison to join with England, President Monroe finally followed the judgment of his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams. Adams felt that we should handle it ourselves. He argued that England would back us up anyway because it would be to her interest to do so. Acting alone would save us from becoming entangled with a European nation.

Accordingly, on December 2, 1823, President Monroe sent his famous message to Congress that has since been called the Monroe Doctrine. President Monroe stressed three important ideas in regard to the Americas as a warning to Europeans. First, we had no intention of taking part in European affairs. Second, Europe must not interfere with existing governments in the Americas. Third, Europe must not set up new colonies in the Americas, though we would not interfere with existing colonies. This meant America for Americans, and was the foundation of our policy toward Latin America.



Uncle Sam says: "That's a live wire gentlemen!" Thus did a cartoonist show the United States warning Great Britain and Germany not to overstep the Monroe Doctrine by interfering in the affairs of American republics. (W. A. Rogers in the *New York Herald*)

**The United States puts the Monroe Doctrine to work.** There was no longer any doubt as to where the young Republic stood in affairs that touched the American continents. Foreign representatives immediately reported Monroe's message to their governments. The message was well received in Latin America, but was frowned upon in Europe. Soon it was almost forgotten. There were many early violations by both France and England because we were not yet able to enforce the Doctrine.

However, the day arrived when Europe discovered that Monroe's message was not to be ignored. The challenge appeared in Mexico during the War Between the States. For many years unsettled conditions endangered property owned by Europeans. The trouble came when certain Mexicans, wishing to

establish a monarchy, sought aid from France, Spain, and England. Using the excuse of protecting their property, the three nations sent expeditions to Mexico. It was a clear case of European nations interfering in American affairs. What would we do about it?

Because the United States was involved in a civil war, the most we could do was to make serious protests. England and Spain withdrew from Mexico, but the French forces remained. Dreaming of a great American empire, they marched on the Mexican capital and placed on the throne an Austrian prince, Archduke Maximilian. At the close of the War Between the States our government again protested vigorously to France, at the same time sending troops to the Mexican border. France, realizing the jig was up, withdrew, leaving the Archduke

to the cruel fate imposed on him by the angry Mexicans. The challenge to the Doctrine was met.

The event that brought real European recognition of the Doctrine was a dispute between Venezuela and England in the 1890's. The boundary line between British Guiana and Venezuela had long been in dispute. The matter was brought to a head by the discovery of gold in the "no man's land." Each country began to enlarge its claims.

Venezuela asked the United States for aid. Our Secretary of State sent England a strong note. He pointed out that England's attempt to get more land for her colony was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Would she arbitrate the case? England replied that she would not.

Angry at the reply, President Cleveland sent a strong message to Congress urging that money be raised to study the conflicting claims. After the investigation we would see that Venezuela got her rights. England finally agreed to arbitrate the case and the matter was soon closed. Venezuela received only a small part of her greatest claims, but the greatest naval power in the world had acknowledged the Monroe Doctrine.

At another time we heard that a French Company proposed to dig a canal across the Panama isthmus. We protested that control of such a canal by a European power would be a violation of the Monroe Doctrine. The French government denied any such intention. Anyway the French company went bankrupt. These were among the most important tests of the Monroe Doctrine.

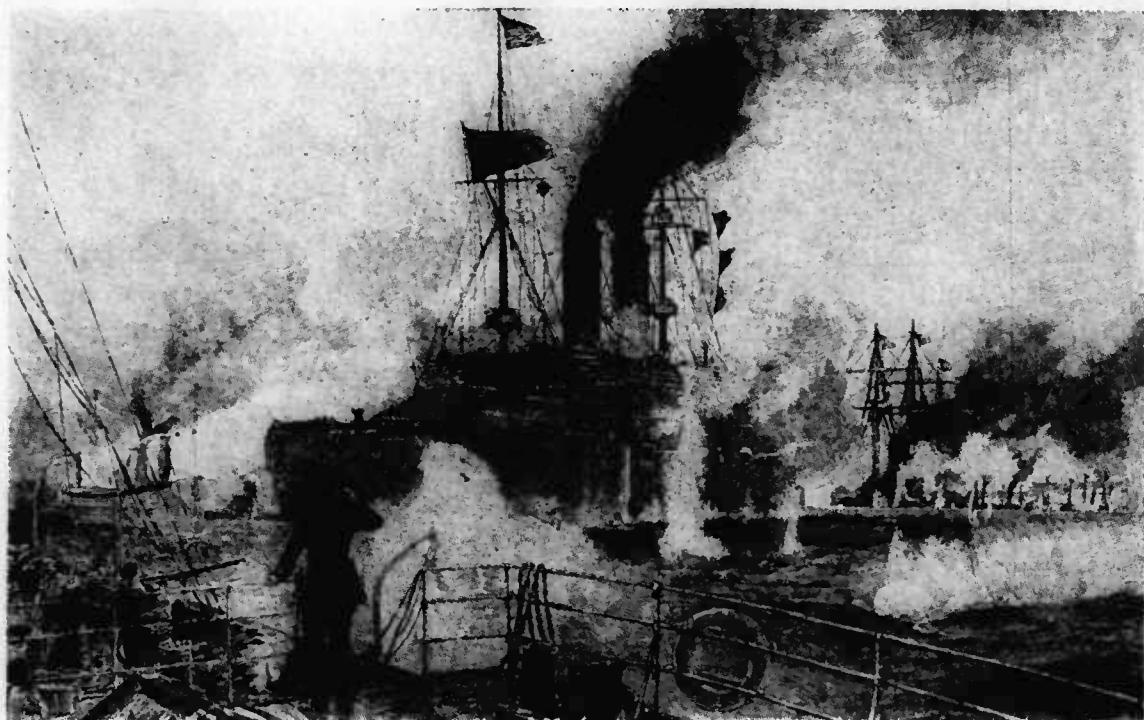
## *The United States Expands Its Interests in the Caribbean Area . . . . .*

**The Spanish-American War takes us into the Caribbean.** Cuba and Puerto Rico lay at the crossroads of the Americas. They were the last remaining possessions of a once mighty Spanish empire. For many years Cubans had been unhappy with Spanish rule. A rebellion broke out in the late 1860's. Another flared up in 1895. Rather than submit to the Spanish army, the Cuban forces retreated to the hills, burned sugar and tobacco plantations and destroyed large amounts of property. Both the Cuban rebels and the Spanish forces used barbarous methods of fighting.

Rival New York newspapers led the fight for our entry into Cuban affairs. These papers aroused our people to a fighting pitch. They printed screaming headlines followed with accounts of cruelty by the Spanish soldiers, illustrated by vivid cartoons and photographs that emphasized only one side of the story. The climax came when a United States battleship, the *Maine*, was sunk while at anchor in Havana harbor with a loss of over 250 lives. Although the exact cause of the sinking remains in doubt to this day, the papers blazoned forth such headlines as "DESTRUCTION OF THE WARSHIP MAINE THE WORK OF AN ENEMY."

President McKinley opposed war. Spain did not desire war, yet she played with President McKinley's demands to clean up the situation.





The American fleet under Commodore George Dewey defeats the Spanish fleet in the battle of Manila Bay. It was not until about ten weeks later that enough of our troops arrived to undertake land operations against the Spanish in this area in co-operation with the Filipino revolutionists. (Culver Service)

Finally, Spain agreed to stop fighting Cubans and arrange a settlement. It was too late. Newspapers and excited people influenced the President to ask Congress in April, 1898, for a declaration of war.

The Spanish-American War was short and popular. It lasted a little over 100 days. We trapped Spain's fleet in Santiago harbor in southern Cuba. Armed forces were quickly rushed to nearby positions and landed. Eight days later we captured two important positions around the harbor. In one of these battles, Colonel "Teddy" Roosevelt caught the public eye by storming San Juan Hill with his Rough Riders.

With the army surrounded on land, the Spanish fleet tried to escape, but was caught and de-

stroyed. On the other side of the world, Admiral Dewey captured the Philippines by destroying the Spanish squadron at Manila Bay. It was soon evident that Spain was beaten and peace was arranged in Paris.

**The United States takes control over Cuba and Puerto Rico to improve our defenses.** When the people of the United States learned the terms of the treaty of peace, they were both pleased and surprised. We had secured Cuba and Puerto Rico in the Caribbean and Guam in the far South Pacific. That pleased us. But we were startled to learn that we had taken the Philippine Islands in return for 20 million dollars.

Puerto Rico was made a colony.

It was not yet ready for self-government. Forty years later, however, Franklin D. Roosevelt asked our Congress to grant home rule to the Puerto Ricans. Cuba presented a different problem. Congress had declared that we had no intention of seizing Cuba for ourselves. Now that we had the island, would we keep our word?

We immediately established a temporary military government to restore order, to distribute food, and to disarm the Cuban rebels who had fought against Spain. We restored the government of cities and towns and started a modern school system. The deadly yellow fever was wiped out. A beginning was made in putting Cuba's house in order.

The Cubans elected delegates to a special convention that drafted a constitution similar to that of the United States. However, one important question remained. What should be the relationship between Cuba and the United States? Our government felt that it was necessary to act as a protector to the island. Cuba's position in the Caribbean was too important to allow her to fall under the control of a foreign power.

Therefore, we insisted that the Cubans accept a special addition to their constitution called the *Platt Amendment*. This amendment was vigorously opposed by Cubans and the following important provisions will show why. According to the amendment, Cuba must agree (1) not to give up her independence to any other foreign power; (2) not to contract debts that she could not pay; (3) to give the United States

the right to step into Cuban affairs to protect life and property in an emergency; (4) to sell or lend the United States land for naval stations.

The Cubans finally accepted these conditions. Arrangements were completed for an election under the new constitution. Two and one-half years after taking over the island, the United States turned it back to the Cubans. We had kept our promise, though with a good strong string attached in the form of the Platt Amendment. In later years we pulled that string several times and stepped into Cuban affairs. Cuba and Puerto Rico were the first steps toward establishing our defenses in the Caribbean area. Other events were soon to follow.

### **The need for a Panama Canal carries us farther into the Caribbean.**

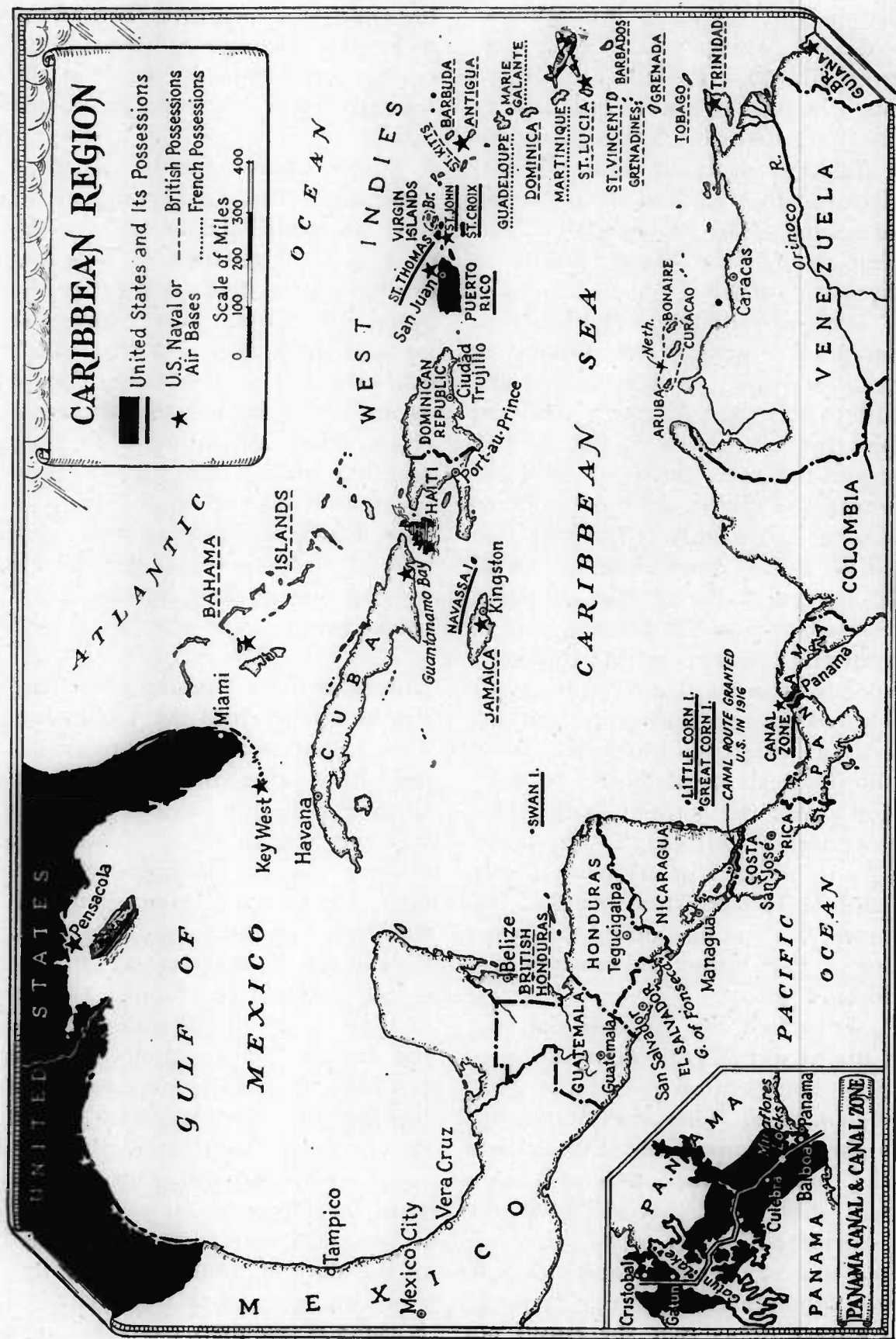
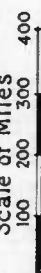
Two important events showed the need for a canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The first was the voyage of the battleship *Oregon* in the Spanish-American War. The *Oregon* was ordered from San Francisco to join the fleet in the Caribbean. It was necessary for the ship to make a two-month journey of more than 10,000 miles around the tip of South America before reaching its goal. The second event was the rise of two great naval powers, Japan on the Pacific and Germany on the Atlantic. Our defenses must be improved.

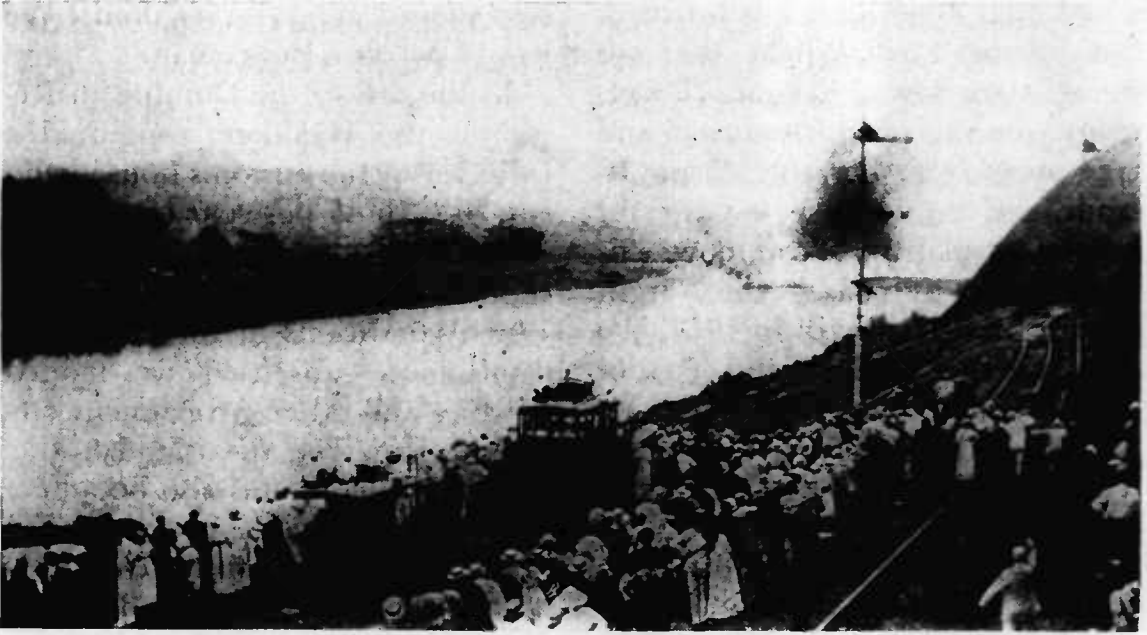
For many years men had dreamed of building a canal across the narrow isthmus, either in Panama or Nicaragua (see map, page 482). The time was now ripe for action. We

1

★

Scale of Miles  
100 200 300 400





The last obstacle to navigation on the Panama Canal is blown up by dynamite. President Wilson, in the White House 4,000 miles away, pushed the button that set off the spark. The canal is 50 miles long and cost over 350 million dollars, but it is considered a vital part of our national defense system. (Brown Brothers)

must first secure permission from either Colombia or Nicaragua to use the land. A commission was selected to determine the better site. It first chose Nicaragua, but later it decided on Panama.

Panama was at this time part of Colombia. We proposed a treaty with Colombia that would grant us a strip of land about six miles wide in which we could build and fortify a canal. In return we would give Colombia ten million dollars, plus an annual rental of \$250,000. Colombia refused to accept the treaty, hoping to get more money than we offered.

Colombia's refusal angered President Theodore Roosevelt. Suddenly Panama revolted and declared itself a free and independent republic. An American warship prevented Colombia from sending troops to put down the rebellion. The Unit-

ed States immediately recognized the new republic and signed a treaty almost exactly the same as that offered to Colombia. President Roosevelt later explained the situation when he said: "I took the Canal Zone." It is one of the black marks in our relations with Latin America. It was one of the acts that made many Latin Americans suspicious of us.

Ten years of hard work accomplished the twofold task of making the Canal Zone a healthy place in which to live and to dig the "big ditch" connecting the Pacific with the Caribbean. The completion of the canal in 1914 made possible the transfer of naval and merchant vessels from one ocean to another without a 10,000 mile journey around South America.

Now that we had the canal it must be protected. We already had bases in Cuba and Puerto Rico



The Canal Zone itself was fortified. Yet in the First World War we thought we saw a danger. If Germany should seize Denmark and take away from her the Virgin Islands, she would have a powerful nearby naval base. To remove this menace we purchased the Virgin Islands from Denmark in 1917. We were moving farther and farther into the Caribbean Area.

**Theodore Roosevelt tries to make a policeman of Uncle Sam.** People who don't pay their debts soon get into trouble. The same is true of nations. In the early 1900's Great Britain and Germany gave a "spanking" to Venezuela for not settling her debts. Acting together, the two countries seized Venezuelan gunboats and blockaded her ports. Venezuela soon came to terms. While the United States gave its consent to this episode, it was soon evident that it would be unwise to continue such a policy. What if a European power used the collection of debts as an excuse to occupy important islands in the Caribbean? It would be a direct threat to our own safety and to the proposed canal.

Two years later the Dominican Republic became bankrupt. The custom receipts of less than two million dollars could not hope to pay the 32-million-dollar debt, most of which was owed to Europeans. To meet this critical situation, President Theodore Roosevelt made it clear that if a Latin-American nation failed to run itself in an orderly manner and pay its just debts promptly, the United States would

step in and supervise its affairs. We would act as a policeman.

In the case of the Dominican Republic, the President appointed a collector of the customs houses who was to turn 45 per cent over to the Dominican government and 55 per cent to the payment of the debts. When conditions in the island became more unsettled we landed marines and other government officials to supervise the island.

The United States also became a policeman in the Negro republic of Haiti. There, too, an unsteady government piled up a huge debt. By 1915, it appeared likely that some nation would need to establish order. The United States landed marines and arranged a treaty with Haiti by which we helped govern the island, put her financial house in order, and started training the people for self-government.

Across the Caribbean among the unsettled Central American republics was Nicaragua, possessor of the other route for a canal to the Pacific. As in the Dominican Republic and Haiti, there was political and financial disorder in Nicaragua. We found it necessary to send marines to maintain order, and a financial expert to see that money was honestly collected and debts were paid. Soon we signed a treaty with Nicaragua that gave Uncle Sam the right to build a canal as well as the right to fortify two nearby islands. In return we paid Nicaragua three million dollars to be used in paying off debts. Although we later withdrew from all of these countries, none of them liked Uncle Sam's activities as a policeman.

## *Early Pan-Americanism Turns into the Good Neighbor Policy . . . . .*

**Pan-Americanism means peace and commerce among the American nations.** The Monroe Doctrine aimed at protecting the Americas from Europe, while the purpose of Pan-Americanism was to bind the Americas together. Forward looking leaders in Latin America and the United States had dreamed of bringing the republics of the western hemisphere closer together. Simón Bolívar and Henry Clay were among the first enthusiastic supporters of this ideal. Bolívar called a conference at Panama in 1826, but only four countries sent delegates. The United States delayed so long that its representatives did not arrive until the conference was over.

In 1889 the delegates from 18 American nations gathered in Washington for their first conference to consider ways of keeping peace and improving commerce among the republics of the western hemisphere. The delegates took a 6,000 mile journey through 41 cities to see the industrial growth of the United States. Yet when the time came for representatives actually to bind their governments to definite proposals to preserve peace and to improve trade, the meeting failed. The one success was the formation of the Pan-American Union.

The Pan-American Union is the center of the movement for Pan-Americanism. Located in a handsome building in Washington, D. C., gift of Andrew Carnegie, this

organization collects and arranges reliable information of all sorts about all American republics. It sponsors conferences, arranges for trade and travel, promotes health and sanitary conditions. It arranges for exchanges of students between the various nations. It maintains the Columbus Memorial Library in Washington, one of the best sources in the world for information about peoples and countries in the western hemisphere.

The first inter-American conference has been followed by many other conferences, each held in a different American country (see map, page 486). Many other scientific and cultural meetings have also been held. Three outstanding results have come from these meetings. First, agreements have been reached on means of settling disputes between the nations of this hemisphere. Second, many problems in relation to trade, travel, and debts have been ironed out. Third, the increasing travel and exchange of ideas among visiting delegates have brought about a healthier understanding among the widely differing peoples.

We have gained a new appreciation of the fine qualities of Latin-American peoples and of their contribution to the New World. They have learned that all people in the United States are not dollar crazy. Pan-Americanism has taught the peoples of this hemisphere not only self-respect, but respect for each other.

**Latin Americans wonder how Pan-Americanism and the "Big Stick"**



can go hand in hand. As a rule, Latin Americans have been rather cool toward the United States. At first, when the new republics were seeking independence, they welcomed the Monroe Doctrine and our recognition of their freedom. It meant help to them in staying free from Europe. But a series of events

changed their feelings toward the United States and its policies.

The first change came in the 1840's when we fought Mexico and took California and neighboring lands from her. Latin Americans began to raise their eyebrows. They asked, Was the United States using the Monroe Doctrine to keep out

Europeans so that she could have the whole New World pasture to herself? Later, our neighbors were quick to object to unfortunate statements by United States officials. One had said that our laws extend over all this continent. Another said that "the frontiers of the United States virtually extend to Tierra del Fuego" (southern tip of South America).

Then came President Theodore Roosevelt and his "big stick" policy by which the United States stepped in to supervise the affairs of weak nations if they did not pay their debts. Many Latin Americans felt that this policy had two purposes: first, to give the United States bankers and business men first chance at the opportunities to make profits and investments in Latin America; second, to drive the opening wedge by which we hoped to gain control of many smaller nations, especially in the Caribbean region.

Latin Americans believed that Pan-Americanism was simply a cloak to hide the real intentions of the United States; namely, that in one way or another we meant to get control of many lands in that area for our own benefit. Many of their newspapers carried articles warning of the dangers from the money-lending Yankees. In spite of the fact that many Presidents, including Theodore Roosevelt, declared that we did not want one inch of their land, Latin Americans were suspicious. That suspicion accounts for the fact that many of the governments did not ratify the agreements signed at inter-American conferences. Argentina alone

refused to sign over 50 such agreements.

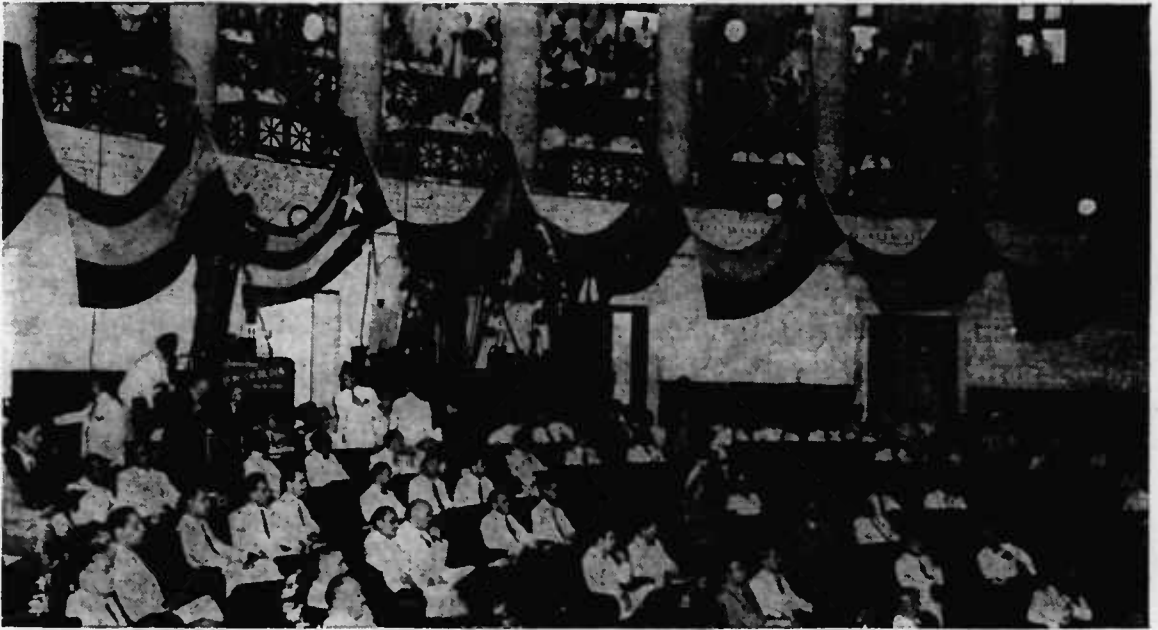
It is important in international affairs to understand the effects that our actions have upon other nations. It is clear that our stepping into the affairs of Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Central America, and Mexico made the United States appear as a selfish greedy neighbor. If we did not want trouble on our hands, steps must be taken to change the situation.

**The Good Neighbor Policy brings back to life the old Pan-American idea of co-operation and understanding.** Thoughtful people realized that the United States must make important changes in its relations with Latin America. The opening came when President Wilson agreed to allow Brazil, Argentina, and Chile to pass upon a serious dispute between the United States and Mexico. Our willingness to accept the judgment of others made a good impression throughout Latin America.

Under President Coolidge our marines left the Dominican Republic. Our relations with Mexico improved and the troublesome affairs in Nicaragua were placed on a better basis. President Hoover made a tour of Latin America that helped to create good will. We gave up the right to interfere in the internal affairs of Latin-American nations. Such changes began to show our neighbors that we wanted to be a friend and not a bully.

The dramatic turn came at President Franklin D. Roosevelt's first inauguration speech. He said: "I





Foreign ministers of the American nations met at Havana in 1940. Such conferences help to cement closer the friendships and relations among nations. The official delegates are seated below while the guests are in the balcony. Note the various flags that drape the balcony. (International)

would dedicate this nation to the policy of the *good neighbor*—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself, and, because he does so, respects the rights of others. We now realize that we cannot merely take, but must give as well.”

Our neighbors pricked up their ears at this. Did we mean it? Time would tell, and time did tell. We did not attempt to boss the next inter-American conference at Montevideo as we had previously done. Not a single committee chairmanship was held by a delegate from the United States. Moreover, we made no objection to the discussion of important political problems which our earlier officials had always opposed.

This change in attitude was followed by deeds. We withdrew our marines from Haiti; we made an agreement with Cuba by which we

abandoned the Platt Amendment. We arranged to settle difficult questions with Mexico over the problem of ownership of oil properties.

Further compromises were made at the Buenos Aires meeting at which President Roosevelt spoke. We agreed to make the Monroe Doctrine a two-way doctrine, giving to Latin Americans a share in determining its meaning. We agreed not to interfere in the internal or external affairs of other American nations. If trouble should break out, we agreed to work *jointly* with our sister republics.

The Latin-American people have been greatly pleased by these actions on our part. Proof of it was the enthusiastic reception given President Roosevelt at Buenos Aires. We shall see, too, that almost all of the Latin-American nations supported the cause of the United

Nations in the Second World War. The Good Neighbor Policy put new life into Pan-Americanism. It was binding the Americas closer together.

### *The Second World War Brings All of the Americas Closer Together . . . . .*

The war brings us closer to our northern neighbor. The relations between the United States and Canada have been an object lesson to the rest of the world. We have been at peace more than 125 years. Both countries are very proud of the 3,000 miles of unfortified and undefended boundary. A similar example cannot be found in the entire world.

Our early relations with Canada were conducted through Great Britain, but in 1926 Canada secured the right to deal directly with the United States. The first milestone in our relations was the Rush-Bagot agreement in 1817. This treaty between the United States and Great Britain provided that no armed vessels, except for small revenue cutters, were to be allowed on the Great Lakes. It was the first example in modern times of two nations agreeing to limit the size of their naval patrols. Furthermore, it is still in force.

While we have not been at war with Canada, at times it was a "peace with friction." We had several serious boundary disputes at points in Maine, Vermont, the Great Lakes, across the prairies,

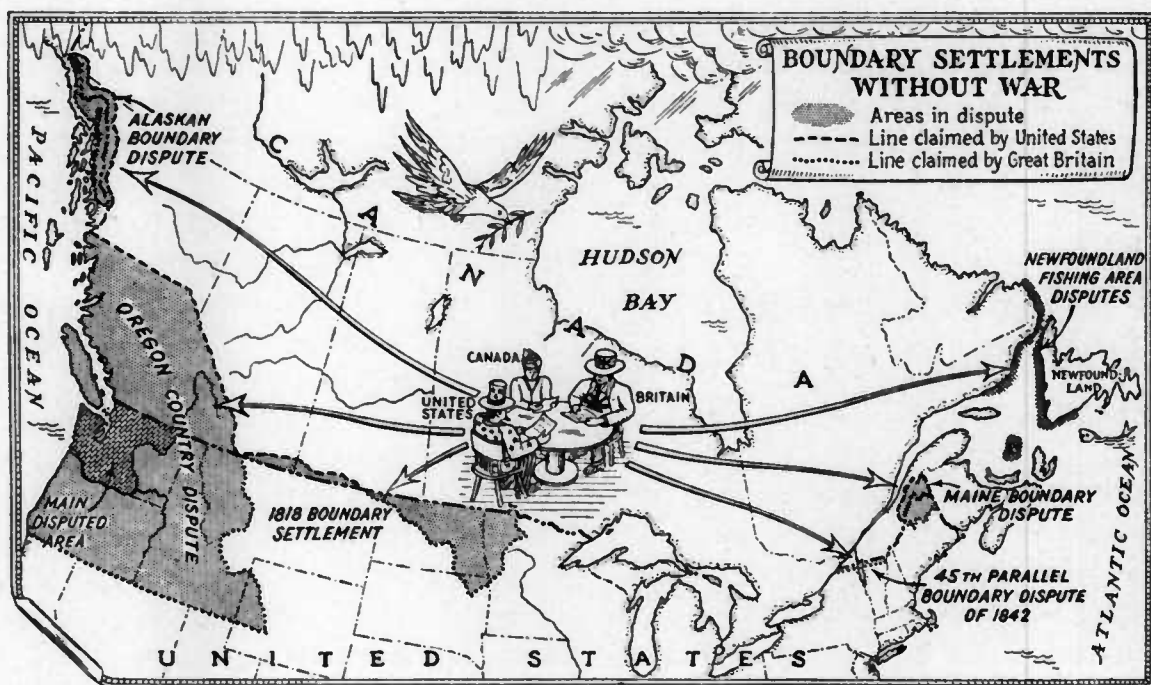
and in Oregon (see map, page 490). Disputes over the rights of fishermen have been another source of friction. Patience and good will settled all these disputes without war.

In spite of these differences, there has been a growing movement toward a closer friendship. Following are some definite steps that have been taken. First, the two countries tried to improve their trade by making agreements to lower the tariff. The first trade agreement was made in the 1850's, but was later cancelled. In the 1930's the United States, Canada and Great Britain made a triple-play deal that greatly reduced duties on goods. It resulted in increased trade among all three nations.

Second, we arranged with Canada to arbitrate any dispute that could not be settled by ambassadors. Third, during the First World War we co-operated in the patrol and protection of Canadian waters against the German U-boat menace. Fourth, in the 1920's we made our first treaty directly with Canada. This provided for an International Fisheries Commission to regulate fishing along the Pacific shores of the two nations.

The Good Neighbor Policy applied to Canada quite as much as to Latin America. The two countries agreed to co-operate in trade and defense. The Second World War hastened an already growing movement toward closer co-operation between the United States and her northern neighbor.

**The war shows that all of the Americas must act as one.** The rise of the



Axis Powers of Italy, Germany, and Japan was a direct challenge to the democracies of the world. One by one the countries of Europe fell before their crushing military strength. Only Britain and Russia remained to carry on the fight in Europe. People throughout the Americas became alarmed for their own safety.

As the signs of danger increased, President Roosevelt took action. In the summer of 1938 he said to Canadians: "I give you my assurance that the United States will not stand idly by if Canadian soil is threatened." Two years later Canada and the United States formed a joint defense board which made plans to defend North America against attack from either Europe or Asia.

The question of joint defense with Latin America was discussed as early as 1936 when President Roosevelt visited Buenos Aires. Two years later, before the war

broke out in Europe, Latin Americans and delegates from the United States met at Lima, Peru. Again they discussed the question of defense. It was agreed that any threat to one American nation was a threat to all. They decided that whenever any event threatened the peace of this hemisphere, the 21 Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American republics would meet to decide what action to take.

At the outbreak of the war in Europe (1939), nine American nations requested an immediate meeting at Panama of all Ministers of Foreign Affairs. This meeting took steps to block Axis propaganda. It established a safety zone averaging 300 miles in width around the American continents. Both Axis and Allied powers were warned not to fight in this zone. Other steps were taken to keep the American nations out of the war, yet give all possible aid to the Allies.

The most vital spot in the defense of the Americas was the Panama Canal. What would happen if the Axis powers seized the small but important Caribbean islands held by the Netherlands and France? This problem was neatly solved at the second meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs at Havana. They agreed to occupy and govern the islands jointly, if they thought such a step was necessary. This made sure one important gap in the defense of the canal, and of the Americas.

Other steps were rapidly taken after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December, 1941. An Inter-American Defense Board was immediately created to plan for the wise use of the combined resources of all the nations for defense. A number of arrangements were made among the various American nations to exchange vital minerals, rubber, food, and other materials so necessary to carry on a war. It became clear that the Americas were united as never before. It was "one for all and almost all for one."

### WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

Show by using in a sentence that you understand the meaning of the following terms and their importance in our relations with Latin America.

- |                    |                     |                     |
|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1. interdependence | 3. the <i>Maine</i> | 5. Tierra del Fuego |
| 2. monarchy        | 4. Platt Amendment  | 6. Axis Powers      |

### WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?

- 1823: What important foreign policy did we announce in this year?  
 1889: Why is this date important in inter-American relations?  
 1898: Why is this a key date in our military history?  
 1914: What important project was completed in this year?  
 1933: What important change in our foreign policy was announced?  
 1939: An event in Europe brought about increased inter-American co-operation. What was the event?

### CAN YOU FIND ANSWERS TO THESE?

1. What were the circumstances leading to the Monroe Doctrine? What are the three parts of this doctrine?
2. Give at least two examples showing how we put the Monroe Doctrine to work.
3. What conditions and events brought about the Spanish-American War? What were the results of this war?
4. Why did the Cubans so vigorously oppose the Platt Amendment?
5. What two possible routes might a canal take, which would connect the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans?
6. Why was the Panama Canal case a black mark in our relations with Latin America?
7. Give two examples showing how Uncle Sam acted as a policeman in the Caribbean region.



8. What have been three results of the Pan-American meetings?
9. What were some events which made Latin Americans suspicious of our intentions?
10. What evidence is there that we really meant to live by the Good Neighbor Policy?
11. Give evidence to prove this statement: "The relations between the United States and Canada have been an object lesson to the rest of the world."
12. What proof can you offer that in the Second World War the Americas were "one for all and almost all for one"?
13. *Summary Question:* What changes has the United States made in regard to its policies with Latin America?

## Chapter 29. *Events Force Us to Take an Increasing Interest in the Far East . . . . .*

*The Revolutionary War was over. Captain John Green and Samuel Shaw busily checked the cargo and stores of their ship, the Empress of China. This voyage was a big gamble. Success would mean the opening of the China trade to the United States traders, while failure would result in the loss of a fortune.*

*All was ready. With her American flag proudly flying, the ship slowly picked up speed as the wind caught her sails and carried her out of New York harbor. She was off to Canton. Her holds were crowded with ginseng (an herb), lead, cotton, pepper, fur skins, and cloth with a value of \$120,000. The ship crossed the Atlantic to the Cape Verde Islands, then sailed southward to the Cape of Good Hope. Finally, the long voyage across the tropical Indian Ocean to Java was made.*

*European sailors looked curiously at the new flag in Oriental waters. They received it with shouts and with salutes from their guns. After a six months' voyage, the Empress of China tied up at Whampoa, seaport of Canton. Captain Green was amazed to see 45 European ships at anchor. A thriving trade indeed was carried on here.*

*Samuel Shaw began inquiries on how to deal with the Chinese. He discovered that there were special Chinese merchants who must handle all trade with foreigners. He found that he could not wander about Chinese towns and cities, but must stay in one small section. Foreigners were regarded as barbarians and were strictly limited in their activities.*

*When the winter trading season began, Shaw purchased large quantities of tea, chinaware, and silk along with smaller amounts of Chinese cloth and drugs. The ship made a quick return voyage to New York. The profit on this 18 months' voyage was \$30,000. It was a success. The Empress of China opened the Orient to American trade. Ever since, our people have taken an increasing interest in events in the Far East.*

## *Our Interest in the Far East Leads Us Westward across the Pacific . . . . .*

**Our sea captains open up new markets in the Far East.** From the early days of our Republic, Yankee sea captains followed the route of the *Empress of China*. Within a year five ships were on their way to Canton, while within five years 14 ships were engaged in the China trade. From the thriving seaport towns of Salem, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, other tiny ships went south to Cape Horn in South America, then northward along the shores of the American continents to the Oregon country. They loaded their boats with furs and continued on to Canton (see map, page 495), returning to America with spices, tea, silk, and porcelains.

At first China did not welcome foreigners to her land. The Chinese were proud of their great civilization and did not want to bother with the "barbarians" from Europe and America. China had a right to feel proud. She had the oldest continuous history of any nation in the world. Up to 1800, China had given the western world far more than she had received.

We are indebted to the Chinese for the discovery of the arts of making silk, porcelain dishes, paper, gunpowder, and lacquer. They also knew the secrets of many plants for medicines, the use of the compass, and how to print with movable type. They were masters of the arts of decoration and the arrangement of flowers. Their scholars were writ-

ers of poetry, literature, and Chinese history. China was indeed a great and civilized nation.

Millions of people lived in China. Sea captains were quick to see that if arrangements could be made to enter this market a rich trade would flourish. But there were two problems that bothered foreigners. First, trade could be conducted at only a single port and through special Chinese trading merchants. Second, Chinese laws in regard to foreigners were very strict. There were many instances in which foreigners were cruelly punished.

In the 1840's we made our first treaty with China. The treaty opened up selected seaports to our trade. It also gave Americans the right to be tried before a special court in China under United States laws, and not under Chinese laws. Later treaties opened other cities to trade and gave missionaries the right to establish and maintain missions throughout China. The fruits of the voyage of the *Empress of China* were beginning to ripen.

**Commodore Perry introduces Japan to the outside world.** Stretching for more than 1,000 miles along the east coast of Asia were the secluded islands of Japan. Japan was discovered by Europeans in the 1500's. For nearly 100 years traders and missionaries from Portugal, Spain, Holland, and Britain visited the islands. Suddenly the Japanese rulers decided to drive out all foreigners. For 200 years Japan was closed to the rest of the world.

At this time, Japan was divided into clans and classes much as Eu-





rope had been in the days of serfs, knights, and nobles. The clans were constantly fighting with one another until finally three of the most powerful gained control and united the country. Ill feeling between the clans died out. The Japanese turned from fighting to work, and to the development of their family and social life. Once more their arts and literature flourished. Still, they were determined not to mix with other people in the world.

In the early 1800's American fishermen and whalers were active in the north Pacific. Ships bound from San Francisco to China passed not far from Japanese shores. Shipwrecked sailors who landed on the islands were badly treated. Many never saw the outside world again. Attempts to enter ports for water, supplies, or trade were met with warning shots. Shipping and fishing interests pressed our government for action.

Finally, President Fillmore instructed Commodore Matthew C. Perry to take a small naval force to Japan and seek a treaty of friendship. Perry's smoking warships astounded the Japanese when they appeared in Tokyo's bay (see map, page 495). Perry left his message and sailed to China. The following spring he returned and after six weeks of discussion he obtained a treaty.

The United States secured the right to stop at two ports for supplies of wood, coal, water, and other necessities. Shipwrecked sailors who landed on Japanese coasts were to be treated kindly until they could be taken away. Japan soon made

similar treaties with European powers. In later years we gained new privileges for trade. Japan had opened her doors.

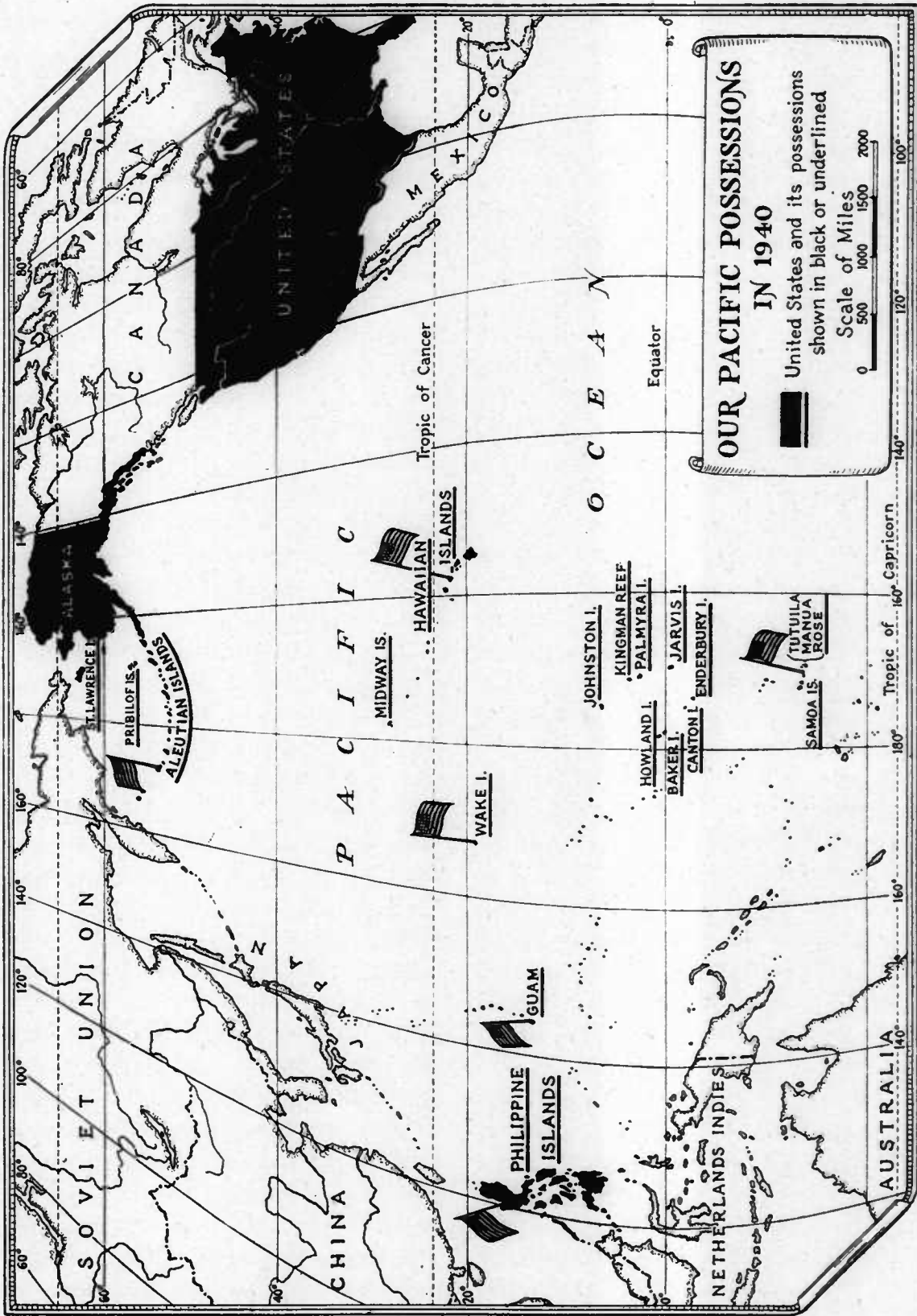
Japan made a complete turn-about in her relations. She sent her young men to European and American schools. She adopted western ways of manufacturing and trade. She built a modern army and navy, using advice of foreign experts in those fields. Japan's modernization has been among the fastest of any nation in the world.

### **Our flag moves across the Pacific.**

Roving sailors from the United States had long known of tiny islands scattered across the Pacific Ocean. At the crossroads lay the Hawaiian Islands, inhabited by a cheerful and intelligent brown-skinned people. American missionaries, fishers, whalers, and business men were well established on the Hawaiians by the 1850's. We made important trade treaties and secured control of Pearl Harbor for a naval base, the finest in the Pacific.

As the years went by, the original Hawaiian people either died out or married immigrants. Sugar plantations rapidly replaced the whaling and fishing fleets in business importance. The business interests, controlled by Americans, arranged to overthrow a new Hawaiian queen and established a republic. A committee immediately petitioned the United States to annex the islands.

At first the petition was denied. Finally, while we were engaged in the Spanish-American War, business and naval interests pushed



# OUR PACIFIC POSSESSIONS IN 1940

United States and its possessions  
shown in black or underlined

Scale of Miles  
0 500 1000 1500 2000

President McKinley for action. He consented to a treaty by which we annexed the Hawaiian Islands in 1898. Our flag had moved a long distance across the Pacific Ocean, as the map on page 497 shows.

Almost immediately we took another giant step that crossed the Pacific. You remember that Americans were surprised to learn that we secured the Philippine Islands at the close of the Spanish-American War. Few people knew about the islands, but in the 1890's business men began to plan to tap the markets of Asia. Great changes were rapidly taking place in Asia. Japan defeated China in a war and was a rising power in the Far East. Russia, Great Britain, and Germany were also making demands on China that threatened to shut out United States trade. The possession of the Philippines would guard our interests in the Far East. We took the islands, placing our flag 6,000 miles from home on the front door-steps of Asia.

At different times we have planted our flag north and south throughout the Pacific (see map, page 497). The purchase of Alaska gave us the Aleutian Islands that extend across the north Pacific. We secured Midway Island at about the same time. At the close of the 1800's we secured Guam from Spain. We also added Wake Island. Far to the south the Samoan Islands secured for us naval and cable stations. In the 1930's more island bases were added to improve air transportation across the vast distances of the Pacific. Thus, step by step our flag has moved westward across the Pacific.

## *Under our Flag the Filipinos Learn the Ways of Democracy*

**By slow steps we lead the Filipinos toward self-government.** When American troops occupied the Philippines they found a people who had no intention of becoming a part of the United States. They said they were free and that Spain had no right to sell them. A revolt promptly broke out against occupation by our forces. It took two years of guerilla fighting in tropical hills to put down the revolt.

Even before the revolt was crushed, President McKinley appointed a commission of five Americans—later adding three Filipinos—to establish a sound government. The commission made laws, organized the government of towns and provinces and set things in order. It began constructing roads. A bureau of health took steps to wipe out disease. Schools were organized. A sound system of money was introduced. Lands were purchased from the church and made available to the people. All of this was under the supervision of experts from the United States.

Soon, however, the Filipinos demanded home rule. Four definite steps were taken within 15 years to prepare them for self-government. First, the Filipinos were permitted to elect a house of representatives that was to share in making laws for the islands. The second step increased the number of Filipinos on the commission so that it was controlled by them, rather than by Americans. Also, Filipinos replaced

many of the American experts in the government.

Third, we arranged to develop the trade and agriculture of the islands. Tariff duties were removed from Filipino goods so that they had a ready market in the United States. American goods were likewise admitted to the Philippines without a tax.

The fourth step came in 1916 when Congress passed the Jones Act. This act declared that it was the intention of the United States to withdraw its control over the islands as soon as the people were capable of self-government. The act also set up a constitution for the Philippine government.

Under the constitution, Filipinos elected a house of representatives and a senate that passed the laws governing the islands. The United States continued to appoint a governor-general who had the right to veto the acts of this legislature. However, he seldom used this power. Most of the government positions were in the hands of Filipinos. At last the Filipinos had home rule.

**The Filipinos earn the right to be free.** The Jones Act was passed under the leadership of President Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic party. As long as this party remained in power, the Filipinos had home rule. However, they wanted complete independence. Many responsible officials declared that they should have it.

The Democratic party was swept out of office by the Republican victories of the early 1920's. The Re-

publicans were not in favor of releasing control of the islands. In fact, they reversed the earlier policies of our government. Charging the Filipinos had made serious blunders in their affairs, our government once more placed them under strict supervision. The Filipinos objected. They even requested that the new Republican-appointed governor-general be withdrawn.

The Filipinos presented argument after argument showing that they were capable of self-government. Yet they were denied moves that would grant them independence. It was not until 1934 that Congress passed the Philippine Independence Act.

This act provided that for ten years the islands would be self-governing under our protection. The Filipinos were to draft a new constitution and establish a government under it. Their first president, Manuel Quezon, was inaugurated in 1935. Complete independence was to be granted in 1946.

The Japanese attacked the Philippines on the same day they attacked Pearl Harbor. The combined American-Filipino armies were under the command of General Douglas MacArthur. Side by side the two armies fought the invading Japanese for four months. Records reveal that the Filipinos fought well. One reason for their excellent spirit was their faith that we would fulfill our promise of independence. They knew perfectly well that they would not be free under Japan.

The Philippine government was



recognized as one of the United Nations during the Second World War. Regiments of Filipinos, trained in the United States, entered the fight to free their country from Japan. The record is clear. Recognizing the spirit of the courageous Filipinos, President Roosevelt asked Congress to advance the date of independence so that it would come soon after the end of the war.

### *We Propose the "Open Door" Policy as the First Step in Giving China a Square Deal*

**The Open Door Policy** tries to guarantee equal trading opportunities to all nations. The possession of the Philippines in the late 1890's placed the United States squarely on the front doorsteps of Asia. For some years we had been only mildly concerned about Oriental affairs, but now we took a new interest, especially in China.

It appeared that foreign powers were dividing China's trade and resources. This was done in three ways. First, we secured special rights to trade at selected seaports. This privilege was granted first to Great Britain and then to other powers until scarcely a port remained that China could call her own.

The second method was to get a *concession*. A concession was a special right to develop mines and resources of China. Usually a country would "rent" a mine for 99 years, during which time it would

have the sole right to develop the property. It might also secure special privileges to build a railroad or to construct buildings. On all of these undertakings, business men hoped to make a good profit, while their governments gained more control over China.

Third, China was divided by war. Great Britain forced China to give up Burma. France forced her to give up Indo-China. Japan had secured Korea and several islands. It looked as though China's 400 million customers might be lost to American business interests if action was not taken soon.

Great Britain was equally concerned for her future in China. She had more investments there than any other nation, yet she was afraid that other countries might unite and turn against her. One of her experts on China visited the United States. He explained the situation and suggested that we take steps to see that trade be kept open to all countries.

American business interests also wanted to keep China open to our trade. Her millions of people offered great possibilities as a market for our manufactured goods. Accordingly, Secretary of State John Hay sent letters in 1899 to each one of the foreign powers interested in China. He asked that each country grant to other nations equal opportunities to trade and business rights in its areas of special interests. That is, everybody was to have an equal chance to get China's trade and to develop her resources. China's doors were to be open to all.



Chinese students mix with those from other countries at the International House discussion groups in New York City. Selected Chinese students are sent to our country each year on funds from the 18 million dollars that we returned to China when she overpaid us for damages in the Boxer Rebellion. (Fritz Henle, from Monkmeier)

While all replies were not entirely favorable, Secretary Hay bluffed and informed the nations that their answers were satisfactory. From then on, he said, the Open Door Policy was in effect. Thus goes to John Hay the credit for laying another cornerstone in our foreign policy. It meant equal opportunity for all nations to trade in China, special rights for none, and a square deal for China and for us.

**"China for the Chinese"** becomes the motto of her people. Foreign powers were able to secure special rights in China because she was unable to defend herself. China was not a united land. She had no means of rapid transportation. Instead of one language, there were many. The mass of the people were uneducated. Northern China had

a different outlook on life from southern China. Furthermore, the government of the old Manchu monarchy was challenged by a rising group in favor of democracy.

Among the many groups were the Boxers, so-called because of their Chinese name—Fists of Righteous Harmony. The Boxers carried flags and banners that read "The Gods assist us to destroy all foreigners." They said that the foreigners aimed at dividing China among themselves.

In 1900 the Boxers trapped missionaries and foreign representatives in their quarters at Peking (Peiping). Surrounded on all sides, this small group held out for two months. Finally, an international army arrived to defeat the Boxers. It was one of the most cruel and bitter battles ever fought.

The foreign governments imposed a stern penalty on China. Leaders in the Boxer movement were put to death. China had to pay 320 million dollars in damages. Foreign military forces were to be allowed in China. Chinese forts were destroyed and no Chinese could belong to an anti-foreign society. The United States returned part of its share of the money for damages. China used it to build schools and establish scholarships for 100 Chinese to study in the United States each year.

At the height of the Boxer troubles, the United States became alarmed that the presence of foreign soldiers on China's soil might be the signal to attempt to divide the country among foreign powers. Again John Hay sent a letter to the countries concerned. He said that it was the policy of the United States to see that no lands were taken from China. Other countries followed our lead and agreed to respect China's territory. This helped to keep China for the Chinese.

The next 40 years were difficult for China. The old monarchy was followed by a republic, founded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. While some unity came to China under Chiang Kai-shek in the 1930's, party strife still goes on. The Chinese have continued to struggle to keep the country whole and to get rid of special privileges granted to foreigners.

Soviet Russia paved the way in the 1920's by agreeing to give up her special privileges. In the Second World War both the United States and Great Britain agreed to abandon many of their special rights.

These were two long steps toward a square deal, but "China for the Chinese" continued to be the motto of a great people.

### *Japan Closes the Open Door*

**Japan becomes the leading power in the Far East.** Across the coastal seas, Japan pursued an entirely different course from that of China. Fifty years after Perry's visit, Japan had changed from an almost unknown land to a leading world power. Thoroughly united, her growing population developed a feeling that they were entitled to leadership in the Far East. They believed the rest of the world looked down upon them. They resented that.

Japan copied western ways all too well. In the 1890's she fought and defeated China. The victory gave her new possessions and increased rights in China. Within another ten years she fought a war with Russia and defeated her. Japan gained new rights in Manchuria, but of greater importance she gained confidence. She had met a European power and singlehandedly defeated her.

The results of this victory kindled in the hearts of the Japanese a flaming desire to get western nations out of the Orient. "Asia for the Asiatics," they said. To the outside world it was clear that the greatest threats to Far Eastern peace came from Japan.

During the First World War Japan continued to pick up strength. She seized German possessions on

the Shantung Peninsula in China, and gained the right to supervise many of the former German island possessions in the Pacific. Also, while the rest of the world was turned toward the war in Europe, she presented China with the famous 21 demands. Acceptance of all these would have made China a Japanese colony. While China gave in to some of the demands, her appeal to the United States and other powers saved her from the others.

The rise of Japan increased the rivalry for control of the Far East. In the early 1920's a program by the United States, Great Britain, and Japan to enlarge their navies and naval bases created even more suspicion. The United States called a meeting at Washington of the nine powers interested in the Far East. Among the agreements announced in early 1922, four are of interest to us here.

First, the United States, Great Britain, and Japan agreed to limit the size of their navies. Second, no new naval bases or fortifications were to be built in the Pacific Islands except at Hawaii, Australia, and New Zealand. We could not fortify Guam or the Philippines, nor could Japan fortify her newly acquired islands. Third, foreign powers, including Japan, recognized the Open Door in China and agreed to respect China's territory. Finally, Japan made a treaty by which she returned the former German possessions at Shantung to China. This conference eased the feeling in the Orient and for a time all was well. Japan turned to development of her trade and industries.

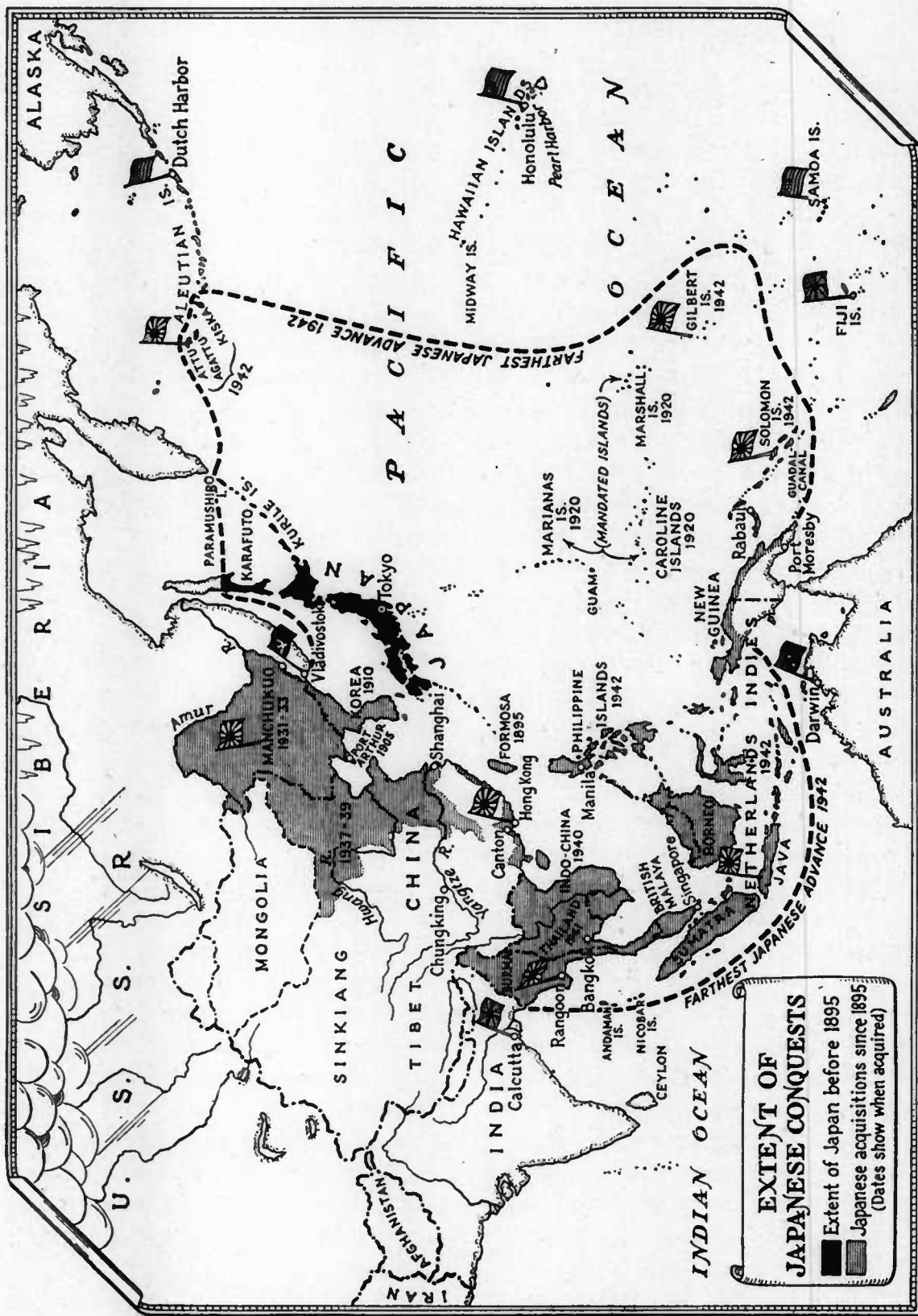
Japan tries to extend her control over eastern Asia. Public opinion in the United States was quite favorable to Japan for a number of years. After the terrible earthquake and fires of 1923, our people sent large sums of money and goods to the Japanese to care for their homeless and suffering. All seemed quiet in the Far East.

A number of events changed the picture. First, the Chinese continued their struggle for unity. They demanded that foreign powers give up their special privileges. Japan neither wished China to be strong, nor did she intend to give up her interests there. Second, a worldwide depression severely hit Japanese foreign trade. She must export or die. Unable to increase sufficiently her exports to European or American markets, Japan tried to seize those near at home. Third, the army and navy gained control of the Japanese government. Their aim was to conquer eastern Asia.

Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931 marked the beginning of a "new order" in Asia. It was a step designed to give her control of the Far East. The Japanese quickly defeated the Chinese and established the new country of Manchukuo. They placed on the throne a Chinese who was nothing but a puppet working for Japan. Within four short years, Japan was master of a land as large as Spain and France combined.

But Manchukuo was not enough. Japan was determined to control all of China. Her ambassador said that "Japan must act and decide alone what is good for China." There-





after Japan began to enlarge her navy. Then she invaded and established puppet governments in five of China's northern provinces (see map, page 504). Then she joined with Germany and Italy to form the Axis powers. In 1937 the Japanese again poured troops into northern China, marking what some consider the start of the Second World War. Within two years she controlled northern China and most of the coastal areas. Later, she seized Indo-China from France.

Throughout all of these threats and seizures the United States made

many strong protests. Sometimes we acted alone, but again we worked with Great Britain and other powers. Most of the protests were politely answered, but nothing happened.

The Japanese were determined to manage the trade and industries of eastern Asia. When they occupied a region, they drove out other foreign interests and set up their own. They slammed shut the Open Door. Our interest in the Far East had run up against the "new order" for eastern Asia which seemed to say, "Asia for the Japanese."

### WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

Show how each of the following terms is necessary to an understanding of our relations with the Far East.

- |               |                     |                            |
|---------------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. home rule  | 3. the Boxers       | 5. special rights in China |
| 2. concession | 4. Open Door Policy | 6. "new order" in Asia     |

### WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?

1898: What additions to our territory did the United States make in this year?

1899: What important policy was announced in this year that applied to China?

1931: What events in the Far East were a direct challenge to our policies there?

1934: Why is this date of great importance to the Filipinos?

### CAN YOU FIND ANSWERS TO THESE?

1. Describe how our early traders exchanged goods with the Chinese. On the map on page 495 locate Canton.
2. What evidence is there to show that "Up to 1800, China had given the western world far more than she had received"?
3. What two rights did we gain in our first treaty with China? Was this treaty made before or after Jackson's time?
4. Describe how Perry "opened up" Japan. What changes in policies did Japan make after his visit?
5. Tell how we secured Hawaii. From your text and the map on page 497, list other possessions that we have obtained in the Pacific area.
6. What steps did we take to give the Filipinos training in self-government? When will they have complete independence?

7. Show the three ways in which foreign powers were dividing up China's resources and trade.
8. What was the Open Door Policy, and how did John Hay promote it?
9. What was the program of the Boxers? What step did Hay take to help the Chinese after the Boxer Rebellion?
10. Why was it necessary for the Chinese to adopt the motto "China for the Chinese"?
11. What is Japan's policy of "Asia for the Asiatics"? What has she done to carry out this policy?
12. What were the terms of the Washington agreement reached in the early 1920's between the United States, Japan, Great Britain, and other powers interested in the Pacific?
13. How has Japan tried to close the Open Door?
14. *Summary Question*: What have been our policies in regard to the Far East?

# Chapter 30. *Step by Step We Begin to Take Our Place in the Affairs of the World . . .*

*Did you know that a learned New England blacksmith led the fight for world peace? Connecticut-born Elihu Burritt early learned the blacksmith's trade. While his strong skilled hands made tools at the forge and anvil, his alert mind explored ideas in such varied languages as Hebrew, Polish, German, and French. In fact, he mastered some 60 languages in his lifetime, although he had but a few months of schooling.*

*He left his native state to seek work and more education in Massachusetts. He was offered a chance to study at Harvard but he did not accept. To his earnings from the forge he added more as a lecturer. While preparing a lecture on "the anatomy of the earth," he suddenly had an idea. If nature with its great varieties of climate, land, and plants could live together in harmony, why couldn't the peoples of different nations get along without war?*

*He made up his mind to work for world peace. His first step was to use his meager earnings to publish a weekly paper. Week after week his articles urged nations to co-operate for peace. His paper had an influence far beyond its size, for it fell into the hands of editors, ministers, and educators.*

*Not content to work in America alone, Burritt in the 1840's sailed to Europe where he traveled widely, everywhere working for the cause of greater international co-operation and peace. He even urged the workers of the world to strike against war.*

*Elihu Burritt represents a spirit that throbs in most American hearts. The United States has long been the home of movements that worked for peace. While many urged that the United States government take an active lead in promoting international co-operation, there have been those who have opposed its taking such a lead. Yet, slowly but surely, the people of the United States have wanted our government to do its share in co-operating to keep peace throughout the world.*





"All Drawing Against His Account" is the title of this cartoon by Brown in the *Chicago Daily News*. This cartoon appearing in the 1920's shows how wars eat up the earnings of the workers who must pay taxes to support large armies, navies and air corps.

### *We Early Stand for the Ideal of World Peace . . . . .*

The cruelty and waste of war lead us to work for peace. Men have fought wars since the dawn of history, but in recent years war has become more and more destructive. The costs of the First World War were so staggering that they are almost unbelievable, as the estimate of one authority shows.

"The total cost of the First World War to all nations was \$400,000,000,000. This is equal to the national wealth of the United States in 1929. These billions of dollars would have built a \$2,500 house, furnished it with \$1,000 worth of furniture, and placed it on five acres of land for every family in the United States, France, Belgium, Germany, Russia, the British Isles, Canada and Australia. In addition, these billions could have given each city of 100,000 inhabitants in the

countries named a \$5,000,000 library and a \$10,000,000 university. In addition, it could have provided a staff of 125,000 teachers and 125,000 nurses, with a salary of \$1,000 for all time to come. In addition, it could have bought up all farms, homes, factories, railroads, street cars, and other things of value in France and Belgium." To this enormous bill must be added 30 million lives.

Many thoughtful people have felt that if we do not destroy war, war will destroy us. The United States has long stood for peaceful settlement of disputes between nations. In Washington's time we agreed in a treaty with Great Britain to refer certain disputes not settled by treaty to an arbitration committee. A red-letter year in our history was 1817 when we also agreed with Britain not to fortify our boundary with Canada, an agreement that has lasted for more than 125 years.

As the story of Elihu Burritt shows, the United States has been the home of great peace movements. Beginning in the early 1800's various groups organized to promote peace. These groups joined to form the American Peace Society. This and other organizations kept a steady flow of articles and materials urging greater international co-operation. Their efforts bore fruit. The United States, along with other nations, began to sign arbitration treaties—treaties by which we promised to submit certain disputes to a committee of expert judges in international law.

Another step toward international co-operation was made at two conferences held during the Presidencies of McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt at The Hague, the Netherlands. The first conference established a Permanent Court of Arbitration which consisted of a list of judges. If two nations had a dispute, they could select from this list three to five judges to hear the case. The United States and Mexico were the first nations to use the Court, and a famous American, Andrew Carnegie, gave money to build The Hague Palace of Peace which was the Court's headquarters.

**Nations settle many disputes around the conference table.** The meetings at The Hague gave new support to the idea that nations could settle even the most serious of their disputes without going to war. More and more the nations of the world were turning to the conference table rather than to the sword. You remember

from Chapter 27 that most disputes between nations are settled through ambassadors and other diplomatic officers. Further, you recall that the United States began to take part in an increasing number of international conferences.

Among the results of these conferences was the agreement by nations to settle more of their disputes by *arbitration*. There are three main features to arbitration. First, nations at dispute select their own judges. Second, the dispute is settled according to international law. Third, the nations must accept the decision of the arbitration committee. Many countries will not agree to submit all disputes to arbitration, but the peoples of the world are coming to have more faith in this method of settling troubles.

The United States has taken the lead in the use of arbitration. The case of the Pribilof Islands will show how we resorted to arbitration to settle an important difficulty. The Pribilof Islands are breeding grounds of seals and are located in the Bering Sea, off the coast of Alaska. Seals were not supposed to be killed while swimming or floating in water. However, the high price of seal-skin coats made it profitable for Canadians on schooners to kill large numbers of seals just outside the islands. The United States revenue cutters seized several of these ships.

The Canadians were angry. Through the mother country, Great Britain, they lodged vigorous protests with our government. There was even talk of war. Finally both sides agreed to arbitrate the case.



**The Hague Palace of Peace** was the gift of Andrew Carnegie. It was built to house the Permanent Court of Arbitration created by the Hague conference of 1899. Carnegie, like many other Americans, was interested in promoting peace. In addition to putting up this building he set aside large sums of money to study causes of war. (International)

Great Britain and the United States selected seven judges who met in Paris, and listened to evidence. The arbitration commission said that the United States was wrong because we had seized the ships while on the high seas. We had to pay damages. Further, the commission made suggestions for new rules designed to save the seals. Thus men around a conference table had settled a difficult case in a peaceful manner.

Many other cases were settled by arbitration, yet greater progress was prevented by the Senate. President Taft attempted to arrange treaties with France and Great Britain, providing for the arbitration of nearly all disputes that might arise between our country and theirs. The

United States Senate, feeling that its power in foreign affairs was threatened, objected and failed to approve the treaties. Said President Taft: "We must begin all over again." That task was left to another man, Woodrow Wilson.

*Out of the First World War  
Come the League of Nations  
and the World Court . . . .*

**Woodrow Wilson, statesman, goes to Paris to fight for world peace.** The man who proposed to take the United States farther along the path of world co-operation was Woodrow Wilson. Born in Vir-

ginia of strict, well-educated parents, he was named Thomas Woodrow Wilson. The Wilson family moved to Georgia and later to North Carolina. Among his earliest memories was the cry: "Lincoln is elected and there will be war." Tommy knew the South well and learned at first hand the troubles faced by that region after the War Between the States.

Shy, rather frail, he enjoyed the hours spent with his father. The gifted parson shared his experiences and wisdom with his son. From him Tommy learned clear cold thinking. He did not learn to read until he was nine, but once he learned he read constantly.

At 16 Tommy started college in North Carolina, but illness forced him to return home. Two years later he entered Princeton College in New Jersey. He was an excellent student in history and government, but he did not care for mathematics and science. Tommy was an outstanding debater in days when debating teams were more important than football teams.

He also liked to write. Not only did he edit the weekly paper at the college, but he prepared an article comparing our government with the British government. It was published in a national magazine. It was as an author that he decided to drop his first name and adopted the practice of signing "Woodrow Wilson."

After marrying he became a college professor. He taught at two colleges before Princeton called him back to teach history and politics. For 12 years his carefully pre-

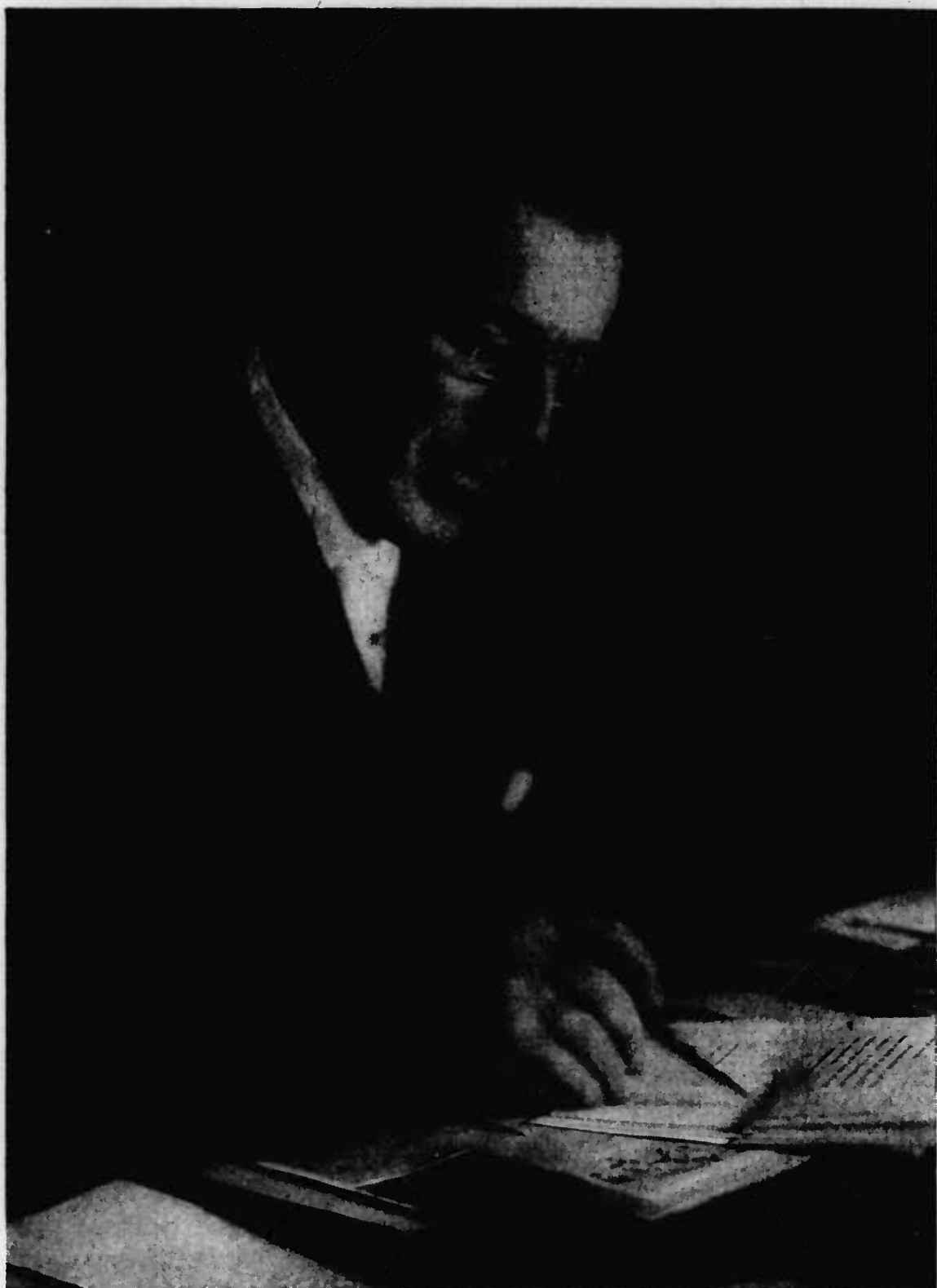
pared lectures and intimate talks inspired Princeton students with the ideals of democracy as well as the practical workings of politics.

FROM COLLEGE PROFESSOR TO A WAR PRESIDENT. Wilson's next step in leadership was as president of the college, a position he held for eight years. To Wilson's mind, the students spent too much time at social clubs that were snobbish and too little at the serious business of education. Wilson worked hard to make the college and its social life more democratic. He succeeded in many ways, but on many projects he was opposed by wealthy men who influenced university affairs.

In 1910 New Jersey was ripe for important political changes. The Democratic party had a good chance to win the governorship if it could secure an able candidate. Wilson was persuaded to run for the office. Resigning as president of Princeton, he gave his full time to the campaign for governorship. Throughout his campaign he urged many reforms to make New Jersey a better example of democracy. His election as governor carried him up another rung on the ladder of public leadership.

Two years later came the great presidential election of 1912. The task of the Democrats was to select a strong candidate. In spirited competition with three other men, Wilson was finally nominated as the Democratic candidate on the 46th ballot. You already know the story of his election and of his work as a great liberal President who led the nation forward along the path of democracy.





**Woodrow Wilson** as President championed many reforms under a banner called the New Freedom. The First World War made him a student of foreign affairs. He believed there must be some kind of a world organization, and he was bitterly disappointed when his country failed to accept membership in the League of Nations. Of this defeat he said: "I would rather lose in a cause that will some day win, than win in a cause that will some day lose." (Harris & Ewing)

The First World War brought tremendous problems to Wilson. He was bothered by the propaganda of both the Allied and Central Powers. The German submarine warfare caused many of our people to rise in angry protest, demanding war. Wilson tried desperately hard to keep our nation at peace, but without success.

**PRESIDENT WILSON FIGHTS FOR WORLD CO-OPERATION.** Wilson believed in international co-operation. Even before the war broke out, his Secretary of State undertook to get nations to sign "cooling-off" treaties. Countries which signed these agreements promised to submit their disputes to a commission for settlement. They agreed not to go to war for at least a year. This would give "hot heads" time to cool off.

From the outbreak of the war Wilson determined to work for a "peace without victory." He did not want the bitterness of defeat to be the seed of another war. He set before Congress his peace plans in a message in 1918. He proposed Fourteen Points as the framework around which leaders could arrange a just peace.

Most important was the fourteenth point in which President Wilson urged that a league of nations be formed to have power to settle differences among all nations. Wilson's message reached millions of people outside of the United States. It raised their hopes that after the war a better world would result and that the United States would help to build it. Germany asked for a peace, using the Four-

teen Points as the basis on which order should be restored. War ceased and a great peace conference was called.

President Wilson, now a world statesman, worked for what he believed to be the best interests of all nations. Gathering a host of advisers, he sailed to Europe for the coming conference. While the experts went to Paris, the seat of the conference, Wilson made a tour over parts of Europe telling the people of his plans. Disappointed in their own leaders, the common people rallied behind his ideas. But this was dangerous business. President Wilson was preaching democracy and co-operation in a Europe that still believed in monarchies.

At the conference table it was difficult for the President to keep alive his ideas for world co-operation. Secret treaties and promises made before the war came to light. Still he insisted, though he was forced to compromise many times. Finally, the conference completed a treaty of peace and drafted a charter for the League of Nations.

Wilson's tireless efforts were rewarded. Before the entire gathering of delegates he quietly yet proudly read the text of the Covenant (charter) of the League of Nations. People hoped that through this organization the world would co-operate to keep world peace. A United States President stood at the top of the ladder of world leadership.

**The League of Nations and the World Court are experiments in world co-operation.** What was the League of Nations as proposed at



The "Big Four" at the Paris peace conference. From left to right they are Premiers Lloyd George from Great Britain, Vittorio Orlando from Italy, Georges Clemenceau from France, and President Woodrow Wilson. The major decisions at this peace conference were made by these four men. (Brown Brothers)

the peace conference? It was an organization made up of delegates from the different nations of the world. The League was to have power to investigate any dispute that threatened the peace of the world. The chart on page 515 shows that the machinery of the League consisted of four bodies.

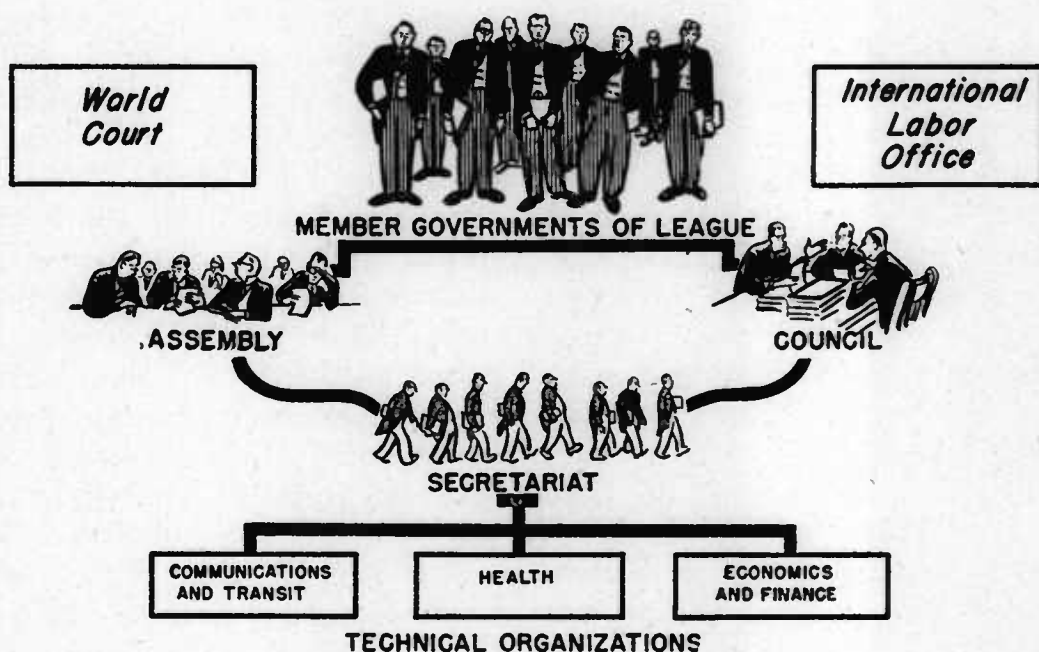
First, the *Assembly* was made up of delegates from every country that was a member of the League. Each nation was entitled to have three delegates chosen by the head of the country which they represented. Although each country might have three delegates, it had but one vote. At one time or another 63 out of the 65 or more independent nations of the world have been members. The Assembly met once a

year and voted the budget. It had power to consider almost any matter that a nation might wish to bring to its attention.

Second, the *Council* was the steering committee of the League. It consisted of five permanent members and four rotating members. Membership rules of the Council changed several times, but the idea that the great powers should have permanent seats while lesser powers should rotate remained. The Council met at least once a year. Special sessions could also be called. The Council has investigated many disputes between nations. It has settled many peaceably, while with others it has not been so successful.

Third, the *Secretariat* consisted of a regular staff of full-time work-

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND WORLD COURT



ers. The Secretariat has many divisions, each of which has a group of experts who gather facts and opinions about special fields. Before the Second World War the Secretariat employed about 700 people. The home of the League was at Geneva, Switzerland.

Fourth and separate from the League of Nations was the *Permanent Court of International Justice* or the *World Court*. Its headquarters are at The Hague, the Netherlands. The Court was made up of 15 judges selected by the League, each of whom served a nine-year term. The Court handled legal disputes between nations, though no nation could be compelled to submit a case to it. On request, the Court gave advice in certain disputes which the Council and

the Assembly might be considering.

The League of Nations and the World Court, spending less per year than the cost of a destroyer, represented the greatest forward stride toward peace up to that time. Some of the "founding fathers" of the League and the Court lived to see them settle serious disputes and serve as a powerful agency for world peace.

*We Reject Wilson's Plans but Nevertheless Co-operate in World Affairs . . . . .*

Suspicious Senators turn a deaf ear to the advice of our President. With the treaty and the Covenant of the League of Nations tucked safely in



his baggage, President Wilson returned to America confident of victory. The country in the spring of 1919 seemed willing and ready to accept both the treaty and the League. Yet, within a year, the Senate of the United States refused to ratify Wilson's plans. Why was there this change in feeling?

First, there was a bitter fight to win the coming presidential election. Republicans, seven years out of office, seized every possible chance to poke holes in and make light of the President's achievements. Second, there was a bitter feeling between some of the high ranking Republicans and the President. In making up the peace commission to go to Paris, Wilson had ignored men who expected to be included. For these and other reasons Senators Lodge, Johnson, and Borah began a campaign to discredit the treaty of peace and the League of Nations. They said that their acceptance would involve the United States in Europe's quarrels.

Third, when proposals were made by Republican Senators to change the treaty, President Wilson stubbornly refused to consider them. To him it was the whole treaty or none. Finally, there was a growing feeling that the war had brought the United States nothing but debts, death, and ill will. Many opponents said that Washington and Jefferson were right. We must stay out of Europe's troubles and attend to our own business at home.

The fight for the treaty and the League of Nations took place in the Senate, which, you remember, must approve all treaties by a two-thirds

vote. The Republicans controlled the Senate by a small majority. When President Wilson placed the treaty before the Senate it was immediately referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. The chairman was Henry Cabot Lodge, ardent Republican and bitter foe of Wilson.

Senator Lodge and his friends quickly set about defeating the treaty by suggesting changes. President Wilson resolved to stir the people of the country against these changes. He made a speaking tour of the nation during which he was taken critically ill. Bed-ridden, he was no longer able to take the issue to the people, while the Senators used every possible means to keep their views before the public.

Finally in the spring of 1920 came the vote in the Senate. Forty-nine Senators voted to ratify the treaty and the League, while 35 voted against them. The treaty and League were dead as far as the United States was concerned. They had failed of the necessary two-thirds majority by seven votes.

**Our Presidents see the need for sending delegates to conferences on world affairs.** When the Republicans swept the Democrats from power in 1920, they turned America again toward the path of isolation. The signs along this path read: "Take no part in the affairs of the rest of the world." The low point of the path was quickly reached when our Secretary of State refused to answer letters from the League of Nations. However, we soon discovered that the path of isolation



Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and A. Lawrence Lowell, President of Harvard University, debate our acceptance of the League of Nations. Senator Lodge, upper left, opposed the League, while President Lowell, upper right, supported the League. Over 3,000 people jammed Symphony Hall, Boston, to hear this famous three-hour discussion. Reporters came from foreign countries to cover it, especially for the attitudes expressed by Senator Lodge who was Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. (Pollier in the Boston Herald)

contained many boulders and had many blocked passages. It seemed best to try a crossroad and join the path marked "To international co-operation."

The first step along the crossroad came in 1922 when President Harding sent *unofficial observers* to meetings called by the League. Unofficial observers could listen and report back to Uncle Sam, but they could not take official action in conferences. Two years later we began to appoint official delegates to many of the League's conferences. Within ten years we had taken part in more than 40 conferences and had actually joined in at least 13 international agreements started by the League.

We often worked indirectly with the League. If the League wished to gain information from the United States, it would send a questionnaire to us. We returned it to Holland, who in turn handed it back to the League. A little later an American served on a League commission to settle a European boundary dispute. In the 1930's we promised that we would not take any action that would hinder the efforts of the League to punish Italy when she invaded Ethiopia.

As the World Court piled up a record of useful service by making fair international decisions, many Americans felt that we should become members. Four Presidents and both major political parties urged us to join. Each time the Senate voted it down, but twice only seven votes short of the necessary two-thirds majority. Even so, many citizens praised the Court's

work, and four of its judges have been from the United States.

Our Presidents have also urged world co-operation by calling important international conferences or sending delegates to them. We called a conference to deal with the affairs of the Pacific and to reduce the size of the world's great navies. The result was four important treaties that sank more battleships than an admiral had ever sunk.

We joined France in an important treaty by which the two countries agreed to "outlaw war." Over 60 nations later signed this treaty. We attended three European naval conferences and many conferences with Latin Americans. More and more the United States co-operated with other countries to work for world peace.

### *Summary of the Unit . . . .*

In this unit—"As the World Grows Smaller, the United States Realizes Its Duties as a Leader in World Affairs"—we have seen how the United States took its place among the nations of the world. The main points of the unit are:

1. Our foreign affairs are conducted through the State Department. The Senate, too, has very important powers because it must approve all treaties by a two-thirds vote.

2. George Washington laid a cornerstone in our foreign policy when he advised us to remain neutral in Europe's wars and not to make alliances with European powers.

3. We were forced in 1812 and in 1917 to protect our rights as neutrals by use of force.

4. We also thought it to our interest to keep European powers from expanding in Latin America. The Monroe Doctrine (1823) led to several incidents, none of which resulted in open war.

5. Our relations with our neighbors have been improving. We have never had a war with Canada, and since 1817 our boundary has been unfortified. Until recently Latin Americans have been cool to us, especially after the Panama affair in the early 1900's.

6. To improve our relations with Latin America we adopted under Franklin D. Roosevelt the Good Neighbor Policy, an outgrowth of the earlier Pan-American meetings begun in 1889.

7. The Spanish-American War of 1898 was important for two reasons. First, it carried us farther into Latin America. Second, by giving

us the Philippines, the war extended American possessions across the Pacific to the doorsteps of Asia.

8. We trained the Filipinos for self-government and promised them their freedom soon after the close of the Second World War.

9. We proposed and secured respect for the Open Door Policy (1899) by which all nations were to have equal trading privileges in China.

10. Japan has challenged the Open Door Policy by her policy of "a new order in eastern Asia" which opened with the invasion of Manchuria in 1931.

11. Our people have always supported the peace movement. While the hopes of President Wilson for United States membership in the League of Nations were shattered by the Senate, later Presidents have co-operated with the League and other agencies working to maintain world peace.

## WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

Show that you understand the following terms by explaining what they mean or relating them to some important event or organization in foreign affairs.

- |                         |                 |                         |
|-------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| 1. arbitration          | 4. covenant     | 7. the Secretariat      |
| 2. cooling-off treaties | 5. the Assembly | 8. unofficial observers |
| 3. Fourteen Points      | 6. the Council  | 9. World Court          |

## WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?

1817: Why is this year especially important in our relations with Canada?

1918: What important proposal was made as a basis for establishing world peace at this time?

## CAN YOU FIND ANSWERS TO THESE?

1. What proof can you give that war is an expensive method of settling international disputes?



2. How have the people of the United States felt about war? Before the First World War, what steps had our government taken toward the ideal of international co-operation?
3. Illustrate three features of international arbitration by using the Pribilof Islands' case.
4. What part of our government has been most opposed to entering into more arbitration treaties? Why?
5. What qualifications did Woodrow Wilson have for President of the United States?
6. Why could Woodrow Wilson rightfully be called a "world statesman"?
7. Name the three parts of the League of Nations, and describe the activities of each.
8. What is the World Court? What is its relationship to the League?
9. Explain why the United States did not join the League of Nations in 1920.
10. In what ways have the United States government or the citizens of our country promoted world co-operation?
11. *Summary Question:* To what extent has our government been willing to take part in international co-operation?

### Activities for Unit Nine

#### CAN YOU MAKE IT?

1. *Cartoon.* Choose one of the following topics and make a cartoon to illustrate the main ideas involved: (a) Two million soldiers go to Europe to fight for democratic ideals. (b) Jefferson and his embargo act. (c) We tack on the Platt Amendment. (d) We take the Panama Canal Zone. (e) The Good Neighbor or the Big Stick—which? (f) China opens her ports. (g) Perry opens Japan. (h) Filipinos earn the right to be free. (i) Japan closes the Open Door. (j) Senators turn a deaf ear to Wilson's plans.
2. *Chart.* Enlarge the chart that shows the steps by which a treaty is made in the United States. Or enlarge the chart showing the organization of our diplomatic service. Under the words "Secretary of State" place the name of the person who holds this position. This and other names can be found in the *World Almanac* by looking under "U. S., government roster."
3. *Poster.* Make a poster that might have been used to start a war-loan drive in the First World War. Be sure to show why the boys were fighting. Or make a poster urging the United States to join the League of Nations. Or make a poster urging nations to settle their international disputes around the conference table, rather than go to war.
4. *Map.* On a map showing the Pacific Ocean locate the places that the United States claimed before the Second World War. Or on a map of the Caribbean region show our possessions and places where Uncle Sam has acted as a policeman.
5. *Booklet.* Prepare an illustrated booklet called "Military History." This will contain the wars described in this unit. You should include maps showing the chief campaigns of each war. There should also be a list of the leaders on each side, a statement of the causes and of the results of the

wars. Pictures could be added to make it more interesting, but do not destroy a good book to cut out a picture.

## I TEST MY SKILLS

6. *Comparison and Contrast.* It is often interesting to compare and contrast the policy of our government in two different areas. Cuba and the Philippines are both in the tropics. After carefully studying pages 479 to 481 and 488 as well as pages 498 to 500, answer the following questions: (a) How did each of these feel about Spanish rule? (b) To which did we give more home rule first? (c) On occupation of the islands, did we establish the same kind of government in both cases? (d) Did the United States make attempts to improve the lot of the natives in both cases? (e) Has Uncle Sam's word been equally good in both cases?
7. *Using Figures.* Figures are the basis for many statements. Show that you can use a table of figures by answering the questions below these two tables.

### FOREIGN TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES

AVERAGE 1910-1914

<i>Continent</i>	<i>Exports To</i>	<i>Imports From</i>	<i>Total</i>
North America	\$ 501,095,000	\$ 347,136,000	\$ 848,231,000
South America	121,028,000	206,858,000	327,886,000
Europe	1,350,300,000	836,498,000	2,186,798,000
Asia	121,042,000	258,534,000	379,576,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$2,093,465,000</b>	<b>\$1,649,026,000</b>	<b>\$3,742,491,000</b>

1939

North America	\$ 802,196,000	\$ 580,630,000	\$1,382,826,000
South America	329,127,000	317,267,000	646,394,000
Europe	1,289,753,000	617,166,000	1,906,919,000
Asia	561,572,000	699,582,000	1,261,154,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$2,982,648,000</b>	<b>\$2,214,645,000</b>	<b>\$5,197,293,000</b>

(a) Did we export more before the First World War or in 1939? (b) Before the First World War with what continent did we trade the most? The least? (c) In 1939 was our trade with Europe in the thousands, millions, or billions of dollars? (d) With what continent or continents did our exports double in the second period over the first? Our imports? (e) From which continent did we import more than we exported in 1939?

## WE WORK IN GROUPS

8. *Radio Play.* Prepare a radio play of the life of Wilson. You will need a director, authors, sound effects engineer, as well as actors. We suggest four scenes: boyhood, professor, governor, President and world statesman. Review the biography in Chapter 30, as well as materials in Chapter 25 dealing with his work as President. We suggest that you select a committee of three to work out each of the four scenes separately. Finally, the director

with one member from each of these committees will work with the teacher to revise and put the finishing touches on the play. Select the cast, and arrange for at least two rehearsals. Put on as a radio play before the class or the school. It will not be necessary to memorize the parts.

## WE THINK FOR OURSELVES

9. *Panel Discussion.* Let a panel of five discuss the topic "Does War Pay?" Divide the panel into four parts, one person acting as chairman. One member could deal with what the United States has gained by war—and by peace. As a hint, what territories have we gained by war and what by peace? A second member could explain other methods of settling disputes. A third member could get estimates on the cost of wars including not only dollar costs, but lives as well. A fourth person could tell about the results of war, other than costs. Excellent additional materials can be found in *Building America*, III, "War or Peace"; V, "Can America Stay Neutral"; VII, "Total Defense" and "Training for National Defense."

## WE TURN TO OTHER BOOKS

10. *To Get More Information.*

RUGG, HAROLD, *America's March Toward Democracy*. See chapter ix on the War of 1812; chapter xxii on the Spanish-American War; and chapter xxv, describing how we entered the First World War and what we did in it.

BAILEY, T. A., "America's Foreign Policies: Past and Present." (Headline Books). A good account of our relations with Europe, Latin America, and the Far East.

PAULMIER, H., AND SCHAUFFLER, R. H., *Pan-American Day*. Excellent collection of stories, verse, and articles relating to Pan-Americanism and the Good Neighbor Policy.

STEWART, M. S. (ed.), *Our Neighbors Across the Pacific*. Chapters on China and Japan tell the story of these countries and their development through the centuries. Emphasis is on life today.

SPENCER, CORNELIA, *Made in China; The Story of China's Expression*. A delightful account of China's gifts to world civilization.

DULLES, F. R., "Behind the Open Door: The Story of American Far Eastern Relations." One of the best accounts of the problems in the Far East, especially as related to our Open Door Policy.

FOLLETT, HELEN, *Ocean Outposts*. An attractive, well-illustrated book that gives the story of each of our island possessions in the Pacific.

FINGER, C. J., *Our Navy: An Outline History for Young People*. A story of Uncle Sam's navy and the part it has played in our history.

11. *To Find Out Who's Who.*

MORGAN, JAMES, *Our Presidents*. Short biographies and highlights of the administrations of Presidents Madison, Monroe, Theodore Roosevelt, and Wilson can be found here.

NICOLAY, HELEN, *Boys' Life of Benjamin Franklin*. An excellent story of one of America's most famous men.

STEVENS, W. O., *David Glasgow Farragut, Our First Admiral*. An interesting biography of an early and great admiral who served from the War of 1812 through the War Between the States.

FAST, HOWARD, *Goethals and the Panama Canal*. The story of how this great engineering project was carried out and the man who did it.

PARKMAN, M. R., *Fighters for Peace*. Pages 229 to 257 tell the story of General Pershing in the First World War. The lives of 11 other Allied leaders are also to be found in this book.

JOHNSON, G. W., *Woodrow Wilson*. An excellent biography with many excellent pictures.

12. *To Read a Historical Story.*

EDMONDS, W. D., *Tom Whipple*. Tom ships aboard a vessel bound for Russia. He meets the Emperor and presents a gift brought from Mount Vernon.

TONER, R. J., *Midshipman Davy Jones*. Davy Jones at 15 on the *Constitution* took part in the fight with the *Guerrière*, and served under Perry until the end of the War of 1812.

NORDHOFF, C. B., AND HALL, J. N., *Falcons of France, A Tale of Youth and the Air*. Adventures of an American youth in the Lafayette Flying Corps during the First World War.

CROCHETT, L. H., *Capitán; The Story of an Army Mule*. The story of a mule that saw service in Cuba, the Philippines, China, Mexico, and France.

13. *To Look at the Past in Pictures.*

*Building America*: V, "Can America Stay Neutral"; VI, "America and Foreign Trade"; III, "War or Peace"; VII, "America's Outposts"; V, "Our Latin-American Neighbors"; VI, "Our Northern Neighbors."

*Pageant of America*: IV, 23-38, our early trade with the Far East; VI, 288-326, the events in the War of 1812; VII, 182-207, facts about the Spanish-American War and the Boxer Rebellion; IX, 193-214, our war with Spain and the Open Door Policy, and 293-329, materials on the First World War and the League of Nations.

## WE SUMMARIZE THE UNIT

14. *Time Line*. This line will cover the period from 1790 to 1940. Select the main events listed under "Why Are These Red-Letter Years?"
15. *Outline*. This unit has developed our main foreign policies in respect to the various regions of the world. Under each of the following headings, give in outline form short statements that explain our policies under that topic. (a) Our Policies toward Europe. (b) Our Policies toward Latin America. (c) Our Policies toward the Far East. (d) Our Policies in Respect to International Co-operation.
16. *Who's Who*. Prepare a list of seven Presidents who have played a key part in determining our foreign policies. Under each President list the policies for which he was responsible.



**DO WE UNDERSTAND THE IDEAS OF THE UNIT?**

17. *Examples.* Can you give an example of: (a) Our country being divided over which side to support in a European war? (b) A President seeking the advice of earlier Presidents before making up his mind what policy to pursue? (c) The United States submitting a dispute to arbitration? (d) An unwise war? (e) Our interfering in the affairs of other nations? (f) Our working for international co-operation? (g) A President who failed to have the support of the Senate in getting a treaty ratified?
18. *Language of History.* Can you use each of the following terms correctly: ambassador, foreign minister, treaty, neutral, ratify, embargo, armistice, the Allies, the Central Powers, "new order in Asia," concession, arbitration, covenant, the Assembly, the World Court, isolation, and international co-operation?
19. *Using Symbols.* Artists often find symbols better than words to put across ideas. Turn to the unit drawing on pages 458-59 and answer these questions. What symbols are used to represent: (a) the United States, (b) war, (c) peace, and (d) justice? What invitation is being offered to Uncle Sam? Do you think he is ready to accept the invitation?

# Unit Ten

## *A Rapidly Changing World Creates New Problems and Forces the Americas to Look to the Future*

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- 31. The New Deal Seeks New Solutions to Long-standing Problems
  - 32. The Americas Join the United Nations in Defense of Freedom
  - 33. Living Together in Today's World Places New Responsibilities on All Nations
- 

Wars create more problems than they solve. Since the end of the First World War, the world has been one of trouble and confusion. The First World War left Europe a land of poverty and destruction. Instead of peace and happiness, came revolutions, dictators, and wars. Little wars finally developed into a Second World War.

America thought it might escape all this. It did for a while during the prosperous 1920's. But the effects of the war finally helped to bring the greatest depression yet suffered by the American nation. Nor could America escape the effect of the Second World War. The world had become too small. Efforts to protect our own interests and to help the nations we believed in brought us into war.

After Pearl Harbor we were part of a world conflict—fighting for our way of life and our very existence. We were also fighting for a decent and peaceful future. It was a future which could only come by world planning and co-operation.







# Chapter 31. *The New Deal Seeks New Solutions to Long-standing Problems . . . . .*

*A barometer, as everyone knows, is an instrument which indicates changes in the weather. People have long considered the stock market, located in the financial district of New York, as a barometer of business conditions. The stock market is a place where shares of stock, which represent ownership in industries, railroads, and other kinds of business, are bought and sold.*

*When business is good, people want to buy stock and the price goes up. When business is poor, many owners sell and the price goes down. The price of stocks is a rough barometer of the prosperity of the country.*

*During the 1920's prices fairly boomed on the stock exchange. The sky was the limit. Many thought prosperity would last forever. But overnight the whole picture changed. On the fatal day of October 29, 1929, the boom collapsed. An account of that fateful day follows:*

*"The big gong had hardly sounded in the great hall of the Exchange at ten o'clock Tuesday morning before the storm broke in full force. Huge blocks of stock were thrown upon the market for what they would bring. Not only were innumerable small traders being sold out, but big ones, too. Again and again the specialist in a stock would find himself surrounded by brokers fighting to sell—and nobody at all even thinking of buying. The scene on the floor was chaotic. Within half an hour of the opening the volume of trading passed three million shares, by twelve o'clock it had passed eight million, by half-past one it had passed twelve million, and when the closing gong brought the day's madness to an end the gigantic record of 16,410,030 shares had been set."*

*This hectic day marked the beginning of the great depression. But it was only the beginning. For almost four years prices of stock went downward as industry slowed up and unemployment increased. What the depression did to the country, and how the nation attempted to meet it under the New Deal will be told in this chapter.*



## *The Great Depression Brings Hard Times to Our People*

**Our business life has its ups and downs.** If you will look at the heavy line on the chart on page 530, you will get a rough picture of the history of American business. During the years when the line is up, the United States enjoyed prosperity. When the line is down, the nation suffered from depression or hard times. You will also note that periods of prosperity are followed by periods of depression, and depression by prosperity.

Nothing could illustrate better how business conditions continually change. The situation never remains the same very long. When business is active, jobs are plentiful. Manufacturers and merchants make good profits, and the nation is prosperous. When business is poor, the merchants sell fewer things, the factories produce less, and the worker often loses his job. These are the days of depression.

Many different reasons are offered for this continual change. Students of business agree, however, on one thing. When conditions are good and people have money, they are tempted to spend too freely. They often buy more than they can afford and borrow to spend more. Factories produce more goods and merchants stock up with products to meet the demand.

Finally the consumer can buy no more. Then the factories slow down and lay off their workers. As unemployment spreads, there is less money to spend. Merchants sell fewer

goods; some are unable to pay their debts and go out of business. As times grow worse, suffering is widespread.

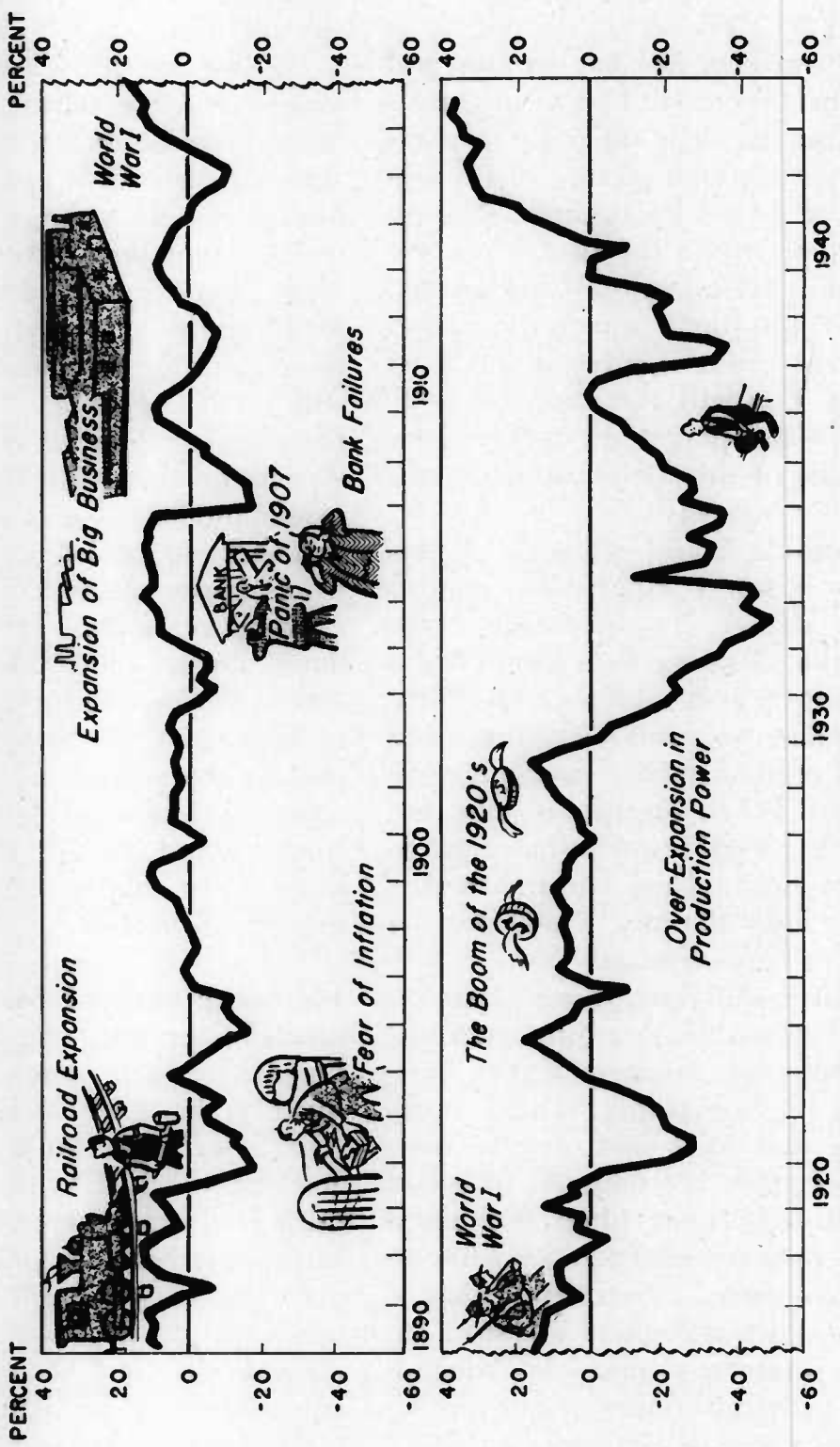
During the years after the First World War the United States enjoyed a period of great prosperity. Jobs were plentiful and wages high. Manufacturers enlarged their factories. Merchants did a good business. Money was easy to make. Much of this prosperity was due to the expanding automobile business and to the building of roads. But the prosperity spread to many other types of business. The future looked bright indeed.

Then suddenly, in 1929, the whole business world collapsed like a house of cards. Factories closed down. Over 13,000,000 workers lost their jobs. People had little money to buy from the merchants or to pay for the services of doctors and other professional men. Even the towns could hardly collect their taxes. The hopes of the 1920's turned to despair.

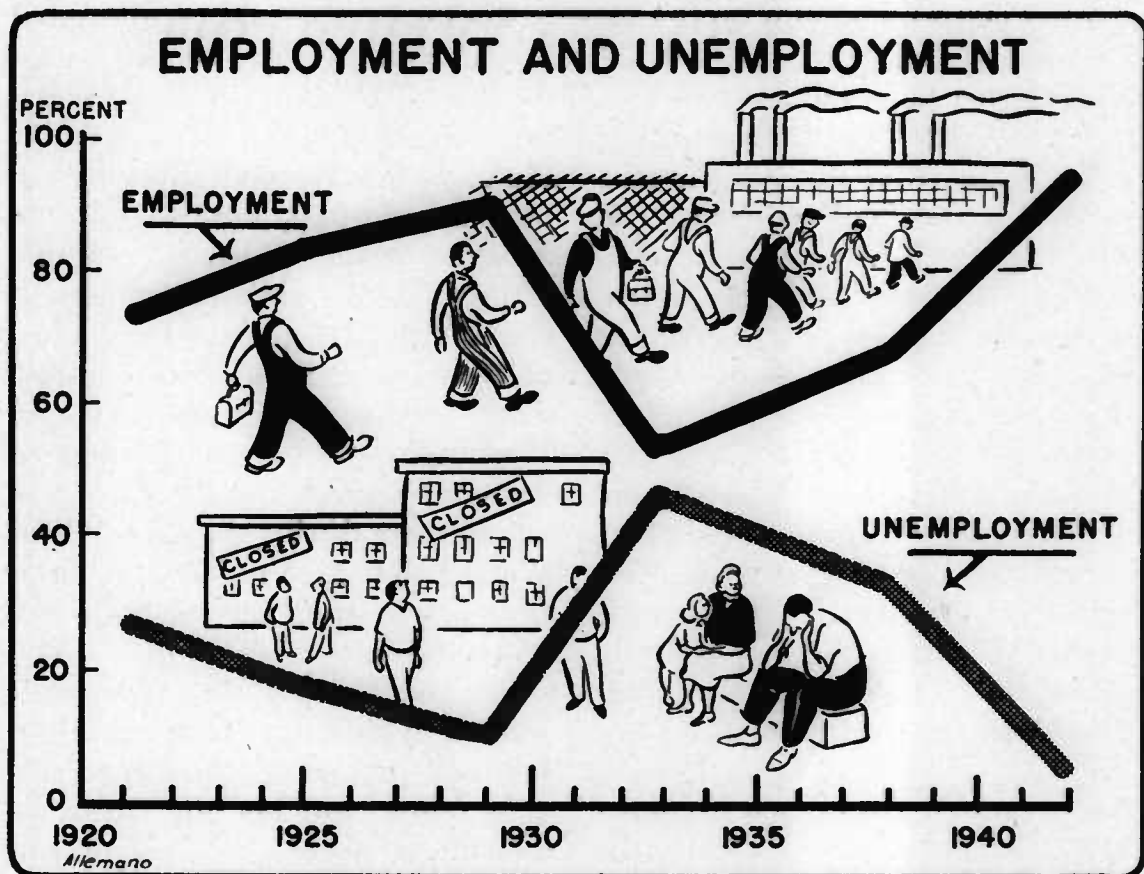
**Joe Smith and his family feel the pinch of the great depression.** Few people feel a depression more quickly than the factory worker. That is what Joe Smith found out. Joe was a skilled worker in a steel mill. His wages were good enough to support his wife and three children in reasonable comfort. He could afford a decent house, own an automobile, and buy household equipment for his wife. He could even manage to save a few dollars a week.

Joe Smith was a good workman and he felt safe about the future.

# PROSPERITY AND DEPRESSION



(Adapted from chart by Leonard P. Ayres, Cleveland Trust Company)



He read in his paper that factories were closing, but he was not worried. How could there ever be a time, he thought, when the country would not need steel? Steel was used to make machinery, automobiles, city skyscrapers, railroad cars, and a thousand other things. Life could not go on without steel.

But Joe was mistaken. One Saturday with his pay check was a note saying that his services were no longer needed. Searching out the superintendent, Joe asked him what the trouble was. "Is my work unsatisfactory?" asked Joe. "Your work is fine," answered the superintendent, "but there just is no work. The country has quit buying steel."

Like millions of others Joe looked for another job. Everywhere the same answer, "No work! We are

laying off men all the time." Joe was hopeful and it took weeks to convince him that even a strong man eager to work could not find a job.

For a short time the Smiths got along. Their savings tided them over for a few weeks. When these gave out, they borrowed a little. Everyone knew Joe Smith as an honest and dependable person. Joe's good friend, the corner grocer, gave him credit. Other merchants allowed him to charge things. But this did not go on long, for many others like Joe were in the same boat. If the merchants gave credit too long, they would go out of business.

In the meantime Joe had to pay the rent. Maybe he had to make payments on an automobile or

washing machine bought on the installment plan. His family needed food, clothes, and the services of a doctor or a dentist. Only another job or help from the government could pull the family through the depression.

What happened to Joe Smith, happened to millions of other workers. It also happened to thousands of merchants, doctors, teachers, and others who lived on the wages that Joe Smith and his fellow workers earned. The situation was desperate. What could be done to halt the depression and end the suffering? How could the nation be put on its feet again? These were the questions everyone was asking.

**The great depression puts Franklin D. Roosevelt, the New Dealer, in the White House.** The need produced the man and in Franklin D. Roosevelt Americans found a President to lead them out of the depression. Unlike many famous Americans, Roosevelt was not born in a log cabin. He never faced poverty nor did he have to fight the long battle to win financial security. His parents were prominent and well-to-do, and he spent his boyhood days on the large family estate overlooking the Hudson.

Until he was 14 he was educated at home by private tutors. When it was time to choose a school, young Roosevelt wanted to go to the Naval Academy at Annapolis. His father, however, finally persuaded him to go to Groton, a preparatory school, and to Harvard College in preparation for a law course at Columbia.

Roosevelt was always interested in outdoor life, particularly anything which had to do with the water. He was a swimmer and sailor. He early began a collection of ship models, paintings, and books on the American navy, which became one of the most valuable collections in the country. During the Presidency of Woodrow Wilson, Roosevelt had many opportunities to serve in Washington. He chose the post of Assistant Secretary of the Navy and served there during the First World War. Later as President he was Commander-in-Chief of both the army and navy.

At school and college Roosevelt seemed to have time for everything. He took part in sports, joined student clubs, and became editor of the college paper. And, needless to say, the *Harvard Crimson* was a live paper while he was editor. Despite all this activity, Roosevelt completed a four years' course in three years. He then entered the Columbia Law School.

**THE YOUNG POLITICIAN.** After law school Roosevelt practiced law with a New York firm. But his first law career was short. In 1910 he turned to politics just as his distant relative, Theodore Roosevelt, had in earlier years. He accepted the Democratic nomination for state senator from his own district at Hyde Park. Democratic senators from rural New York are as scarce as hen's teeth. Only one Democrat had been elected from this district in more than 50 years. No one expected Roosevelt to win.

Roosevelt put on a whirlwind campaign. He won, and did it with



**President Roosevelt, pointing on the map to the area of the Southwest Pacific, emphasizes the importance of faraway battles on the Pacific line of American defense. (Press Association)**



little help from the outside. When he arrived in Albany he found the Democrats in control of the legislature and ready to elect a United States Senator picked by the bosses of the party. Unlike many a young politician, Roosevelt had no intention of taking a back seat and voting as the bosses told him. He quickly became the leader of a few independent Democrats who insisted on a more progressive candidate. This group battled for weeks and held up other business until they forced the election of a candidate satisfactory to them.

A leader among the young progressive Democrats of New York, Roosevelt worked hard for the nomination of Woodrow Wilson for President. After Wilson's election Roosevelt resigned from the state senate to spend the next seven years as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. His splendid record here was one reason his party in 1920 nominated him for Vice President of the United States.

**BATTLE FOR LIFE AND HEALTH.** After the defeat of the Democrats in 1920, Roosevelt retired from politics and returned to the practice of law. Shortly after, he was stricken with infantile paralysis. Roosevelt may never have fought the bitter battle for financial security that faces most men, but he now faced a struggle that would have discouraged anyone but the strongest.

Paralyzed in his lower limbs, Roosevelt had no intention of spending the rest of his life as an invalid. After he had won his fight for life, he began to carry on his business from his bed. In a year or

so he was going to his office. By 1924 he was sufficiently recovered to appear at the Democratic convention to nominate his friend, Alfred E. Smith, for the Presidency.

During these years of illness, Roosevelt had been helped most by swimming at Warm Springs, Georgia. Determined to aid others stricken with the same illness, he established the Warm Springs Foundation and contributed to it a large part of his private fortune. Later he took out insurance policies of \$560,000 on his life for the benefit of the Foundation. Even as President he has given time and energy to the welfare of Warm Springs.

**GOVERNOR AND PRESIDENT.** In 1928 the Democrats needed a strong candidate for governor of New York. Against his own wishes they persuaded Roosevelt to run. The nation went Republican, but Roosevelt carried New York. Two years later he was re-elected. Two terms as governor gave him the executive experience which prepared him for the more important work ahead. They also strengthened his reputation throughout the country as a progressive statesman.

The election of 1932 came in the midst of a deep depression. Unemployment and suffering were everywhere. The people were dissatisfied with the way the federal government had handled the depression. They wanted a change and a new President. Who, they thought, could do the job better than the progressive governor of New York?

In the hope that Roosevelt would lead the nation back to a better day, the Democrats nominated him for

the Presidency. Roosevelt accepted the challenge and in his campaign speeches promised a "New Deal" to agriculture, labor, and other groups. When the votes were counted, he had carried 42 states.

Once President, Roosevelt took the leadership and gave the nation much of what he had promised. Congress accepted his program and one important act after another was quickly passed. Some of these acts were intended to lift the country out of the depression. Others provided for reforms. They came so fast and made so many changes that many agreed that they had brought a "New Deal."

As conditions improved, Roosevelt's popularity increased. Four years later, in his second campaign he carried all the states but Maine and Vermont. By the end of his second term most of the New Deal program had been completed. But a new problem had appeared—a war in Europe. Eager to carry on his foreign policy of aid to the powers fighting Germany, Roosevelt decided to run again. This meant a break with the old American practice of only two terms. Roosevelt was bitterly criticized by many, but easily won.

During his first term Roosevelt faced the responsibility of leading the nation out of a deep depression. Before his third term ended the country was in the midst of a Second World War. The President believed that the responsibility of leading the nation to a final victory was his, if his party wanted him. Again the Democrats nominated him and again he was elected.

## *The New Deal Comes to the Aid of the Farmer . . . . .*

The farmers are the first to feel the coming of the depression. At the beginning of this chapter we pointed out that the period of the 1920's was one of great prosperity. In general this was true. Unfortunately, however, there were some Americans who did not profit from this prosperity. The most important groups were the farmers, particularly those who specialized on a single crop which they sold.

Let us explain this by telling what happened to a typical farmer. Bill Jones, a wheat farmer in Nebraska, raised 5,000 bushels of wheat at the opening of the First World War. When the war started, millions of acres of farm land went out of production in Europe. Immediately there was an increased demand for American wheat. When the United States entered the war, the demand was even greater. By the time the war ended the price per bushel had tripled.

As the demand for wheat increased, Bill Jones, like other American farmers, tried to grow more. This was particularly true when the government urged all to raise more food. Bill Jones plowed up land that had never been used before. He borrowed money and bought more land and machinery. Soon he was raising 7,000 bushels instead of 5,000. What Jones was doing with wheat, other farmers were doing with cotton, cattle, hogs, and other products.

All this was fine as long as the



During the depression thousands of farms were foreclosed and sold at auction. At this auction of equipment on a farm in Illinois, neighbors bought wagons for five cents and cows for a dime to return to the original owner. The entire sale brought in only \$4.90. The mortgage holder telegraphed the governor, "There is anarchy in our midst." (Acme)

demand continued and prices were high. But the prosperity ended as quickly as it had started. When the war was over Europeans went back to raising food. In the meantime other nations—Canada, Argentina, Australia—also had increased production of wheat, and other farm products. Farmers were now raising more food than could be sold.

When the war started Bill Jones got 90 cents a bushel for his wheat. During the war the price jumped to \$2.70. Then it declined until in 1932 it was only 38 cents, the lowest price in 300 years. Bill Jones and 10,000,000 other American farmers

were in a tough spot. They had borrowed money to buy land and machinery. Now they could not get enough for their products to pay their debts or the interest on them.

Jones and his fellow farmers had other troubles. While the prices of farm products went down, the cost of manufactured goods which the farmers bought did not decline so much. Farmers wondered how they could get along as the price of clothing, household equipment, and other things remained high. Farmers were demanding better roads to market their products and better schools for their children. Thus their taxes remained high.



Aid to farmers is given by both state and federal governments in many different ways. Here a father and son in Vernon County, Wisconsin, are watching a soil tester at work with scientific equipment. This test will help the farmer decide what kind of fertilizer to use. (Office of War Information photograph by Arthur Rothstein, from a negative now in the Library of Congress)

**The farmers turn to the government in time of need.** The situation had become so bad that something had to be done. Farm organizations, such as the Grange, demanded action. Congressmen from the farm states urged new legislation. Students of agriculture proposed definite remedies. Congress was finally stirred to action.

During the 1920's the government tried various remedies. Congress increased the tariff duties on farm products to keep out foreign food. This did not help much because we were already raising more than we needed. In fact, we were trying to sell our products abroad.

Congress also passed legislation to make it easier for farmers to borrow money. This helped a little, but did not go far enough.

During the Presidency of Herbert Hoover Congress passed the Agricultural Marketing Act. This allowed the government to buy large amounts of farm products in the hope that this would raise prices. The act also encouraged farmers' *co-operatives*, that is, groups which might buy and sell together. It was hoped that through co-operatives farmers might sell their goods at a higher price and buy what they needed more cheaply.

This might have helped, but the



same year the act was passed the great depression started. The condition of the farmer became worse than ever. Many a farmer who had voted the Republican ticket all his life turned against Hoover and voted for Roosevelt and the New Deal.

Under Roosevelt new laws were quickly passed. For example, the Agricultural Adjustment Act offered payments to farmers, if they would reduce the acreage of their crops. The idea was to raise less food so that prices would go up. If prices advanced, farmers would actually make more money by growing fewer crops and the farmers would be saved. Another example was a law that allowed farmers to borrow money for a long period of time at low rates of interest so that they could buy back farms on which banks and others had foreclosed the mortgages.

When the Supreme Court declared the AAA unconstitutional, Congress tried again. This time it reduced crops by paying farmers to restore and improve their land. This meant taking many acres out of cultivation while scientific methods were used to rebuild the land.

Finally Congress passed a second Agricultural Adjustment Act (1938). Under it each farmer who raised wheat, cotton, corn, tobacco, and rice agreed to produce a certain amount and no more. On its part the government agreed to maintain a price which would allow the farmer a fair profit. The amount raised allowed for a surplus to be stored in case of drought or other misfortune.

The main idea of this program was to keep production of crops under control and prices at a fair level. With the Second World War the whole picture changed. The object now was to produce as much as possible. When the war ends, however, the farmer may again face the old problem—too much production and too low prices.

### *The Government Helps Business But at the Same Time Regulates It . . . . .*

**The government loans money to businesses in distress.** Unlike agriculture, industry enjoyed great prosperity in the 1920's. Goods flowed from factories in increasing amounts. There seemed to be no limit to the demand for manufactured goods.

In the end, however, industry suffered from the same illness that troubled agriculture. By 1929 the booming factories were turning out more goods than they could sell. Machines were stopped; workers lost their jobs. The whole country sank into a depression.

As the business world cracked up, President Hoover and Congress finally stepped in. Congress created a great loaning company, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The RFC might loan money to banks, railroads, insurance companies, and manufacturing concerns facing bankruptcy. It kept many concerns from going out of business and saved many a job for the work-



ers. It helped to pull the nation out of the depression. The RFC proved so useful that it was continued under Roosevelt on a much greater scale.

The small home owner also suffered in the depression. Most homes are built on borrowed money, often on the installment plan. Without jobs the owners could not make payments and lost their homes. To halt this Congress set up a Home Owners Loan Corporation to loan money to home owners to meet payments and make repairs. This helped both home owners and banks. It also helped the building industry.

Although most American industries were prosperous in the 1920's, one industry faced serious difficulties. This was the business of shipbuilding and ocean transportation. Its history is much like that of agriculture. When the First World War came, there were not enough ships to carry goods to the nations at war. The situation became worse after German submarines destroyed many ships.

Helped by government orders, the shipbuilding industry enjoyed a great boom. Hundreds of new ships helped to win the war. When peace came, however, the world had more ships than it needed. American ships now had to compete with those of other nations.

Americans were determined to keep an American merchant marine on the seas. This might help to prevent a shortage in a future war. Only government help could do it. Congress ordered the government to sell its ships to private companies

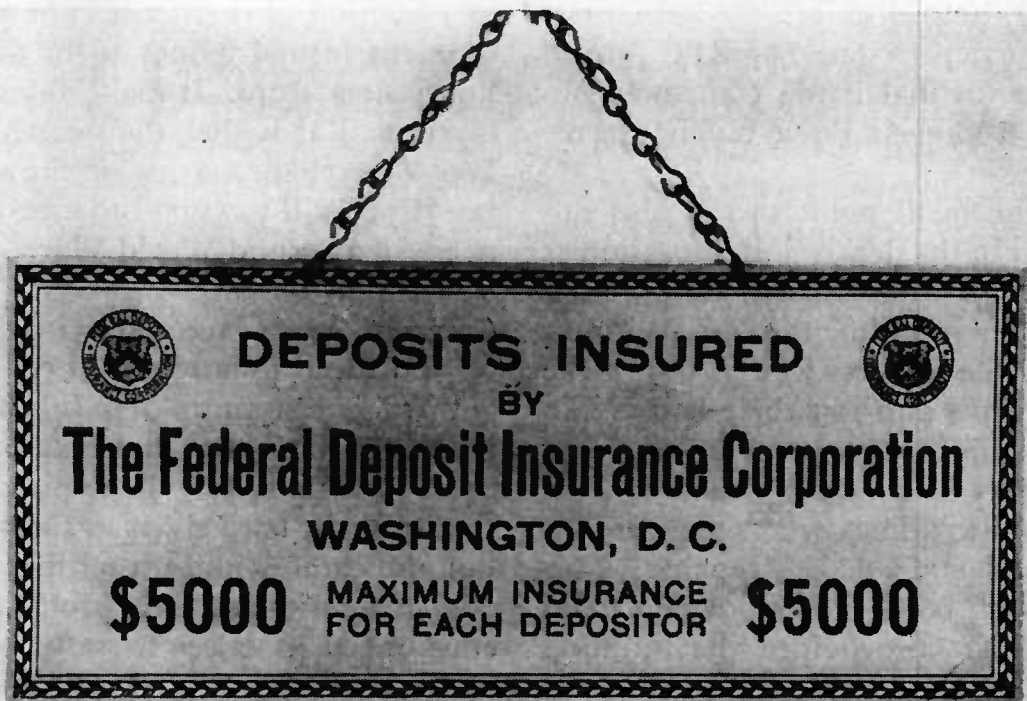
at a fraction of their cost. The government loaned money to buy and build new ships. It paid rates to carry mail at higher than cost. We kept a merchant marine on the seas, but it was still too small to meet the needs of a Second World War.

**Congress passes laws requiring better business practices.** When the government began to help business, it insisted on better business practices. It was not only the depression that brought hard times to business but also careless and wasteful methods. Prosperity and easy profits had encouraged practices harmful both to business and to the nation as a whole.

One example of this was banking. Banks had been too easy in loaning money and too careless in investing their own money. Some had gone beyond banking and set up companies to invest money for other people. Between 1922 and 1932 about 10,000 banks had failed, an average of 1,000 a year.

Under Roosevelt Congress established more careful regulations. It forbade banks going into the investment business. They must now stick to banking. Congress required certain banks to insure their deposits up to \$5,000 for each depositor. This protected the little depositor in case the bank should fail.

One of the most important New Deal acts concerned companies dealing in electricity and gas. During the 1920's these companies had grown rapidly. By means of holding companies they had spread far and wide, some companies selling electricity in many states. States had



After the Banking Act of 1935 was passed, all national banks were required to take out insurance to protect depositors. Many other banks did it of their own free will. Signs such as this one began to appear in bank windows. (Charles Phelps Cushing)

passed laws to regulate these companies, but they helped little, because much electricity was sold across state lines. Regulation of interstate commerce is the business of the federal government.

Moreover, there were so many holding companies in the electricity and gas business that it was hard to keep track of costs and charges. Many believed that the consumer was overcharged. By the Public Utility Holding Company Act (1935) Congress gave the federal government power to regulate rates and practices of utility companies selling their product across state lines. It also limited the number of holding companies in any concern doing an interstate business. A commission was set up to enforce the act.

The government also extended its control over interstate transportation of passengers and freight. The Interstate Commerce Commission, established almost 50 years earlier to regulate railroads, was now given power to regulate commerce on inland waters and along the coasts. It was also given power to regulate motor vehicles, such as buses and trucks, doing an interstate business. Like railroads, motor vehicle companies must charge only just and reasonable rates. They must treat all customers alike.

This widening of federal control over banking, electric companies, and motor vehicles was typical of these years. Greater supervision was needed. State regulation had failed, said many, so the federal government must step in.



The Civilian Conservation Corps, one of whose jobs was the conservation of forests and land, is here shown planting locust and pine trees on eroded land near Jackson, Tennessee. Trees properly planted will prevent further washing away of the land. (Ewing Galloway)

### *Millions See a Brighter Hope for the Future . . . . .*

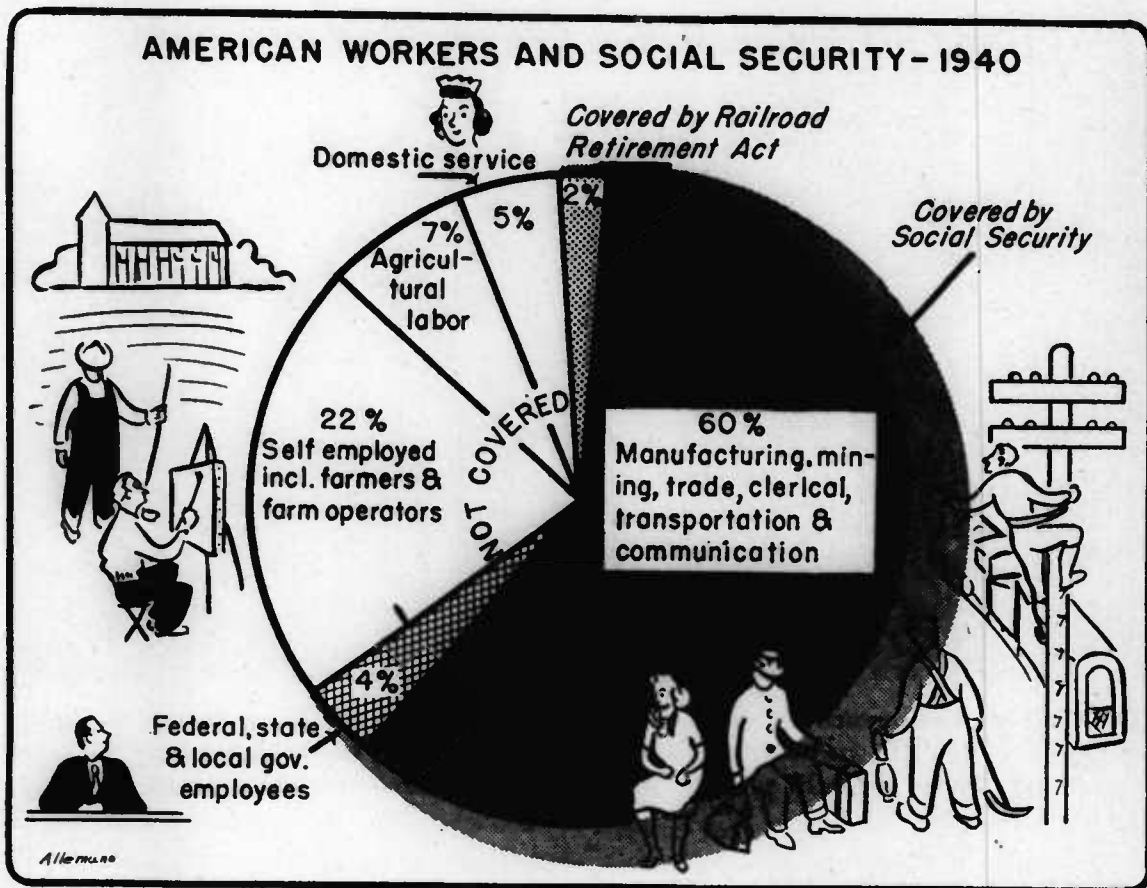
**The government tries to find useful work for jobless men and women.** One of the most difficult problems faced by the nation after 1929 was unemployment. As the depression deepened, the number of jobless increased. By 1933 the number had reached 13,000,000 or more. Millions of others suffered from reduced wages and part-time work.

During the first four years of the depression the federal government did little to meet the situation. Towns, cities, and states handed out relief to keep people from starving. Finally Congress stepped in and granted money to help local governments give relief. It also voted funds for public works to put some

of the jobless in the building industry back to work.

These efforts hardly scratched the surface of the problem. The situation was so desperate when Roosevelt entered office that halfway measures would no longer do. New Dealers immediately planned a widespread program of relief. This program, as we shall see, included not only immediate help for unemployed men and women, but also security against unemployment and old age. "While it isn't written in the Constitution," said President Roosevelt, "nevertheless it is the duty of the federal government to keep its citizens from starvation."

The New Deal program for the unemployed was a double one. First, there should be direct relief when necessary. Second, the unemployed must be put back to work as



quickly as possible. This must be done even if work had to be made for them. New Dealers argued that people preferred to work rather than receive “handouts” from the government. Self-respecting people preferred work to charity.

Following this program various projects of made-work were established. To take care of jobless young men just out of school a Civilian Conservation Corps was formed. Young men who joined the CCC lived in government camps and worked at various projects of land and forest conservation. At the same time they might learn trades. The CCC took care of almost 300,000 boys each year.

Congress had already begun a program of public works before the

New Deal came in. This program was now enlarged under a Public Works Administration (PWA). Billions were spent to build public buildings, tunnels, bridges, roads, housing developments, and other things which the nation needed.

To take care of other unemployed a Works Progress Administration (WPA) was established. It found work for unskilled laborers building sewers and roads and other public improvements. It provided money for unemployed actors to put on shows and for painters, teachers, and writers to continue their work. It provided jobs to help boys and girls earn their way through college. It supplied work at one time or another to 8,500,000 persons. Altogether it spent over



\$10,000,000,000 in federal funds in the eight years of its life.

**The Social Security Act is a milestone on the road to progress.** The WPA was but a first step in the program of reducing the evils of unemployment and lack of security. New Deal legislation on these problems came to a head in the Social Security Act (1935). It was concerned primarily with unemployment and old-age pensions.

The Social Security Act encouraged states to set up funds to help take care of unemployed workers until they could find jobs. If a state passed an act providing for this, the federal government would place a tax on the employer's payroll and then turn the money back to the state. The state in turn would then pay the unemployed worker a certain amount a week (usually about half his former wages) for several weeks while the worker looked for another job.

The unemployment insurance plans are handled by the states, the old-age pension scheme mainly by the federal government. The old-age pension plan is paid for by a small tax on the employer and the earnings of the worker. Both employer and worker contribute. When the worker is 65, and stops working, he receives a pension in proportion to the amount he has paid in.

The act also offered to help the

states provide for needy aged persons already 65 or those who did not come under the benefits of the federal old-age pension scheme. These groups included agricultural workers, domestic servants and other groups (see chart, page 542). Nevertheless the federal scheme included a majority of workers. About 75,000,000 held social security cards in 1944.

The Social Security Act was interested in other problems than unemployment and old-age security. It contained appropriations to take care of needy dependent children and to provide for surgical and other help for crippled children. It provided funds for homeless and neglected children and for better public health services. It also contained funds for the physically disabled and the needy blind.

A beginning was also made under the New Deal in improving the housing of American workers. Congress established a United States Housing Authority with power to loan or contribute money to clear out slums and build low-rent houses. The USHA actually started over 400 such projects.

These new laws have not ended poverty, insecurity, poor housing, and unemployment. Widening of federal control has not assured a square deal to everyone. As a whole, however, this legislation marks a forward step towards a better life for most Americans.

**WHAT DO THEY MEAN?**

Show that you understand these words and terms by using each correctly in a sentence. When possible give an example.

- |                     |                     |                    |
|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1. depression       | 5. co-operatives    | 8. Works Projects  |
| 2. prosperity       | 6. Reconstruction   | Administration     |
| 3. installment plan | Finance Corporation | 9. social security |
| 4. New Deal         | 7. public works     |                    |

**WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?**

- 1929: What event beginning in this year affected every phase of living in the United States for the next four years and longer?
- 1932: This is a political event which some believe compares in importance with 1800, 1828, 1860, 1896, and 1912. What is it? Can you identify the other dates in review?
- 1935: This date stands out in the social progress of our country. What does it mark?
- 1938: What basic economic problem did Congress try to solve in this year?

**CAN YOU FIND THE ANSWERS TO THESE?**

- Using the chart on page 530, explain why business conditions are always changing.
- What happens to the average worker in a depression? To doctors, small business men, teachers, and others? Why?
- What events in Franklin D. Roosevelt's youth suggested that he might become a leader? What one event in his early political life suggested that he might be a progressive or liberal leader?
- What were the far-reaching effects of Roosevelt's battle against infantile paralysis?
- In general terms what was the "New Deal"? Is there any evidence that Roosevelt's New Deal was popular?
- In what special ways does a depression affect the farmer?
- Name at least five ways in which Congress tried to help the farmer in the 1920's and 1930's. How did the second Agricultural Adjustment Act (1938) attempt to solve the farmer's problems?
- Do you believe that Congress should help either business or agriculture? Why?
- How did the New Deal attempt to regulate banking, holding companies, and bus and truck transportation? Why?
- Do you believe that Congress should help the unemployed? Why? Would you favor a Civilian Conservation Corps?
- Explain the unemployment insurance and the old-age pension provisions of the Social Security Act. Name five other provisions of this "milestone on the road to progress."
- Summary Question:* The depression beginning in 1929 threw out of jobs about 13 million workers. American business and agriculture seemed to be suffering from some great illness. How did the New Deal attempt to cure this illness or prevent it from occurring again in such violent form? Using the charts and graphs in this chapter, determine how successful the New Deal was in doing these things before the Second World War began in 1939.

## Chapter 32. *The Americas Join the United Nations in Defense of Freedom . . . . .*

*In November, 1941, the Japanese government sent a special representative to Washington to discuss the Far Eastern situation. The United States offered a plan which might have solved the Far Eastern problem. It included the recognition of Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese Government and the withdrawal of Japanese troops from China.*

*While our government awaited Japan's reply reports came of Japanese troop movements into Indo-China. Disturbed by this, President Roosevelt sent a personal message to the Japanese Emperor urging that he act to bring peace to the Far East.*

*On the next morning, Sunday, December 7, the Japanese representative and the Japanese ambassador asked for an appointment with Secretary Hull. That afternoon they appeared with an answer to this country's proposals. At the very moment Mr. Hull received them, the White House heard its first news of the bombing of Pearl Harbor.*

*Mr. Hull took the document given him and began to read. The Japanese had flatly turned down our offer. Wrote the Japanese: "Ever since the China affair broke out, . . . the Japanese government has striven . . . for peace." It "has always maintained an attitude of fairness and moderation and did its best to reach a settlement. . . . On the other hand, the American Government, always holding fast to theories in disregard to realities [facts], and refusing to yield an inch on its impractical principles, caused undue delay in the negotiations." The United States, said the document, by trying to impose its own "selfish views upon others" prevented any solution.*

*As Mr. Hull read this document his eyes blazed. Looking at the Japanese envoys he said, "I have never seen a document that was more crowded with infamous falsehoods and distortions—infamous falsehoods and distortions on a scale so huge that I never imagined until today that any Government on this planet was capable of uttering them."*

## *The Shadow of a Second World War Hangs Over the Western Hemisphere . . .*

**Dictators challenge the democratic way of life.** The First World War ended in the autumn of 1918. Twenty-one years later a second and greater World War broke out. Those who had sacrificed, suffered, and fought in the First World War hoped that the victory over Germany would mean a long period of peace. Those who had helped to found the League of Nations hoped that there would be no more great wars. One of the slogans of the First World War was that it was "a war to end wars."

Unfortunately the high hopes of the founders of the League proved groundless. The First World War did not end wars. The years following were only a "long armistice," a long truce before another great war broke out. In fact, it was not even an armistice. Minor wars went on during most of these 21 years. There were revolutions, bloodshed, and civil wars in Italy, Russia, Spain, and elsewhere. There were wars between Greece and Turkey, between Poland and Russia, Italy and Ethiopia, and Japan and China.

The causes for this period of unrest and disturbance are not hard to find. The war left deep scars on Central Europe. The old way of life was torn up by the roots. Destruction of life and property left Europe in poverty. It took years of hard work to rebuild industry, agriculture, and business. The former ruling families of Germany, Aus-

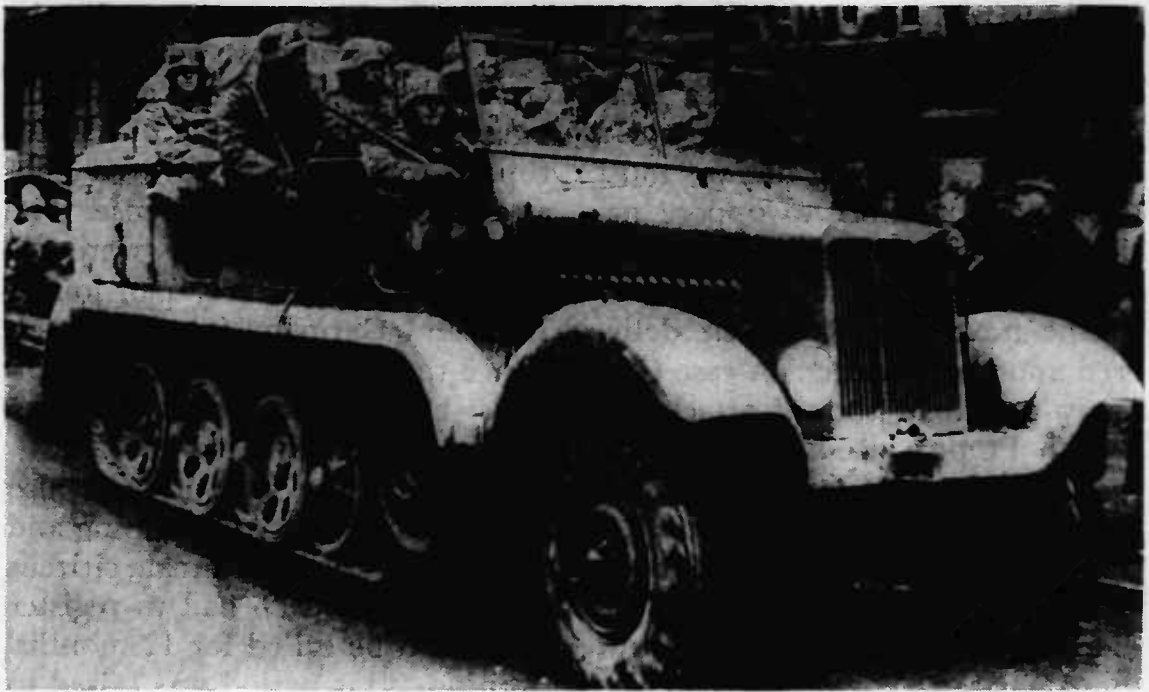
tria, and Russia had been thrown out of power. New governments had to be set up in central and eastern Europe. Moreover, the defeated nations believed that they had been unjustly treated in the peace treaty. Dissatisfaction with the boundary lines established by the Treaty of Versailles was widespread.

All this was fertile ground on which ambitious and unprincipled men could rise to power. It was also fertile ground for spreading lying propaganda against the democracies who had won the last war. Rising politicians like Mussolini in Italy and Hitler in Germany denounced the treaty of peace as unjust. They pictured the democracies as weak and declining in power. They told their people that only through a firm and strong government could the defeated nations ever again be great.

The people swallowed this propaganda and allowed Mussolini, Hitler, and other dictators to take power. Then these dictators grabbed more and more power until nothing was left for the people. They did this in part by spreading disunity. They set one race against another and one religious group against another. Soon Italy and Germany had lost democracy and liberty. Intolerance, persecution, and suffering flourished.

**The United States awakens to the danger of the Nazi menace.** No sooner were the dictators firmly established than they began to plan foreign conquests. Italy annexed Fiume and other surrounding land from Yugo-Slavia. Then she invaded





**Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia**, contrary to his promises, and put an end to the independence of this freedom-loving nation. Here his troops are rolling into Prague, capital of Czechoslovakia. (International)

and annexed Ethiopia, a weak and helpless state in eastern Africa. This, Mussolini told his people, was the beginning of a new Italian Empire like that of ancient Rome.

During these years Germany was rearming. Then Hitler sent his army into the Rhineland and fortified it against France. Under the Treaty of Versailles this region was to be part of Germany but remain unfortified. In 1938 Hitler invaded Austria and annexed it to Germany. The following year he demanded the western part of Czechoslovakia. When France and England failed to prevent it, he also annexed this region. In the meantime Japan had been making war on China for almost 10 years to establish her power on the mainland of Asia.

During all of these years the United States tried to follow her

life-long policy of keeping out of Europe's political affairs. But far-seeing Americans became more and more disturbed as they watched the Fascists of Italy and the Nazis of Germany crush political liberty. They were sickened by the reports of political and religious persecution and uneasy over Hitler's talk of racial superiority. This sort of thing might spread to America and endanger our way of life. When would the conquests of Germany, Italy, and Japan end? How long before our own interests might be entangled in world conquests?

**Roosevelt warns the Fascist powers.** No one saw this danger more clearly than President Roosevelt. He set out definitely to do two things: first, to make our people aware of the danger; second, to warn the

Fascist powers of our attitude. In 1937 Roosevelt made a famous speech in which he said that a "fear of calamity" hangs over the world and that peace-loving nations must make a joint effort to oppose nations breaking treaties and ignoring human rights.

The next year Roosevelt delivered another warning. In case Germany or Japan should attack the British Empire, Roosevelt pledged that "the people of the United States will not stand idly by if . . . Canadian soil is threatened." Roosevelt was trying to make clear to the dictators of Europe and Asia how the American people felt about developments abroad. At the same time, as we pointed out in Chapter 28, we were co-operating more closely with Latin America for the defense of the Western Hemisphere.

**The Americas prepare to defend the Western Hemisphere.** Although the world had been upset by local wars for 20 years, the Second World War began on September 1, 1939, when Germany invaded Poland. Two days later Great Britain and France declared war on Germany. Italy joined Germany in 1940 and in that year Germany, Italy, and Japan (the Axis Powers) signed treaties of alliance. In the meantime Germany overran Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, France, Czechoslovakia, Yugo-Slavia, Greece, and other Balkan nations. In 1941 she invaded Russia (see map, page 555).

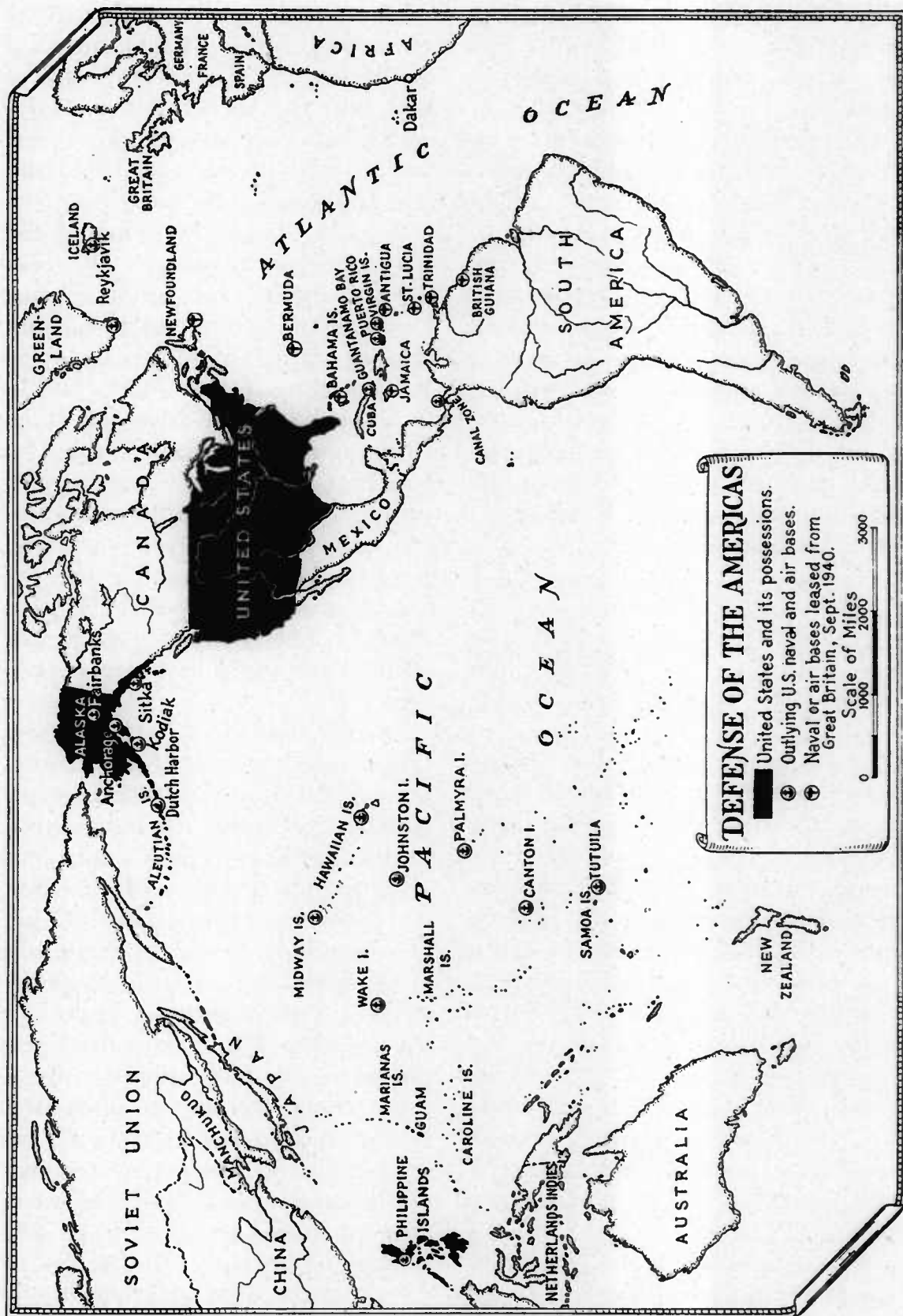
Even before this the United States was thoroughly aroused to

the need of preparedness. In the late 1930's Congress began to increase the grants to the army and navy. After the outbreak of the European war Congress gave its chief attention to national defense. The regular army and navy were increased in size. After Japan joined Italy and Germany in a triple alliance the danger in the Pacific increased. Then Congress decided to build a two-ocean navy.

Events in Europe and Asia also brought the Selective Training and Service Act (1940). All male citizens between 21 and 36 had to register and could be called for 12 months' training. This period was raised to 18 months the next year. Men called for training could be used for service in the Western Hemisphere and in the possessions of the United States including the Philippines. This was the first time in our history that compulsory military service had been required in peace time.

Defense of the United States and the Western Hemisphere was greatly strengthened by an agreement between Great Britain and the United States in 1940. Great Britain granted to this country the right to lease naval and air bases for 99 years in Newfoundland, Bermuda, Bahamas, Jamaica, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Antigua, and British Guiana (see map, page 549). The sites in Newfoundland and Bermuda were gifts; the rest were in exchange for 50 "over-age" destroyers.

This string of bases stretching from Canada to South America provides an important line of defense for our eastern seaboard and



the Panama Canal. The line was strengthened the next year when we occupied Greenland and Iceland.

The President was not only interested in greater preparedness, but also in giving "all-out" aid to the nations fighting the Axis powers. When Congress met in January, 1941, Roosevelt asked for power to sell, exchange, lease, or lend any war equipment to any nation where this would help our own defense. Congress after a long debate, granted these powers. Since then we have spent each year billions of dollars to carry out the "lend-lease" program of mutual aid.

### *The War Comes to the Americas . . . . .*

**The Japanese force the United States into the Second World War.** From the time that Nazi Germany began her conquests of other nations, the eyes of most Americans were fixed on Europe. It was the events in the Far East, however, that brought the United States into the Second World War. Like Germany in Europe, Japan in the Far East had set out on a career of conquest. Just as Germany had made up her mind to control central, southern, and western Europe, Japan proposed to control eastern Asia.

As we pointed out in Chapter 29, Japan began her conquests with the invasion of Manchuria in 1931. Four years later she invaded northern China and in 1937 began defi-

nitely to make war on China. After occupying northern China and most of the seacoast she moved south to take over the French colony of Indo-China. This looked like a first step to the invasion of Thailand and India (see map, page 555).

Against all of these moves the United States protested. We considered them a violation of our Open Door Policy and of solemn treaties signed with Japan at the Washington Conference (1921-22). After the invasion of Indo-China our government warned Japan that any further steps toward military conquest would compel us "to take immediately any and all steps" necessary to safeguard the "rights and interests of the United States." The British government immediately took the same position.

During the fall of 1941 representatives of Japan and the United States tried to work out agreements which would solve the Far Eastern problem. Since Japan would not give up her program of conquest and control of eastern Asia, nothing could be done. President Roosevelt, as we noted at the beginning of the chapter, sent a personal appeal to the Japanese Emperor in the interests of peace, but without success.

As Americans sat around their radios on Sunday afternoon, December 7, the programs were suddenly interrupted with the news that Japan had launched an air and submarine attack on the American naval base at Pearl Harbor in the Hawaiian Islands. The attack came before any declaration of war and while Japanese representatives were



in Washington supposedly on a mission of peace. This cowardly attack cost us a large part of our Pacific fleet. The next day Japan declared war on the United States and Great Britain.

War had come and on Monday, December 8, Congress declared war on Japan. Two days later Germany and Italy declared war on the United States. Congress without a dissenting vote recognized a state of war with these two nations.

The war was now in fact a world war. Many of the Latin-American nations, including Brazil and Mexico, soon joined us in war against one or more of the Axis Powers. In January, 1942, representatives of the nations at war met in Washington and formed the United Nations, pledging their resources to fight the Axis Powers.

**The United States becomes the "Arsenal of Democracy."** With the declaration of war, preparations of all kinds were speeded. Plans were made for an army and navy of at least 10,000,000 men. Congress immediately removed restrictions in the Selective Service Act to allow the use of troops outside the Western Hemisphere. The act was extended to allow the calling for military service of all men from 18 to 44. Later acts encouraged the enlistment of women in the army, navy, coast guard, and marines. All men of 18 to 64 years were required to register for possible use in defense work.

To carry out this program Congress voted money in almost unheard of amounts. The First World

War had cost the national government about \$35,000,000,000. By the end of 1944 Congress had voted ten times that amount to carry on the Second World War.

It was not hard for Congress to vote money and call men into the armed service. A more difficult job was to provide all of the equipment needed to carry on a world war. Ships, guns, tanks, airplanes, medical supplies, and thousands of other needs must be provided. Factories must be turned from peace-time production to the manufacture of war materials.

More than a year before the United States entered the war the President appointed a Committee of National Defense composed of five members of his cabinet. Under the general direction of this committee various boards and commissions were set up. The most important of these was the War Production Board. Its business was to decide how much iron, aluminum, and other raw materials were needed for both the armed forces and civilian needs and to get them produced.

The WPB was aided by many other government organizations. The War Manpower Commission helped to find millions of men and women to work in war plants. The Office of Defense Transportation aided the railroads in doing a record-breaking job. With one-third less equipment American railroads almost doubled their freight and passenger business over that of the First World War. A National Rubber Conservation Director speeded the production of synthetic rubber.



Women played an important part in the great war effort, particularly in the plane industry. Here are a group working on a dismantled airplane quite unconscious of the grease on their faces and fingers. (Press Association)

The Petroleum Administrator had pipe lines built to get oil to the Atlantic coast for the use of the navy.

The result of this combined effort amazed the world. By the second year of the war (1943) shipyards were producing at a rate of 18,000,000 tons a year while aircraft factories turned over to the government 66,000 planes. Production of other war supplies increased beyond all expectations. Not only were we supplying our own needs, but about 15 per cent went to our allies through lend-lease. Without the miracle of American production, said Premier Stalin of Russia, victory would be impossible.

This could never have been done without the skill and patriotism of engineers, factory managers, and labor. Every group promised all-out

support. Leaders of both the American Federation of Labor, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations pledged a no-strike policy. With the help of the War Labor Board most of labor-management troubles were ironed out.

**The home front takes its part in an all-out war.** By the time we entered the Second World War it was clear that modern wars concern everyone in the country. The war could not be won alone by the army, navy, and the workers in factories. It was everybody's war.

Having heard of the destruction of air raids in Europe, Americans prepared to protect themselves. Thousands of civilians offered to act as air raid wardens and airplane spotters. Following the methods used in Great Britain, preparations

were made to give the alarm, to get civilians into shelters, and to take care of the wounded.

The co-operation given by civilians in air raid defense was carried into every defense activity. Civilians and members of the armed forces bought war stamps and bonds to help finance the war. By the end of 1944 the nation had bought about \$100,000,000,000 worth of bonds. Every bond drive had been overbought. The country in the same way gave generously to the Red Cross and the United Service Organizations to provide help and recreation for the soldiers.

Millions of adults gave their blood to be sent to the battle fronts to help save the lives of our fighting men. Women wrapped bandages for the Red Cross. But the war effort was not limited to adults; children and young people in their 'teens also did their part. Many bought war stamps and bonds. They helped in the salvage drives in collecting rubber, aluminum, and paper. They did their part in the victory gardens.

Although farmers and factory workers performed miracles, there was not enough of everything to supply the armed forces, our allies, and civilians. When factories turned to guns, tanks, and airplanes, they could not produce automobiles, electric refrigerators, and radios. In such a situation, the government had to divide these products according to need.

This dividing or rationing was done through various government boards, particularly the Office of Price Administration. The OPA

was helped by local committees who gave much effort to this work. Rationing began with sugar, coffee, gasoline, and fuel oil and was gradually extended to many other things.

The work of the OPA was wider than simply rationing. Its business was also to control prices. When there is a scarcity of products, prices will run away. Under acts of Congress the OPA put ceiling prices on rents in defense areas. Gradually they extended these ceilings to cover food, clothing, and other things. Price control kept down the cost of living and prevented much suffering.

### *The United Nations Close in on the Dictators . . . . .*

**We fight Japan from Alaska to Australia.** The sneak attack of Japan on Pearl Harbor so crippled our Pacific fleet that it could do little more for six months than fight on the defensive. Immediately after Pearl Harbor Japan captured the United States islands of Guam and Wake and invaded the Philippines. Our line of defense now ran from Dutch Harbor in the Aleutians to the Hawaiian Islands, Samoa, and Australia, with Midway as an outpost (see map, page 555).

Japan now carried out a smashing offensive in the South Pacific. She captured the British colony of Hong Kong on the southern coast of China and the British naval base at Singapore (February, 1942). Then she occupied the Malay Peninsula, the Dutch East Indies, and parts of

the British East Indies almost to the coast of Australia.

These conquests gave Japan tin, rubber, and oil necessary for carrying on war. Moreover, the occupation of the Malay region endangered India and cut off the Burma Road. This was the route over which the Chinese government at Chungking obtained supplies to fight Japan.

Gradually the United States gathered her resources to fight back. Nothing helped more to give us this chance than the brave defense of the Philippines by a tiny army of United States and Philippine troops. Immediately after Pearl Harbor the Japanese landed in the Philippines. They quickly occupied the island of Luzon except the mountain areas northwest of Manila and the island of Corregidor in Manila Bay. Without ships, airplanes, or fresh supplies, our forces under Generals MacArthur and Wainwright held out until May, 1942.

In the meantime we were pouring troops and supplies into Australia, now defended by General MacArthur. A Japanese effort to break this supply line ended with a severe defeat in the Coral Sea. Shortly after, a Japanese fleet set out to smash our main defense line and capture Hawaii. Again they were defeated with heavy losses near the Midway Islands (1942).

The victory at Midway was the turning point in the war. After that the United States took the offensive. A land and sea attack established our forces in Guadalcanal (August, 1942). With this as a starting point United States forces pushed north-

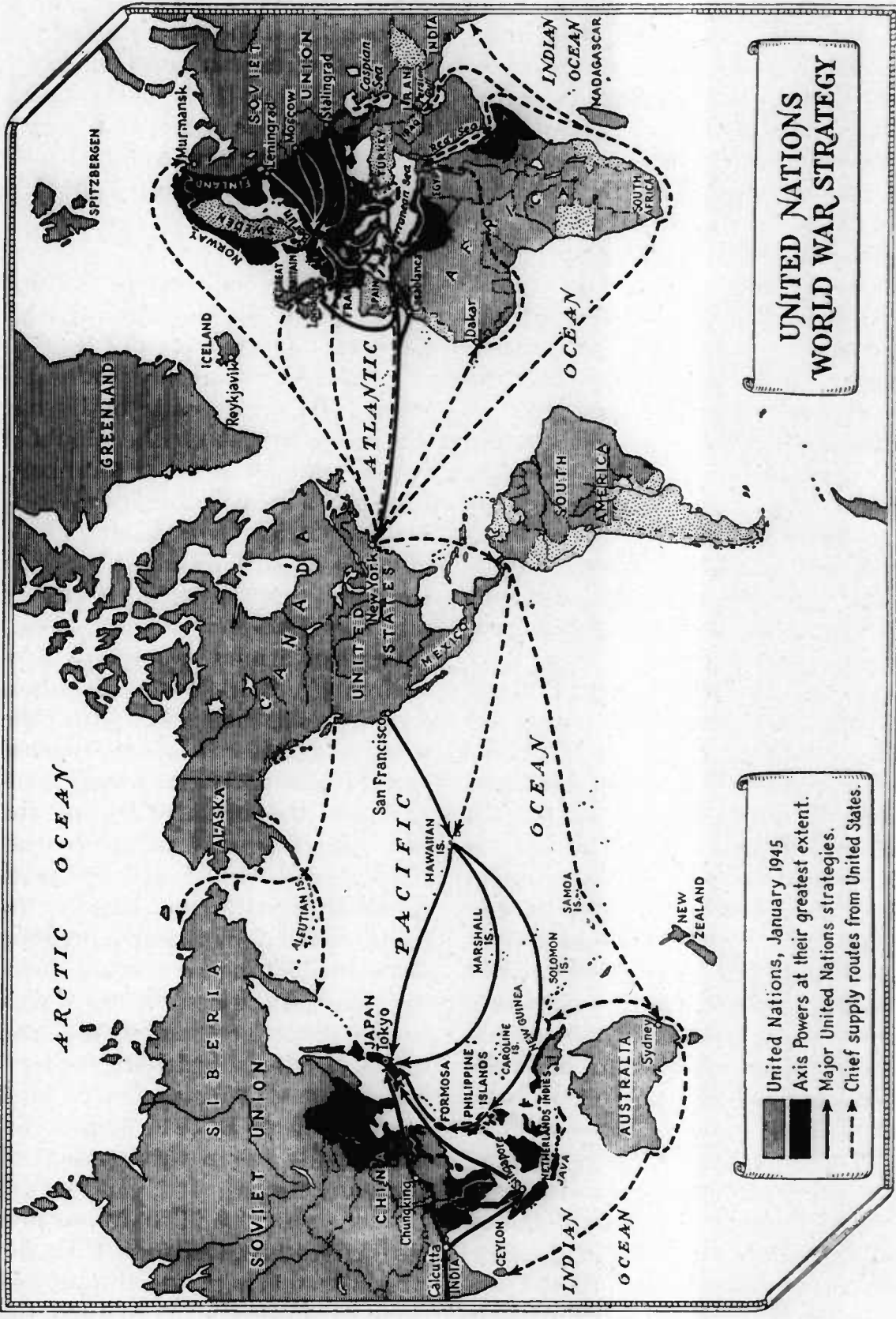
ward to occupy other islands and to aid the Australians in fighting the Japanese in New Guinea.

Our first task was to hold our defense line. Our second was to save Australia and push the Japanese back from the south. Our third was to help the British hold back the Japanese in Burma and give what aid we could to China. Finally, it was the job of the navy to drive the Japanese out of the Aleutians, and establish bases in the Pacific nearer and nearer to Japan. The Japanese were driven from the Aleutians in 1943. The long drive across the Pacific began to speed up in 1944 with the capture of Tarawa (Gilbert Islands), Truk (Caroline Islands) and Guam, Tinian and Saipan (Marianas Islands). In October General MacArthur landed a large invading force at Leyte—the first of a succession of landings in the Philippines. Early in February they entered Manila. We were on the road to Tokyo.

**North Africa is the springboard for the invasion of Italy.** Meanwhile, the United Nations planned an invasion of Europe. The operation began early in November, 1942, when an American and British expeditionary force under General Dwight Eisenhower landed in Morocco and Algeria in northern Africa (see map, page 555). It was now clear that the United Nations planned to drive the Germans out of North Africa and then invade southern Europe.

For many months the British had fought the Germans and Italians back and forth across the deserts of





# UNITED NATIONS WORLD WAR STRATEGY

- United Nations, January 1945
- Axis Powers at their greatest extent.
- Major United Nations strategies.
- Chief supply routes from United States.

Egypt and Libya. Shortly after the Americans arrived the British began to push the enemy westward into Tunisia and Bizerte. Now the Americans advanced eastward from Algeria to catch the Germans in an east-west nutcracker. Defeated on land and blasted from the air, the entire German army was beaten into surrender.

Less than two months after the surrender of the last Germans in Africa, the Allies were ready for the next move. An immense fleet of over 3,000 transports and landing barges accompanied by warships, bombers, and fighting planes set out for Sicily in July, 1943. The landing was not very difficult, but it took the Allies more than a month to smash the Germans and drive them out of Sicily.

Early in September General Clark's American Fifth Army accompanied by British divisions crossed the straits and established a toehold at Salerno on the Italian mainland. The main British army landed at Taranto inside the Italian heel and moved up the east coast of Italy. After bitter fighting at Salerno the Fifth Army pushed northward toward Rome. The Germans contested every foot of ground and the Allied armies did not drive the Germans out of Rome until June, 1944.

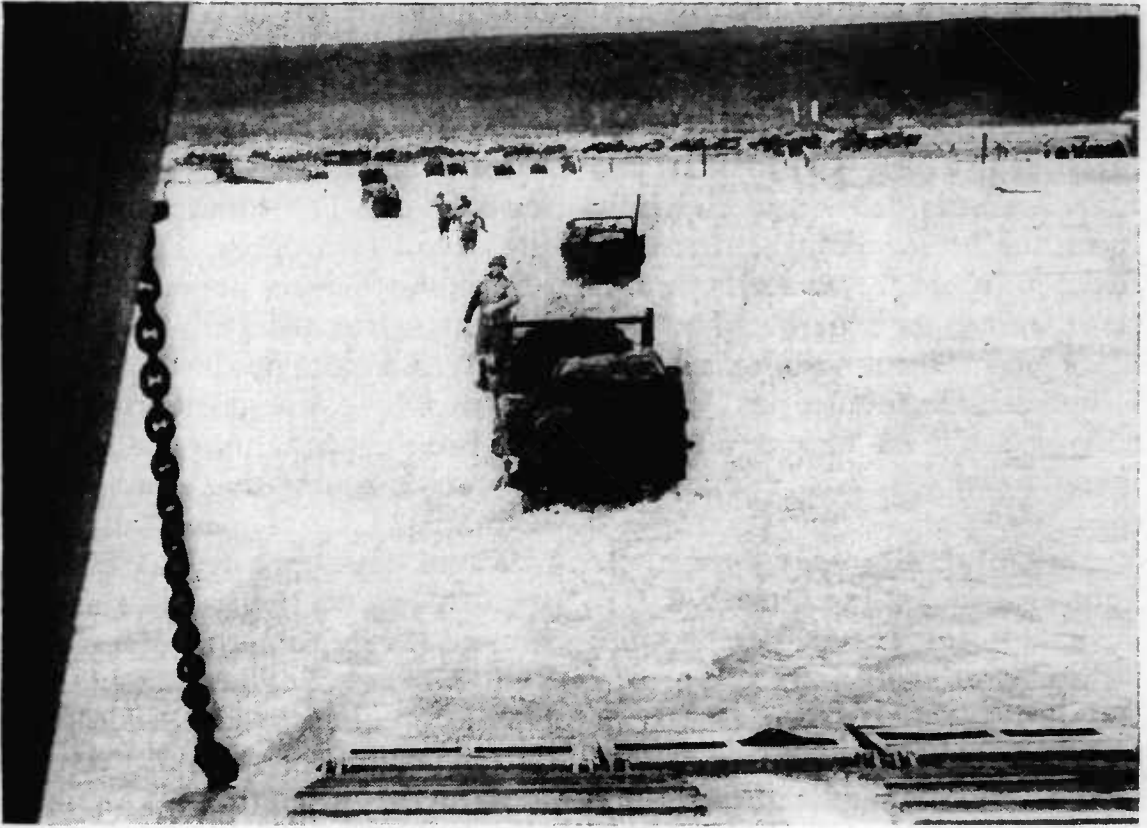
The conquest of Sicily brought the surrender of Italy, and Mussolini fled to the protection of Hitler. Most Italians, who hated the Germans and their control of Italy, now co-operated with the Allied nations. The surrender of Italy brought with it possession of the Italian fleet. The

whole operation lessened the menace of air and submarine attacks in the Mediterranean and opened up the Allied route to the East through the Mediterranean Sea. It also gave us air fields in Italy from which allied planes could bomb Nazi-held southern Europe.

**The invasion of western Europe brings about the downfall of Nazi Germany.** The conquest of Italy, as it turned out, was not the main front. The great battle of Europe was to be fought on the plains of Russia and in France. Germany, who had a treaty with Russia that neither nation would attack the other, suddenly invaded the Soviet Republic late in June, 1941 (see map, page 555).

German armies swept into Russia from the Baltic to the Black Sea. At one point their army got to the suburbs of Moscow. Brave defense and the bitter Russian winter finally halted the advance. During the next year Germany turned her attention to the south and advanced eastward to Stalingrad. Russia's heroic defense of Stalingrad halted the Germans. Stalingrad was the turning point of the eastern war. From that time on the Russians took the offensive, gradually driving the Germans out of Russia, Poland and Hungary. Late in 1944 Russian armies finally began the invasion of Germany herself.

In the meantime Britain was preparing to attack Germany from the west. When France was invaded and occupied in the spring of 1940, the last British troops were driven from the continent of northern Europe.



American men and jeeps pour ashore out of the opening doors of a landing craft on the beach of Normandy, France. Here the Americans with their British and Canadian allies opened the long-awaited second front in western Europe. (Press Association)

From that time until Germany invaded Russia a year later, England was repeatedly bombed by the German air force. Gradually, however, the British with the aid of lend-lease supplies, fought them off and created a great air force of their own. After the United States entered the war, an American air force joined them.

By 1943 the combined British and American air forces were so large that the tables were turned. Now British and American air men were bombing German war factories, oil plants, transportation lines, and anything else that might be useful in war. This was partly in preparation for the great day when the United Nations would again land

on the continent and open a second front in western Europe.

After two years of thorough preparation under the direction of General Eisenhower all was ready. Protected by an immense naval escort and an umbrella of thousands of airplanes, the soldiers of the United Nations hit the northern coast of Normandy on the early morning of June 6, 1944. A landing was quickly made and soon Cherbourg fell to the Americans. After two months of the bitterest fighting the Germans were driven out of Normandy and the Allies were moving eastward on the plains of Brittany. At this point a new landing was made on the southern coast of France. By October nearly all France was in Allied

hands and our armies had invaded German soil.

German armies were again caught in a nutcracker. United States, British, Canadian, and French armies drove into Germany from the west, and the Russians swept in from the east. Early in May the Russians took Berlin. The Germans had already announced Hitler's death. Resistance in Germany collapsed and on May 8, 1945, she surrendered.

**Victory over Germany speeds the fight against Japan.** After V-E Day—victory in Europe—the Allies were able to send more troops and supplies against Japan. Giant air transports and ocean liners poured troops and armaments into advance bases stretching from Australia north to the Philippines and west to China and India. The plan was to close in on Japan from all sides (see map, page 555).

Step by step bombing bases were established closer and closer to Japan. In June we took the Japanese Island of Okinawa after more than 80 days of bitter fighting. By July we had completely retaken the Philippines and had established superfort bases in China. The combined naval and air forces of the Allies destroyed or bottled up the Japanese navy and supply ships.

Our Superforts bombed the Japa-

nese home islands heavily, softening them up for a possible invasion. Large parts of Tokyo, Osaka and other Japanese cities were laid in ruins. Then on August 6 we dropped the first atomic bomb on the city of Hiroshima. The damage was almost beyond belief. This one bomb had destroyed almost a whole city. It had more power than 20,000 tons of TNT. A new scientific force had been brought into the war far greater than anything ever known before.

Three days later Russia entered the war against Japan. Her armies pressed the Japanese in Manchuria and northern China. A second atomic bomb was dropped on the Japanese city of Nagasaki. Even before the use of bombs, the Japanese leaders realized how hopeless was their cause. They had asked for terms of surrender.

On August 14 an eagerly waiting world heard the news. Japan had accepted the surrender terms. Except for a few days of scattered fighting in the remote jungles, V-J Day brought an end to the fighting. The Second World War, the greatest and most costly war the world has ever known, came to an official end on September 2, 1945. On that day Japanese and Allied officials signed the terms of surrender on the decks of the battleship *Missouri* at anchor in Tokyo Bay.

## WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

By using these words and terms in a sentence, show that you understand them. When possible give examples.

- |              |                   |                                   |
|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. armistice | 4. two-ocean navy | 7. "arsenal of democracy"         |
| 2. Fascists  | 5. United Nations | 8. War Production Board           |
| 3. Nazis     | 6. rationing      | 9. Office of Price Administration |



**WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?**

**1939:** This date marks a European event that was to affect the lives and happiness of many millions of the world's peoples. What was it?

**1941:** December 7 of this year is a day that will long be remembered in the United States. Why?

**1945:** Why will this year go down in military history?

**CAN YOU FIND THE ANSWERS TO THESE?**

1. Why was the "long armistice"—the years between the First and the Second World Wars—a period of the rise to power of dictators in Europe? What was the program of the dictators?
2. What were the chief conquests of Mussolini and Hitler before war broke out in 1939?
3. What events show that the United States was aware of the danger of the spread of the dictators' power?
4. Name four steps taken by the United States to defend the Western Hemisphere against invasion. Use the map on page 549 to illustrate one of these steps.
5. What events in the Far East finally brought us into the war in December, 1941?
6. What was the "miracle of American production" that contributed so heavily to the victory of the United Nations?
7. Name at least five ways in which Americans at home helped in an all-out effort to win the war.
8. Using the map on page 555, show how gradually our army and navy began to close in on Japan. What were our chief victories in the Pacific?
9. Why was the successful invasion of North Africa of great importance to the United Nations?
10. Why should the Battle of Stalingrad be considered one of the most important battles of the war?
11. Before the United Nations forces could invade western Europe in the summer of 1944, it was necessary that the Nazis be weakened there and elsewhere. In what ways was this done?
12. *Summary Question:* We know that the Americas joined the United Nations in the Second World War. (a) Why did we join? (b) What were our chief contributions? (c) What were the results?

## Chapter 33. *Living Together in Today's World Places New Responsibilities on All Nations*

*"Only by working together can we learn to work together, and work together we must and will." So spoke President Roosevelt to the delegates of 44 nations at the first United Nations conference, held at Hot Springs, Virginia, in May, 1943. This conference made long-range plans for rebuilding the world's agriculture in order that the people of the world might be free from hunger. It was one of the first steps in co-operation toward the day of peace.*

*Another step was taken at the White House the following November when delegates from these same 44 nations—the United Nations and those associated with them—met to establish a new agency. Again President Roosevelt addressed them. "The people of these forty-four nations include approximately 80 per cent of the human race. You gentlemen who represent them have just signed an agreement creating the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration—commonly known as UNRRA."*

*The UNRRA delegates selected Herbert H. Lehman, former governor of New York, as director. Several committees were formed to study and carry out the details. Delegates from tiny Greece and the Netherlands worked side by side with those from Soviet Russia, Great Britain, and the United States.*

*They decided that the purposes of UNRRA should be to help the people in liberated areas get on their feet and so end the need for relief as quickly as possible. UNRRA would provide food, clothing, temporary shelter, and medical aid. It would aid in restoring urgently needed agriculture and industry. It would help repair water, light, power, sanitation, and other necessary services.*

*In effect, every one of the United Nations agreed to take on important responsibilities during the war, and continue with them into the period of peace. This was but one conference of many. Others were yet to come.*

## *The United Nations Face the Problems of War and Peace*

**We fight for a better world.** The people of the United Nations did not want to go to war. Yet, when it became clear that the Axis Powers threatened their whole way of life, they picked up their banners of freedom and began the fight for complete victory.

What did the banners of freedom say? They said that we fight for a better world. President Roosevelt in a message to Congress early in 1941 gave us a banner called the "Four Freedoms." This banner emphasized that in the future world of peace people everywhere must have freedom of speech and expression. People everywhere should be able to worship as they please. Finally, people should be free from want and fear. These freedoms, the core of democracy and of our way of life, were directly challenged by the Nazi beliefs and conquests.

Another banner labeled the "Atlantic Charter" was drafted jointly by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill in August, 1941, on a ship in the North Atlantic. In this statement the United States and Britain made five important pledges. First, they were not seeking more power or territory for themselves. Second, no changes in territory would be made without the consent of the peoples concerned. Third, the people of any liberated country should have the right to choose their own form of government. Fourth, all countries should have an opportunity to se-

cure needed supplies and raw materials to develop a higher standard of living. Finally, peaceful means of settling disputes should take the place of armed might.

Many nations, large and small, accepted the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter as their goals. They joined the fight to wipe out the menace of Axis tyranny and to re-establish peace. As our Vice President said: "The peace must mean a better standard of living for the common man: not merely in the United States and in England, but also in India, Russia, China, and Latin America—not merely in the United Nations, but also in Germany, Italy, and Japan." In short, we fight for a better world.

**The United Nations learn to work together and plan for the future.** After Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, the United States joined with 25 other nations in signing on January 1, 1942, at Washington the Declaration of the United Nations. This Declaration adopted the ideas of the Atlantic Charter and pledged each government to use its full strength against the Axis Powers. It also pledged each government not to make a separate peace with the enemy until a complete victory was won. As the war continued, other nations joined the agreement.

Many steps were taken to carry on the war which brought the United Nations closer together. Joint military boards helped to plan the war. Lend-Lease (or Mutual Aid) Agreements made available large quantities of supplies to Russia, Britain, China, and other nations. In the



The “Big Three” meet at Teheran, Iran, in the late fall of 1943 to plan the military campaign against the Axis powers and to start plans for peace. Seated from left to right are Premier Stalin of Soviet Russia, President Roosevelt of the United States, and Prime Minister Churchill of Great Britain. (Press Association)

first three years (1941–1944) we provided more than 22 billion dollars worth of goods and services to our allies. Of this amount about 70 per cent went either to Britain or Russia. They in turn sent us many necessary raw materials and furnished food and quarters for our troops abroad.

In the fall of 1943 four great conferences brought new and closer co-operation. The UNRRA conference was one. At Moscow the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Russia, and Britain met with the ambassador from China. They made plans to speed up the war and for the peace that was to follow.

This meeting paved the way for two other conferences.

First, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill met with Chiang Kai-shek at Cairo, Egypt, where it was agreed that Japan should be stripped of all territories taken by her since the 1890's. It was agreed also to send China more military aid. Second, Roosevelt and Churchill had a series of talks with Premier Stalin of Russia at Teheran, Iran, marking the first time that the leaders of the “big three” had met. Plans were worked out for direct attacks against Germany and for dealing with the conquered nations after the war. As President



Roosevelt said: "Work together we must and will."

Another step in co-operation was the creation of the Allied Military Government (AMG). This provided machinery to govern the areas occupied by Allied troops until the people in those territories were ready and able to take over the government themselves.

### *The World Searches for a Way to a Lasting Peace . . .*

**The United Nations plan a world organization.** Surveys in the early 1940's indicated that most people believed that some sort of world organization was necessary to maintain peace. The United States took the lead and called the Dumbarton Oaks conference in Washington in the early fall of 1944. Experts in international affairs from the United States, Great Britain, Soviet Russia, and China created there the framework of a proposed organization called the United Nations. It was published and submitted to the public as well as to the other allies for discussion, criticism, improvement, and adoption.

The proposed organization of the United Nations would consist of four important bodies. The key unit would be the *Security Council* made up of representatives from 11 nations. Five countries would have permanent seats in this Council. They would be the United States, Great Britain, Soviet Russia, China, and France. The remaining six members would be elected by the

General Assembly, each serving two years.

The Security Council would have the right to investigate any situation or dispute that seems likely to disturb the world's peace. If all peaceful means of settling disputes fail, the Security Council would have the right to take stronger action, even to use of armed force, to bring the troublemakers to terms. To furnish these armed forces each nation would be expected to guarantee a certain number of men. When needed, these forces would be under the direction of the Military Staff Committee which would be directly responsible to the Security Council.

The *General Assembly* would consist of representatives of all nations who are members of the United Nations Organization. It would elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council. It would approve the expenditures of the organization and distribute the expenses among the member nations. On recommendation of the Security Council it could suspend or admit members to the organization. The General Assembly would elect also an Economic and Social Council made up of experts in those fields. While many decisions in the General Assembly would be by a simple majority vote of those present and voting, some decisions would require a two-thirds vote.

This body would have the right to consider general methods of keeping world peace. However, action on such matters must be referred to the Security Council. It could discuss also any question re-

lating to international peace brought before it by any member or by the Security Council. Thus, it is clear that the General Assembly would be primarily an advisory body.

The third body would be an *International Court of Justice* to which all members of the United Nations would automatically belong. The Court would hear and decide cases involving international law. Upon request it could give legal advice to the Security Council. Finally, there would be a *Secretariat* made up of experts and others who keep and publish the records of the agencies of the United Nations Organization.

**How the United Nations Organization would work.** Let us imagine that country A and country B become involved in a dispute. Imagine that country A is an inland manufacturing country without a seaport. The most direct route to a seaport is through country B which places a high tax upon country A's goods as they pass through. Country B is entirely within its rights in doing this. But the taxes make the price of A's goods so high that it is no longer profitable for her to export them.

The two countries attempt to reach a solution to the problem through their ambassadors, but without success. Tempers begin to rise and country A begins to build up its army and turn to the manufacture of war goods. Not to be caught napping, country B does likewise.

Neighboring country C brings

this matter to the attention of the General Assembly because a situation has developed that definitely threatens peace and security. The General Assembly decides that some action needs to be taken, and turns the matter over to the Security Council. The Security Council asks the International Court of Justice for advice on the question: Is this a dispute that can be settled by international law? The Court investigates the facts and might advise that there is no treaty or international law that applies to this situation. Therefore, the case cannot be settled by the Court.

The Security Council then asks country A and country B to submit the dispute to an arbitration committee. They do so, but country A refuses to abide by the decision. The Security Council then decides that country A is wrong and asks all members of the United Nations to stop all trade and business relations with that country. The Security Council may ask that all other means of communication be cut off until country A decides to come to terms and stop warlike preparations.

However, these measures do not stop determined country A. Then the Security Council asks its Military Staff Committee to order air and ground forces to make preparations to step in and punish country A by bombing or invasion. Each member of the United Nations rushes to the Military Staff Committee such forces as it agreed to furnish. Country A finally sees that it is cornered and must use peaceful means of settling the dispute.



Experts in international affairs meet at Dumbarton Oaks mansion in our nation's capital to draft plans for a new world organization. Before meetings such as this can be held it is necessary for experts to gather a vast amount of detailed information. Because the interests of each nation differ from those of others, it is often difficult to get all nations to agree on all details, though they may thoroughly agree on the main ideas. Seated from left to right are: Peter Loxley and Sir Alexander Cadogan from Britain, Edward Stettinius of the United States, A. A. Gromyko, A. A. Sobolev and Valentine Berezhkov of Soviet Russia. Standing in the rear are J. C. Dunn and Leo Pasvolksky of the United States. (International)

It then asks the General Assembly to have the Economic and Social Council undertake a study as to how to overcome the hardship it suffers by not having a seaport. The experts attack the problem and perhaps a satisfactory solution is found. War does not break out. Other steps might be taken, but this case gives an idea of how the new machinery might be set to work.

**How the United Nations differs from the old League of Nations.** In many ways the new organization would be similar to the old League

of Nations established after the First World War (see page 515). Both provide for an Assembly in which all nations are represented. Both provide for a Council in which some members have permanent seats, while other members change. Both provide for a Secretariat.

There are, however, at least seven important differences. First, the new organization would be much speedier than the old organization. The old League of Nations had to get the unanimous consent of the 60-odd members of the Assembly before it could take action. The



"Both Pillars Are Needed." This cartoon appeared during the Second World War. It points out that peace after the war depends not only upon a military victory, but upon some sort of world organization. (Bishop in the *St. Louis Star-Times*)

United Nations can get action from the relatively small Security Council which would be in almost continuous session.

Second, the Security Council would have far wider powers than either the Council or the Assembly under the old League. Third, the old League of Nations could act only when "acts of aggression" or war had already taken place. The

new organization can step in when any situation develops that threatens world peace, and does not need to wait until war breaks out.

Fourth, the old League had no means of calling together armed forces to bring to terms a country that does not abide by the rules. The new organization would have available in each country reserves for such purposes. Fifth, changes in



policies in the Assembly of the old League had to be made by a unanimous vote. In the new organization decisions usually would be decided by a majority vote, though there are some questions which would require a two-thirds vote. It is far easier to get even a two-thirds vote than a unanimous vote on any strong policy.

Sixth, the International Court of Justice would be made a definite part of the United Nations Organization and would not be a separate body as it is under the League of Nations. Finally, the new organization would be entirely separate from the treaties of peace that will be drafted after the war. The old League of Nations was a definite part of the Treaty of Versailles. That is one reason why the United States refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles.

President Roosevelt died in April, 1945, just before a conference of the United Nations in San Francisco began. Shocked and saddened by the sudden death of the President, the world was heartened when it learned that the delegates from 50 nations accepted, with some changes, the Dumbarton Oaks plan. Roosevelt's successor, President Truman, pledged his support.

### *Wars Produce More Problems than They Solve . . . .*

A war-torn world faces pressing problems. The end of the war brought problems as pressing as war itself. First is the problem of feeding huge populations who have been near starvation. One expert

estimates that Europe needs nine million tons of food in the two years after the close of the war. Conditions in the Far East may be even worse.

In the meantime, efforts must be made to get the war-torn regions again producing their own food. It was for that purpose that the delegates met at Hot Springs and that UNRRA was set up. One authority estimates that Europe must have 400,000 tons of seeds to replant the fields of that continent. In addition the people will need fertilizer and tools. With good luck and favorable weather, Europe may have normal food production two years after the close of the war.

A second problem concerns the return of homeless people. Between 20 and 30 million are scattered over Europe. In the Far East over 40 million Chinese have been driven from town to town by the Japanese invaders. All must be resettled in their homes.

Third, governments must be re-established. While exile-governments of Nazi-occupied countries have carried on, these may be no longer acceptable to their citizens now that the war is over. New governments must be chosen. New governments must also be established in Germany, Italy, and Japan. Perhaps some of the old boundaries between countries will be discarded and new lines drawn. It is a difficult task to change land from one nation to another and have all the people satisfied.

Fourth, bombing and the "scorched earth" policy wiped out many cities, homes, and factories.



**An American soldier among the ruins of a battered Italian town.** Destruction such as this is common throughout much of Europe and parts of Asia. It will be years before the people will have their homes restored and go back to normal agricultural and industrial life. (Press Association)

They must be rebuilt. Water supplies, sewerage systems, roads, and electric power lines need to be restored. New machinery will be needed for factories. A sound system of money must be set up so that once again people may trade and go about their daily business.

Fifth, schools must be rebuilt. Many of the school buildings were completely destroyed or badly damaged during the war. New, fully-equipped buildings must again be made available to the young people in war-torn lands. The ideas taught in some of the school systems, particularly those of Italy, Germany, and Japan, must be changed. Train-

ing for hate, fear, and race superiority must be replaced by tolerance, faith, and willingness to accept the peoples of all nationalities and races as individuals with rights.

Finally, and perhaps most difficult is the problem of wiping out the feelings of suspicion and fear that so long have held the world in their grip. These and other reasons make it difficult to restore the people of battle-worn lands to a balanced outlook on life.

**The United States makes plans for a nation at peace.** Even before the end of the war many groups made plans for the day of peace. The na-

tional government and some states drafted plans for their future activities. Organizations such as the National Association of Manufacturers, the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the National Grange put forth ideas on business, labor, and farming.

The armed forces will not remain at war-time strength. The discharge of large numbers from the armed services and their return to jobs has brought many problems. Those who had jobs before entering the services are entitled to have them back. But there are millions of others who had no previous jobs.

Congress made provision to help them by passing a law called the "G. I. Bill of Rights." This law provides money to increase hospital and other facilities for care of the wounded and those with nervous difficulties due to action in the war. While seeking work, veterans can secure \$20 a week unemployment benefits up to a period of one year. The government will also grant to veterans money for further education or additional specialized training for jobs.

The end of the war brought other problems for which the government and other groups must plan. Factories stopped work on war-time goods. They must be retooled before they can make peacetime goods. Can employment be maintained during this period of change-over? Many people believe not. They feel that the federal, state, and local governments should step in and start building schools, roads, and other public projects during

this and later periods to provide jobs.

Business leaders have plans to supply new automobiles, refrigerators, radios, houses, and hundreds of other things to an eager market. New products are planned by many companies which promise to make life better and more comfortable. These plans offer hope for employment to those who want work.

The government owns several billion dollars worth of war plants and machinery. Should the government keep them, or should it sell them to private companies? The government also has surplus stocks of supplies, such as socks, shirts, shoes, jeeps, and many other things. Plans are made to dispose of these to the public without upsetting prices or injuring the business of private manufacturers in those lines. All of these plans look forward to a better life with the nation at peace.

**"We here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain."** Thus spoke President Lincoln while dedicating the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Seventeen acres of the great Gettysburg battlefield had been set aside as a burial-ground for the soldiers of both the Union and Confederate forces who fell in that battle.

In his Gettysburg Address, President Lincoln pointed out that our nation had been born in liberty, with the ideal that "all men are created equal." The War Between the States was a civil war testing whether or not our nation could continue with those beliefs, and the

war was still in a critical stage when Lincoln spoke.

Lincoln also said that there was much "unfinished work" to be carried on. That, he said, was the great task remaining before us. "That this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." The situation today is somewhat like that of Lincoln's time. The Second World War was also fought to maintain the ideals of democracy. Millions of men from the United Nations have died for that common purpose.

We, too, have "unfinished work" before us. We have yet to establish a world in which people may be free. Millions of our people do not yet have decent homes, enough to eat or adequate clothing. We have not yet learned to use wisely and well all our resources.

Never before have the people of this hemisphere been so closely united. Yet, now that the war is over and our common enemy is defeated, will these "good neighbor" relations continue? The answer depends in part upon the people of our country. The United States is one of the most powerful nations of the world. Will we use this power to promote justice, international co-operation, and peace? Our neighbors, north, south, and across the seas, will watch for the answer.

The end of the war opened new frontiers and new opportunities for those who are prepared. There are frontiers yet unseen in science, business, farming, and the fine arts.

To provide all our people with decent homes, adequate food, and clothing is a challenge to the coming generations. Our people eagerly await better pictures, finer music, more books, and time to enjoy them.

The opportunity to carry on this "unfinished work" lies with America. It has been bought with the blood of millions of men on the battlefronts over the entire world. Shall we meet the opportunity and the challenge "with faith in one another, with faith in our common future, which these men fought to make free"?

### *Summary of the Unit . . . .*

In Unit Ten—"A Rapidly Changing World Creates New Problems and Forces the Americas to Look to the Future"—we have told the story of the great depression and the part taken by America in the Second World War.

1. After a period of prosperity, a great depression fell upon the United States in 1929.

2. The depression brought a political overturn and the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932.

3. During Roosevelt's Presidency Congress passed many acts to help the nation out of the depression and provide for a more secure future. Among the most important were a Public Utility Holding Company Act (1935) to regulate electric companies, a Social Security Act (1935) to encourage unemployment insurance and provide old-age pen-



sions, and an Agricultural Adjustment Act (1938) to aid the farmers.

4. While the United States met the problems of depression by introducing reforms, Germany, Italy, and other nations established dictatorships.

5. Having crushed democracy and liberty at home, Germany, Italy, and Japan set out to conquer other lands, and started a Second World War (1939).

6. The Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor (1941) brought the

United States and many Latin-American nations into the war to fight as partners with England, Russia, and our other allies.

7. Backed by a loyal home front, our armed forces fought a victorious war on world-wide fronts.

8. Even before the war was over the President and Congress were making plans for our nation at peace. They were also discussing methods to prevent further wars through some kind of world organization.

### WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

Explain the meaning of each of the following terms.

- |               |                               |                                    |
|---------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. UNRRA      | 3. Allied Military Government | 5. exile-government                |
| 2. Lend-Lease | 4. "G. I. Bill of Rights"     | 6. the United Nations Organization |

### WHY ARE THESE RED-LETTER YEARS?

1941: What important document was issued in this year?

1942: Why was the first day in this year important in the history of the Second World War?

1944: What important plan for world peace was proposed in this year?

### CAN YOU FIND ANSWERS TO THESE?

1. What are the purposes of UNRRA? What idea does the story of the Hot Springs conference and the drafting of the UNRRA agreement illustrate?
2. What are the Four Freedoms?
3. What pledges did the United States and Britain make in the Atlantic Charter?
4. What were at least four steps taken during the war that brought the United Nations closer?
5. What would be the four main bodies of the United Nations Organization proposed by the Dumbarton Oaks conference?
6. Why would the Security Council be considered the key unit in the organization?
7. Explain how the machinery of the United Nations Organization would be put to work in event of a threat to world peace.
8. In what ways would the new organization for world peace be similar to the old League of Nations?
9. What are at least five differences between the proposed organization of the United Nations and the League of Nations?

10. What are at least three important problems the world faces as a result of the Second World War?
11. What plans are groups in the United States making for the period of peace?
12. What is the "unfinished work" that lies before America and the world today?
13. *Summary Question:* The chapter title is: "Living Together in Today's World Places New Responsibilities on All Nations." What are some of the responsibilities of the United States in today's world?

### Activities for Unit Ten

#### CAN YOU MAKE IT?

1. *Poster.* Make a poster showing the evils and dangers of a depression. Or one showing the evils and dangers of dictatorship. Or one showing the need for planning a lasting peace.
2. *Graph.* Prepare a graph which shows the record by years of the sale of war bonds and stamps in your school or in the entire school system.
3. *Map.* Make a large colored map of the nations and the Second World War. Show in blue the United Nations and their allies, in red the Axis Powers and their allies, and in green the "neutral" nations. Draw parallel red lines over those countries occupied by the Axis Powers at any time. You may wish to add arrows to this map to show the major strategy of the war.
4. *Make Chart.* On the blackboard or on a large sheet of heavy paper make a chart of the United Nations Organization. Be prepared to explain to the class the way in which the organization is supposed to work to enforce world peace.
5. *Newspaper Headlines.* Prepare newspaper headlines announcing these events: (a) the President's signing of the Social Security Act, (b) the Japanese sneak attack on Pearl Harbor, (c) the invasion of Germany, (d) the fourth election of Roosevelt, (e) the American invasion of the Philippines.

#### I TEST MY SKILLS

6. *Generalization.* A generalization is a statement of a general rule or proposition. To be accurate it must be based on a number of particular facts which support it. Further, the number of facts supporting it must outweigh those which do not. Generalizing is not easy. Some people generalize from too few facts, from inaccuracies, or from no facts at all.

On page 529 is this generalization: "*During the years after the First World War the United States enjoyed a period of great prosperity.*" Below are given some statements which support this generalization, some that partly support it, and some that do not support it at all. On notebook paper arrange the statements in these three groups: In Full Support; Partly in Support; No Support. (Do not write in this book.)

- a. Jobs were plentiful and wages were high.
- b. The automobile business expanded and the sale of rubber dropped.
- c. Manufacturers enlarged their factories.

- d. The number of voters increased.
- e. The farmers did not share in this prosperity.
- f. Money was easy to make and living costs were dropping.
- g. The stock market was booming and prices of stocks were increasing.
- h. Child labor decreased.

(Four of the above are in full support, two partly in support, and two give no support to the generalization.) Perhaps the class will prefer to do this exercise under the teacher's guidance.

7. *Reading a Picture.* Photographs of historical events of importance are included in textbooks to make the past seem more real. Men, women, and events of the past seen through the eyes of a camera take on meaning which words alone cannot give them. But pictures, like words, must be read with care, if one is to get their full value. Let us read a very important picture in this unit. Turn to the picture of Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill on page 562, and study it with these questions to guide you.

(a) What is the main purpose of this picture taken at the Teheran Conference late in 1943? (b) What do you regard as the most important thing shown in the photograph? (c) Of the three leaders, who appears to be the oldest and who the youngest? (What was the age of each late in 1943?) (d) Why are military and naval uniforms worn on this occasion? (e) Who might be the men in the background? (f) What else does this picture reveal to you about the period?

## WE WORK IN GROUPS

8. *Panel Discussion.* Under the leadership of a chairman, let a group of five discuss this subject: "Dictatorship vs. Democracy." Four phases of the subject might be: (a) Rise of Dictators; (b) Beliefs and Practices of Dictators; (c) German Dictatorship; (d) The Democratic Way. Following these brief talks, the panel might discuss the subject in an informal way, to be followed by questions from the class. One or more of these books should be consulted: G. Hartman, *The Making of a Democracy*, Part III; O. Brown, *Youth Under Dictators*; A. Carr, *Men of Power*, 207-72; H. Rugg, *Changing Governments and Changing Cultures*, chap. xxv; S. V. Benét, *America*.

## WE THINK FOR OURSELVES

9. *The World's Challenge.* The theme of this unit is a rapidly changing world with its many new problems and responsibilities. All of this forces Americans to think hard about the future. You have come to the end of the course, and you, too, are in a position to think about problems as you have not done before. Consider this: "How Will I Meet the Challenges of This New World?" This big problem can be broken down into smaller ones such as: (a) How will I fit into the new America? (b) What should be my attitude toward Europe? (c) Toward Asia? (d) Toward our Latin-American and Canadian neighbors?

Read from the following on any one of these topics, and make a floor talk on the new ideas learned: *Building America*: IX, "The Challenge to American Youth"; VIII, "Pacific Neighbors: The East Indies"; VI, "Our Northern Neighbors"; V, "Our Latin-American Neighbors"; N. L. Engelhardt, *Toward New Frontiers of Our Global War*; C. H. Lawrence (ed.), *New*

*World Horizons*; W. L. Willkie, *One World*, chap. 14; and these pamphlets: H. Motherwell, "Rebuilding Europe—After Victory" (Public Affairs Pamphlet); V. M. Dean, "On the Threshold of World Order" (Headline Series); W. C. Johnstone, "The Changing Far East" (Headline Series).

## WE TURN TO OTHER BOOKS

### 10. *To Get Information.*

RUGG, HAROLD, *The Conquest of America*. Chapter xxxi treats the early years of the New Deal.

RUGG, HAROLD, *Changing Countries and Changing Cultures*. The latter units deal with Europe and Asia since the First World War.

PEET, CREIGHTON, *Defending America*. A simple description of our armed forces, showing how men and machines combine to protect us on land and sea and in the air.

AYLING, KEITH, *Semper Fidelis: The U. S. Marines in Action*. Here is the thrilling story of the heroic fighting of the marines in the Pacific.

CHILDS, J. F., *Navy Gun Crew*. A naval lieutenant tells about the navy gunners aboard merchant ships during the war.

SHANE, TED, *Heroes of the Pacific*. How the sons of a great democracy fought on the long road to Tokyo.

ENGELHARDT, N. L., *Toward New Frontiers of Our Global War*. Some of the things you may expect to find in the air-age world are here.

DEAN, V. M., "On the Threshold of World Order" (Headline Series Pamphlet). A forward look into the world after the war—for the mature reader.

### 11. *To Find Out Who's Who.*

MOSES, BELLE, *Franklin Delano Roosevelt; The Minute Man of '33*. A full-length account of the four-time President from boyhood to the first inauguration.

CARR, ALBERT, *Men of Power*. Dictators of the past 300 years, including Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin.

FLOHERTY, J. J., *The Courage and the Glory*. True stories of Bulkeley, Kelly, and other heroes of the Second World War.

COOK, DON, *Fighting Americans of Today*. The life stories of the men who commanded our armed forces in the war.

RECHNITZER, F. E., *War Correspondent*. This is an account of Quentin Reynolds whose career as a war correspondent was filled with unbelievable adventure.

### 12. *To Read a Historical Novel.*

CRAWFORD, PHYLLIS, *Second Shift*. The story of young America at war. Judy Pond does her part by working in a war plant.

FROST, FRANCES, *Legends of the United Nations*. Tales popular among boys and girls in 17 of the United Nations.

DEUTSCH, BABETTE, *The Welcome*. A story about a boys' school, a thoughtless American boy, and a refugee from the Nazis.



FERNALD, H. C., *Jonathan's Doorstep*. A young girl faces the problems of peace and sees herself a citizen of the world.

13. *To Look at the Past in Pictures.*

*Building America*: II, "Social Security"; V, "Our Latin-American Neighbors"; VI, "Our Northern Neighbors"; VII, "America's Outposts"; VIII, "Pacific Neighbors: The East Indies," "Wartime Living for Peacetime Security"; IX, "The Consumer in War and Peace," "American Democracy in Wartime," "The Challenge to American Youth."

**WE SUMMARIZE THE UNIT**

14. *New Deal Table*. Prepare a table summarizing the New Deal under these headings: Chief Problems Facing It; What It Did; What I Think About It.

15. *Time Line*. Make a time line showing the major events of the unit. Put peace-time happenings in blue on one side of the line and war-time events in red on the other side.

16. *Military Booklet*. Make an illustrated booklet entitled "Military History." This will be the military and naval story of our part in the Second World War: causes, major battles, leaders on both sides, and results. Include a map showing the main strategy. If you started a military booklet earlier, add this as another chapter.

17. *United Nations Who's Who*. Prepare for the four major countries—United States, Britain, Russia, and China—brief biographical sketches of the war leaders. For each include the head of the nation, the leading general and admiral, and such other figures as you think important.

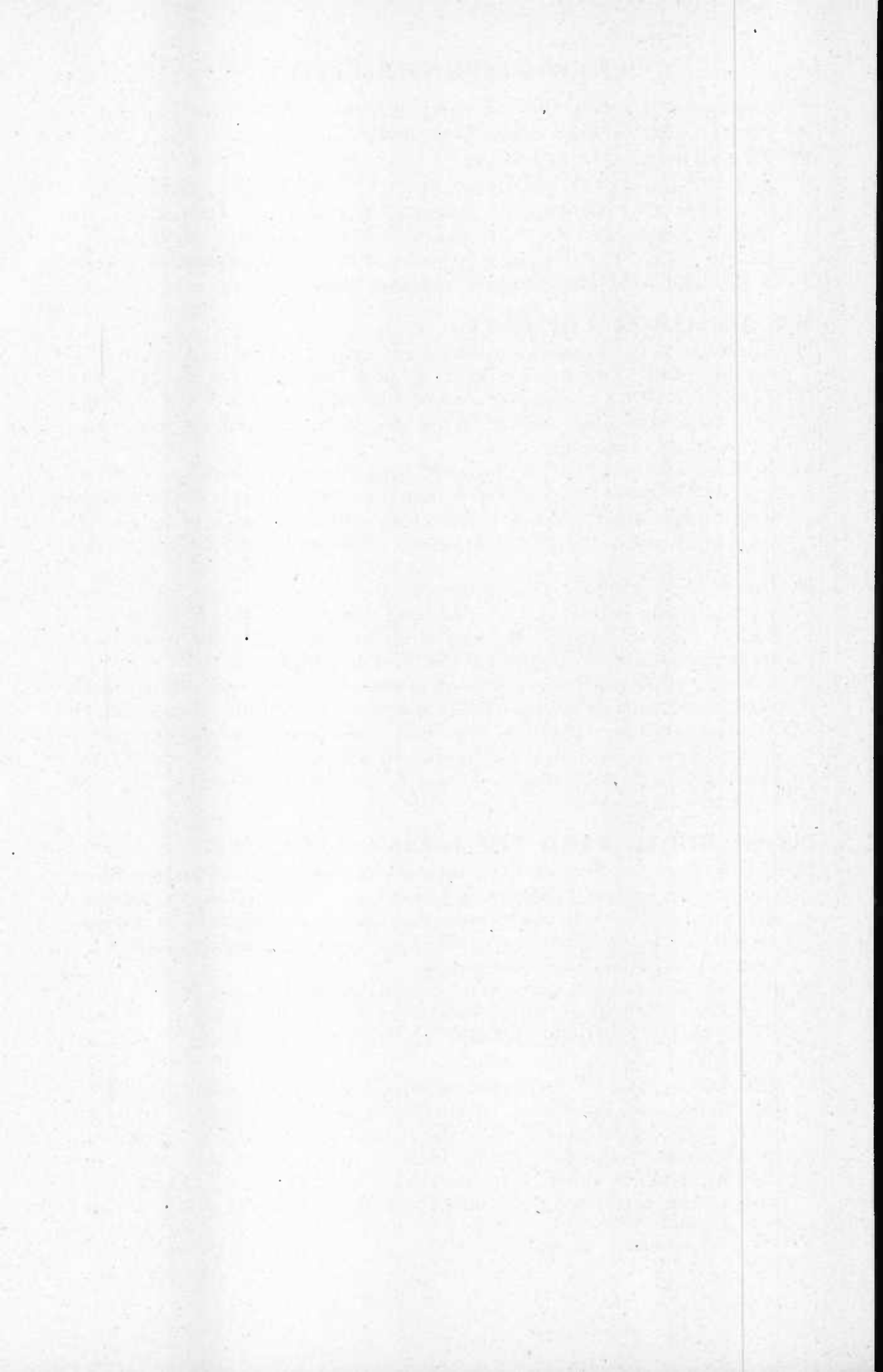
18. *Current Events Scrapbook*. This unit raised many unsolved problems. Make a scrapbook with these major sections: Economic, Political, Social, Foreign Affairs. Collect for a period of two weeks important items from newspapers dealing with these ever-present problems. Arrange them neatly under the above headings. Add your comment to each item, indicating why you think it is important.

**DO WE UNDERSTAND THE IDEAS OF THE UNIT?**

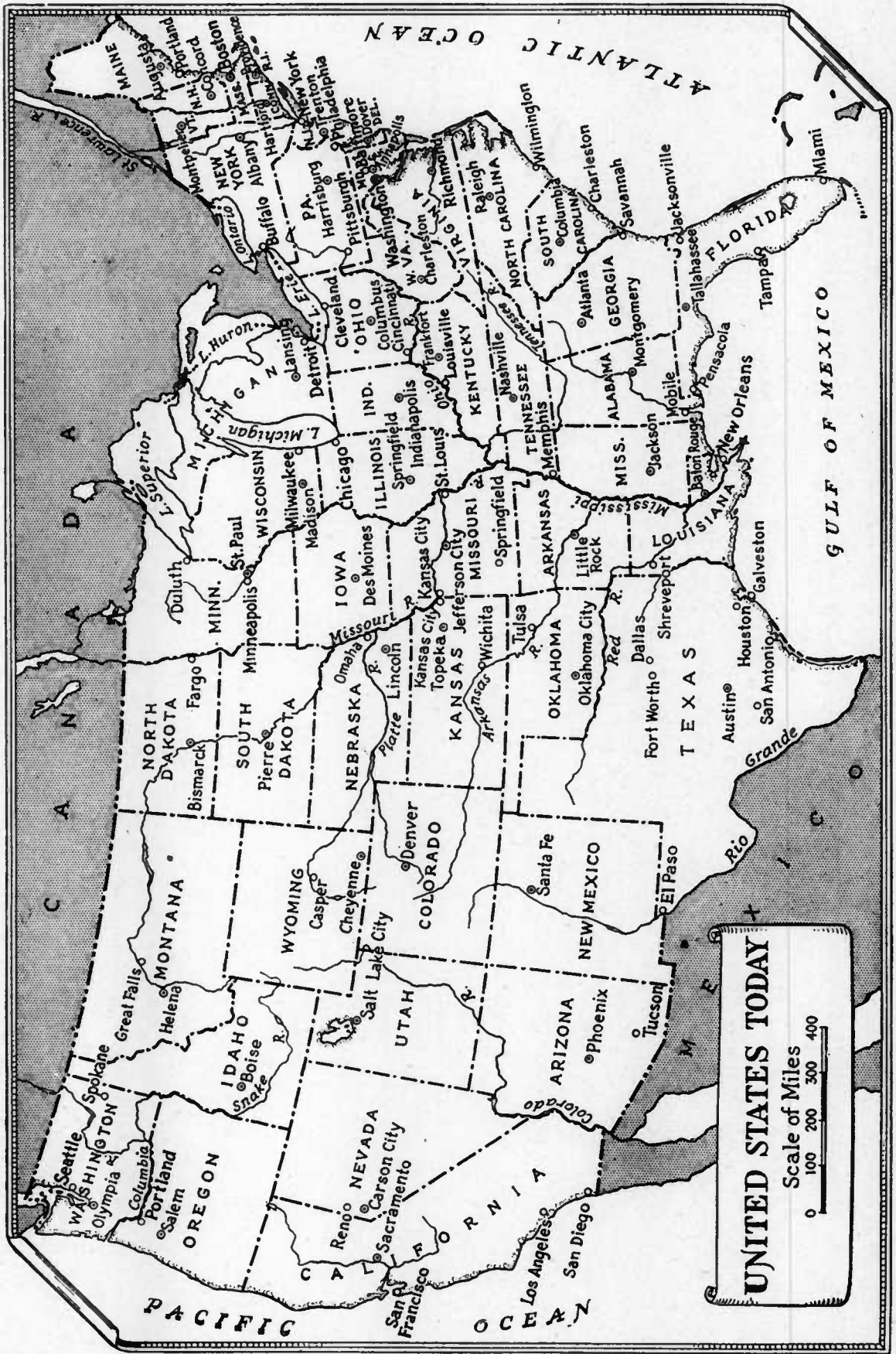
19. *Which Way the World?* Was progress advanced or checked by these events: depression of 1929, passage of the Public Utility Holding Company Act, passage of the Social Security Act, rise of the dictators in Europe, Second World War, passage of the Lend-Lease Act, the proposal for a world organization to enforce peace?

20. *War and Peace Terms*. Can you explain the meaning of each of these words and terms: New Deal, public works, social security, armistice, Fascists, Nazis, United Nations, rationing, "arsenal of democracy," lend-lease, UNRRA?

21. *The Artist's View*. At the beginning of this unit is a two-page drawing by the artist, James Daugherty, who is famed as an illustrator of books for young people. Like you, Mr. Daugherty read the unit. Then he made the drawing which represents certain ideas he found in the unit. Study this drawing carefully. What unit ideas has the artist expressed? Do you agree with his interpretation of the unit? If not, what changes would you make?



# Appendix



UNITED STATES TODAY

Scale of Miles

0 100 200 300 400



## *Appendix I*

### THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE<sup>1</sup>

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776<sup>2</sup>

#### THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.—We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.—He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.—He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.—He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.—He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncom-

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<sup>1</sup> The spelling, capitalization, punctuation and paragraphing of the original document are here followed, as issued by the Department of State. This famous charter of liberty is now preserved in the Library of Congress.

<sup>2</sup> Adopted on this date by the Second Continental Congress. Curiously enough, the first "Fourth of July" celebration occurred July 8, 1776, for it was on that date in Philadelphia that the document was first read to the public. It was upon this occasion, according to old tales, that the "Liberty Bell" in the State House (now known as Independence Hall), with its famous lettering "Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof," was rung to call the citizens together. In 1835 the historic crack appeared in the bell as it was being tolled for the funeral of Chief Justice John Marshall.

fortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.—He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.—He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.—He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.—He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.—He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.—He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.—He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.—He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.—He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:—For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:—For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:—For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:—For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:—For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by jury:—For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offenses:—For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:—For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:—For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.—He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.—He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.—He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.—He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.—He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions. In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpa-

tions, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.—

WE, THEREFORE, THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do.—And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

John Hancock<sup>3</sup>

Button Gwinnett  
Lyman Hall  
Geo Walton.  
W<sup>m</sup> Hooper  
Joseph Hewes,  
John Penn  
Edward Rutledge.  
Tho<sup>s</sup> Heyward Jun<sup>r</sup>.  
Thomas Lynch Jun<sup>r</sup>.  
Arthur Middleton  
Samuel Chase  
W<sup>m</sup>. Paca  
Tho<sup>s</sup>. Stone  
Charles Carroll of  
Carrollton  
George Wythe  
Richard Henry Lee.  
Th Jefferson  
Benj<sup>a</sup> Harrison  
Tho<sup>s</sup> Nelson Jr.  
Francis Lightfoot  
Lee  
Carter Braxton  
Rob<sup>t</sup> Morris  
Benjamin Rush  
Benj<sup>a</sup>. Franklin  
John Morton  
Geo Clymer  
Ja<sup>s</sup>. Smith.

Geo. Taylor  
James Wilson  
Geo. Ross  
Casar Rodney  
Geo Read  
Tho M: Kean  
W<sup>m</sup> Floyd  
Phil. Livingston  
Fran<sup>s</sup>. Lewis  
Lewis Morris  
Rich<sup>d</sup>. Stockton  
Jn<sup>o</sup> Witherspoon  
Fra<sup>s</sup>. Hopkinson  
John Hart  
Abra Clark  
Josiah Bartlett  
W<sup>m</sup>. Whipple  
Sam<sup>l</sup> Adams  
John Adams  
Rob<sup>t</sup> Treat Payne  
Elbridge Gerry  
Step Hopkins  
William Ellery  
Roger Sherman  
Sam<sup>l</sup> Huntington  
W<sup>m</sup>. Williams  
Oliver Wolcott  
Matthew Thornton

<sup>3</sup> Hancock, whose large signature has become so well known, was president of the Congress. The formal signing of the Declaration took place August 2, 1776.

## Appendix II

### THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA<sup>1</sup>

#### THE PREAMBLE<sup>2</sup>

**1. Reasons Are Given for Establishing the Constitution.** We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

#### ARTICLE. I. THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

##### SECTION 1. THE CONGRESS

**2. A Congress of Two Houses Has Legislative Power.** 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

##### SECTION 2. THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**3. The People Elect Their Representatives.** 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors<sup>3</sup> of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

**4. Who May Be Representatives?** 2. No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

**5. Representation in the House Is Based on Population.** 3. Representatives and direct Taxes<sup>4</sup> shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, [*which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons.*]<sup>5</sup><sup>6</sup> The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed

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<sup>1</sup> The printing of the Constitution as issued by the Department of State is here followed, except for the headings in heavy-faced type, the insertion of brackets and the use of italics.

<sup>2</sup> The preamble is merely an introduction. It states the general purposes in the minds of the framers of the document, but grants no powers. Its clauses, however, have been used to read meaning into clauses in the body of the Constitution.

<sup>3</sup> "Electors" here means voters.

<sup>4</sup> The income tax, as a form of direct tax, may now be levied under the provisions of the Sixteenth Amendment [107].

<sup>5</sup> "Persons" here refers to slaves. The word "slave" does not appear in the Constitution, although the word "slavery" is found in the Thirteenth Amendment. The three-fifths provision has been replaced by the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments [98 and 101]. Citizenship has now been granted to the Indians.

<sup>6</sup> Brackets with the italics indicate parts no longer in effect.



one for every thirty Thousand,<sup>7</sup> but each State shall have at Least one Representative; [and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.]

**6. Vacancies in the House Are Filled by Election.** 4. When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

**7. The House Selects its Speaker and Alone Has Power to Impeach.** 5. The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

### SECTION 3. THE SENATE

**8. Representation in the Senate Is Based on the States.** 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, [chosen by the Legislature thereof]<sup>8</sup> for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

**9. One-third of the Senators Are Chosen Every Two Years.** 2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. [The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year,]<sup>9</sup> so that one third may be chosen every second Year; [and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.]<sup>10</sup>

**10. Who May Be Senators?** 3. No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

**11. The Vice President Presides over the Senate.** 4. The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

**12. The Senate Chooses its Other Officers.** 5. The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

**13. The Senate Alone Has Power to Try Impeachments.** 6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all Impeachments.<sup>11</sup> When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

**14. Conviction May Result in Removal from and Disqualification for Office.** 7. Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office,

<sup>7</sup> Under the 1940 census there was one representative for about every 300,000 persons.

<sup>8</sup> Replaced by the Seventeenth Amendment [108].

<sup>9</sup> A temporary provision.

<sup>10</sup> Changed by the Seventeenth Amendment [109].

<sup>11</sup> Thirteen impeachments have been brought by the House, with four convictions by the Senate. The persons convicted and removed from office were judges.

and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

#### SECTION 4. ELECTION AND MEETINGS OF CONGRESS

**15. The State Legislatures and Congress Determine Conditions of Elections.** 1. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

**16. Congress Must Meet Once a Year.** 2. [*The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.*]<sup>12</sup>

#### SECTION 5. ORGANIZATION AND RULES OF THE HOUSES

**17. Each House Has Power to Reject Members.** 1. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

**18. Each House Makes its Own Rules.** 2. Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

**19. Each House Must Keep and Publish a Record of its Proceedings.** 3. Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

**20. Both Houses Must Agree Regarding Adjournment.** 4. Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

#### SECTION 6. PRIVILEGES OF AND PROHIBITIONS UPON CONGRESSMEN

**21. Congressmen Receive a Salary from the United States and Are Entitled to Certain Privileges.**<sup>13</sup> 1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

**22. A Congressman Must not Hold any Other Federal Civil Office.** 2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

<sup>12</sup> Changed to January third by Twentieth Amendment [117].

<sup>13</sup> Popularly the term "Congressman" means a member of the lower House, but properly it means either a Senator or Representative. Senators and Representatives receive \$10,000 a year.

## SECTION 7. METHOD OF PASSING LAWS

**23. Revenue Bills Must Originate in the House.**<sup>14</sup> 1. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

**24. The President May Veto Congressional Bills, but Congress by a Two-thirds Vote Can Override the Veto.** 2. Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

**25. The President's Qualified Veto Extends to All Congressional Measures.**<sup>15</sup> 3. Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

SECTION 8. THE ENUMERATED POWERS OF CONGRESS<sup>16</sup>

**26. Congress Has Power to Lay and Collect Taxes.** 1. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

**27. Congress May Borrow Money.** 2. To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

**28. Congress Regulates Foreign and Interstate Commerce.** 3. To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

**29. Congress Legislates Concerning Naturalization and Bankruptcies.**<sup>17</sup> 4. To estab-

<sup>14</sup> A revenue bill is any bill drawn up mainly to raise money for governmental purposes. In practice, appropriation or money-spending bills tend to originate in the House, although there is no such constitutional requirement. In the case of either bill, the Senate can amend as it desires. In effect, then, the financial powers of the two Houses are equal.

<sup>15</sup> Proposals of amendment to the Constitution and concurrent resolutions—congressional expressions of opinion—do not require presidential approval.

<sup>16</sup> An "enumerated" power is a listed power. Additional powers of Congress are granted in Amendments XIII–XVI [98–107] and XIX–XXI [114–24].

<sup>17</sup> Bankruptcy is a legal process enabling an individual unable to pay his debts in full to divide his property fairly among his creditors, thus releasing him from further legal obligation for the debts in question. State laws regulated bankruptcy procedure until Congress legislated in 1898, thus establishing "uniform" but not exclusive regulation.

lish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

**30. Congress May Provide for Coining Money.** 5. To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

**31. Congress Has Power to Punish Counterfeiting.** 6. To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

**32. Congress May Establish a Postal Service.** 7. To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

**33. Congress May Grant Copyright and Patent Privileges.**<sup>18</sup> 8. To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

**34. Congress May Establish Inferior Courts.** 9. To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

**35. Congress May Punish Crimes Committed on the High Seas.**<sup>19</sup> 10. To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

**36. Congress Has Power to Declare War.** 11. To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal,<sup>20</sup> and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

**37. Congress Raises and Controls Size of the Army.** 12. To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

**38. Congress Provides for and Controls Size of the Navy.** 13. To provide and maintain a Navy;

**39. Congress Makes Rules for Regulation of the Army and Navy.** 14. To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

**40. Congress May Call Out the State Militia.** 15. To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel Invasions;

**41. Congress and the States Control the State Militia.** 16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

**42. Congress Alone Has Power over the District of Columbia.** 17. To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—And

**43. In Addition, Congress Has "Implied Powers," Resulting from the Elastic Clause.**

<sup>18</sup> A copyright protects the exclusive rights of publication and sale of a writer, artist, musician, photographer and similar producers for a period of 28 years, with the right of renewal for a like term. A patent grants an inventor protection on the profits of his invention for a period of 17 years. Patent renewals are rare and only by special act of Congress.

<sup>19</sup> "High seas" are the ocean waters beyond the three-mile limit, beyond which no country has exclusive rights. Piracy, or robbery at sea, was more or less common in the 1700's. Felonies are serious crimes punishable by death or imprisonment. The law of nations is international law.

<sup>20</sup> Letters of marque and reprisal are governmental commissions to privateers or privately owned and operated ships to make war on the ships of the enemy. No commissions were issued for the War Between the States or later wars.



18. To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

#### SECTION 9. POWERS DENIED TO THE UNITED STATES<sup>21</sup>

**44. Congress Must not Limit Immigration before 1808.** 1. [*The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.*]<sup>22</sup>

**45. Congress Must not Suspend the Writ of Habeas Corpus Except During Rebellion or Invasion.** 2. The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus<sup>23</sup> shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

**46. Congress Must not Pass Bills of Attainder or Ex Post Facto Laws.**<sup>24</sup> 3. No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

**47. Congress Must not Levy Direct Taxes Unless in Proportion to Population.** 4. No Capitation, or other direct,<sup>25</sup> Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

**48. Congress Must not Levy Export Taxes.** 5. No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

**49. Congress in its Regulations Must not Favor One Port over Another.** 6. No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

**50. Congress Controls All Expenditures.** 7. No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

**51. Congress Cannot Grant Titles of Nobility.** 8. No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

#### SECTION 10. POWERS DENIED TO THE STATES<sup>26</sup>

**52. The States Are Denied Certain Important Powers.** 1. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin

<sup>21</sup> Other restrictions on the United States will be found in Amendments I–X [86–95].

<sup>22</sup> A temporary clause referring to the importation of slaves—a subject for compromise in the Constitutional Convention.

<sup>23</sup> A writ of *habeas corpus* is a court order demanding that the person being detained (in prison, asylum, or elsewhere) be delivered over to the court, which will determine whether the person is being legally or properly detained.

<sup>24</sup> A bill of attainder is a law which punishes without judicial trial. An *ex post facto* law is legislation which makes criminal an act which was not contrary to law when done, or which in any way works to the disadvantage of the person accused of a crime committed before the law was passed.

<sup>25</sup> A poll tax and a tax on land are the only forms of direct taxes. Since incomes may come from the ownership of land, the Sixteenth Amendment was necessary in order to levy an income tax [107].

<sup>26</sup> Additional restrictions upon the States will be found in Amendments XIII–XV [98–106], and XIX [114–15].

Money; emit Bills of Credit;<sup>27</sup> make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligations of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

**53. The States Must not Lay Import or Export Duties.** 2. No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing it's inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

**54. The States Must Limit their Military Activities.** 3. No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage,<sup>28</sup> keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

## ARTICLE. II. THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

### SECTION 1. THE PRESIDENT AND THE VICE PRESIDENT

**55. The President Is the Chief Executive Official.** 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

**56. The President Is Elected Indirectly by State Electors.** 2. Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

**57. The President Is Elected by a Majority of the Electoral Votes.** 3. [*The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should re-*

<sup>27</sup> Bills of credit are paper money.

<sup>28</sup> Tonnage duties are placed upon vessels according to their size. This prohibition therefore prevents an indirect means of charging import and export duties.

*main two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.]*<sup>29</sup>

**58. Congress Sets the Time for Election and the Meeting of the "Electoral College."**<sup>30</sup> 4. The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

**59. Who May Be President?** 5. No Person except a natural born Citizen, [*or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution,*]<sup>31</sup> shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

**60. Vacancy in the Presidency Is Filled by the Vice President.** 6. In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.<sup>32</sup>

**61. The President's Salary Cannot Be Changed During his Term.**<sup>33</sup> 7. The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be encreased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

**62. The President Is Required to Take an Oath of Office.** 8. Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

## SECTION 2. THE POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT

**63. The President Is the Highest Military Officer; He Can Also Check the Federal Judiciary.** 1. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual

<sup>29</sup> Entirely replaced by the Twelfth Amendment [97].

<sup>30</sup> Presidential electors are chosen on the Tuesday following the first Monday in November of each "leap year." The electors, consisting today of that group of party electors receiving a plurality of the state's popular votes, meet in their respective state capitals on the first Monday after the second Wednesday in December and cast their ballots for President and Vice President. On the sixth day of January, the votes of the Electoral College are counted in Congress and the election officially declared, though the results were known to the country in November. The above days for the casting and counting of electoral votes are the dates set by Congress as required by Amendment XX [116].

<sup>31</sup> This clause is of historical significance only. It was inserted so that foreign-born citizens (such as Alexander Hamilton, James Wilson, Robert Morris and William Paterson) of able leadership should not be excluded.

<sup>32</sup> The Presidential Succession Act (1886) provides that heads of executive departments (cabinet members) succeed the Vice President in order of the creation of their departments, beginning with the Secretary of State and ending with the Secretary of the Interior.

<sup>33</sup> The President's annual salary has been increased, effective with the next term of office, from \$25,000 in 1789 to \$50,000 in 1873. The present salary, set by Congress in 1909, is \$75,000, with a travel allowance of \$25,000. Additional appropriations cover certain White House expenses of a public nature. The Vice President receives \$15,000 a year.

Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the Executive Departments,<sup>34</sup> upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons<sup>35</sup> for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

**64. The President's Power to Make Treaties and Appointments Is Subject to the Senate's Approval.**<sup>36</sup> 2. He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

**65. The President May Make Recess Appointments.**<sup>37</sup> 3. The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

### SECTION 3. THE DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT

**66. The President May Use Legislative Influence.** 1. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union,<sup>38</sup> and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

### SECTION 4. IMPEACHMENT

**67. The President May Be Impeached.** 1. The President, Vice President and all Civil Officers of the United States,<sup>39</sup> shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for,

<sup>34</sup> In practice President Washington began to *meet* with the executive heads, thus giving rise to a cabinet. But, it will be noted, there is no constitutional provision for a cabinet. Indeed, the cabinet was not recognized by law until more than 100 years after its creation. The salary of a cabinet member is \$15,000 a year.

<sup>35</sup> A pardon is freedom from a penalty imposed by the courts. A reprieve is partial relief from or postponement of a sentence. A general pardon, granted to a group, is an amnesty. By proclamation in 1865 President Johnson granted pardon to all Southerners, except the leaders, who had fought in the Confederate cause in the War Between the States.

<sup>36</sup> Approval of treaties requires a two-thirds vote of the Senators *present*, although war may be declared by a majority vote of Congress. Approval of appointments requires a simple majority vote in the Senate.

<sup>37</sup> Occasionally a President will resort to recess appointment when the Senate withholds approval of a nominee particularly desired by the President.

<sup>38</sup> The Presidential Message was delivered in person by Washington and Adams, but Jefferson preferred written messages. Jefferson's successors continued his practice until Wilson again appeared before Congress to read his messages.

<sup>39</sup> "All Civil Officers" means all federal executive and judicial appointees, such as cabinet members, ambassadors, judges, and postmasters. Military and naval officials are not subject to impeachment, nor are members of Congress. Members of Congress are official representatives of their respective states, not civil officers of the United States. But Congress may expel its own members for misconduct [18], and military and naval officials are subject to court-martial.



and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.<sup>40</sup>

## ARTICLE. III. THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

### SECTION 1. THE FEDERAL COURTS

**68. Only the Supreme Court Is Established by the Constitution.** 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during the Continuance in Office.<sup>41</sup>

### SECTION 2. THE JURISDICTION OF THE COURTS

**69. The Federal Judiciary Is Supreme.** 1. The judicial Power shall extend to all cases, in Law and Equity,<sup>42</sup> arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;<sup>43</sup>—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State;<sup>44</sup>—between Citizens of different States,—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

**70. Two Classes of Cases Come to the Supreme Court Directly; All Others Are Appealed from Lower Courts.** 2. In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction.<sup>45</sup> In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

**71. Trial Is by Jury in Federal Criminal Cases.** 3. The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

### SECTION 3. TREASON AND ITS PUNISHMENT

**72. Treason Against the United States Is Defined.** 1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies,

<sup>40</sup> Treason is defined by the Constitution [72]. The phrase, "high crimes and misdemeanors," has been interpreted to mean serious misconduct in office.

<sup>41</sup> Salaries of Supreme Court justices are \$20,000, except the Chief Justice, who receives \$20,500.

<sup>42</sup> Equity, applying to certain kinds of civil cases only, developed out of need for relief from the shortcomings of ordinary law. Cases in law follow after the violation of the law is charged; cases in equity attempt "preventive justice," that is, seek to prevent an injustice being done. To prevent a wrong being done, the court will issue an order, called an *injunction*, restraining freedom of action. A judge may order a public official (or a corporation or individual) to do or *not* to do (as is usually the case) a certain action.

<sup>43</sup> Admiralty and maritime law deals with controversies arising out of the use of the high seas.

<sup>44</sup> This clause has been changed by the Eleventh Amendment [96].

<sup>45</sup> "Original jurisdiction" is the right to hear and determine a case in its first appearance in court; "appellate jurisdiction" is the right to hear a case appealed from a lower court.

giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

**73. The Power of Congress to Punish Treason Is Limited.** 2. The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

## ARTICLE. IV. RELATIONS OF THE STATES

### SECTION 1. PUBLIC ACTS

**74. A State Must Recognize the Public Acts and Records of Other States.** 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

### SECTION 2. RIGHTS OF CITIZENS OF ONE STATE IN ANOTHER STATE

**75. Citizenship in One State Also Means Certain Rights in Another State.** 1. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

**76. Fugitives from Justice Must Be Returned to the State from Which They Fled.** 2. A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony,<sup>46</sup> or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

**77. Fugitive Slaves Must Likewise Be Returned.** 3. [*No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.*]<sup>47</sup>

### SECTION 3. NEW STATES AND TERRITORIES

**78. Congress Admits New States.** 1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.<sup>48</sup>

**79. Congress Has Full Control over the Territories.** 2. The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

<sup>46</sup> Crimes punishable by death or imprisonment are usually classified as felonies.

<sup>47</sup> So far as "person" here means slave, the clause is set aside by the Thirteenth Amendment [98].

<sup>48</sup> The creation of West Virginia and its admission to the Union in 1863 under the unusual conditions of the War Between the States were without the consent of the parent State of Virginia. Other instances of the division of a state were the separation of Maine from Massachusetts in 1820, Vermont from New York, 1791, and Kentucky from Virginia, 1792; in each case separation was with the consent of the state being reduced in area.

## SECTION 4. PROTECTION OF THE STATES BY THE UNITED STATES

**80. The United States Guarantees each State a Republican Government and Protection against Invasion.** 1. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government,<sup>49</sup> and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

## ARTICLE. V. THE PROCESS OF AMENDMENT

**81. The Constitution May be Amended in Any One of Four Ways.** 1. The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided [*that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and*]<sup>50</sup> that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of it's equal Suffrage in the Senate.

## ARTICLE. VI. THE SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND

**82. The Federal Government Assumes the Debts of the Confederation.** 1. All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

**83. The Constitution Is the Supreme Law of the Land.** 2. The Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.<sup>51</sup>

**84. All State and Federal Officers Are Bound by Oath to Support the Constitution.** 3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

## ARTICLE. VII. THE RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

**85. The Constitution Is Established when Nine State Conventions Ratify.** 1. The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

<sup>49</sup> Republican form of government is not defined by the Constitution, but is considered to be the representative form of government in existence in the states when the Constitution was framed.

<sup>50</sup> A temporary clause.

<sup>51</sup> In case of conflict between federal and state Constitutions and laws, the order of authority is: Constitution of the United States, laws and treaties of the United States; constitutions of the states, laws of the states, ordinances of cities and towns. If a federal law and treaty conflict, the one more recently enacted or ratified, holds.

done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth In Witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

G° Washington—Presid<sup>t</sup>  
and deputy from Virginia

Attest William Jackson Secretary

New Hampshire

John Langdon  
Nicholas Gilman

Massachusetts

Nathaniel Gorham  
Rufus King

Connecticut

W<sup>m</sup>. Sam<sup>l</sup>. Johnson  
Roger Sherman

New York

Alexander Hamilton

New Jersey

Wil: Livingston  
David Brearley  
W<sup>m</sup>. Paterson  
Jona: Dayton

Pennsylvania

B Franklin  
Thomas Mifflin  
Rob<sup>t</sup> Morris  
Geo. Clymer  
Tho<sup>s</sup>. FitzSimons  
Jared Ingersoll  
James Wilson  
Gouv Morris

Delaware

Geo: Read  
Gunning Bedford jun  
John Dickinson  
Richard Bassett  
Jaco: Broom

Maryland

James M<sup>c</sup>Henry  
Dan of S<sup>t</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup>. Jenifer  
Dan<sup>l</sup> Carroll

Virginia

John Blair—  
James Madison Jr.

North Carolina

W<sup>m</sup>. Blount  
Rich<sup>d</sup>. Dobbs Spaight.  
Hu Williamson

South Carolina

J. Rutledge  
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney  
Charles Pinckney  
Pierce Butler.

Georgia

William Few  
Abr Baldwin

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AMENDMENT I RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL FREEDOM<sup>52</sup>

86. Congress Must not Interfere with Freedom of Religion, Speech or Press. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion,<sup>53</sup> or prohibiting the

<sup>52</sup> The first ten amendments, proclaimed in effect late in 1791, are restrictions on the federal government. These ten amendments are termed the Bill of Rights, although only the first eight guarantee specific rights to the people.

<sup>53</sup> As far as the federal government is concerned, the separation of church and state is estab-



free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press;<sup>54</sup> or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

## AMENDMENT II RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS

**87. Congress Must not Deny the States a Militia.** A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms,<sup>55</sup> shall not be infringed.

## AMENDMENT III QUARTERING SOLDIERS

**88. Congress Must not Quarter Soldiers on the People.**<sup>56</sup> No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

## AMENDMENT IV SEARCHES AND SEIZURES

**89. Federal Officials Must not Authorize Unreasonable Searches.** The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

## AMENDMENT V RIGHTS IN CRIMINAL PROSECUTION

**90. Federal Courts Must not Violate Certain Rights of the People.** No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment<sup>57</sup> of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law,<sup>58</sup> nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

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lished. But the clause does not restrict state governments from regulating religion, and several states continued with established religions for some years after 1791. Nearly all state constitutions now guarantee religious freedom.

<sup>54</sup> In practice this clause does not mean absolute freedom to speak without thought of the effect of one's speech. For example, one may be held accountable for what one says.

<sup>55</sup> The original intent of this clause was to protect the states against a possible tyranny of the federal government. State laws now regulate the use of firearms.

<sup>56</sup> This is an ancient English grievance and is found among the grievances in the Declaration of Independence.

<sup>57</sup> Indictment is the finding of the grand jury, in the form of a written accusation, that there is probable cause for trial of the accused.

<sup>58</sup> A similar restriction is placed on the state governments in the Fourteenth Amendment [100]. Thus the Constitution strongly guards property rights against unlawful acts by either state or federal government. "Due process of law" implies a fair trial—one that hears before it condemns—under the rules established for judicial proceedings. This does not necessarily mean trial by jury.

## AMENDMENT VI RIGHTS IN CRIMINAL PROSECUTION

**91. Federal Courts Must Guarantee Certain Rights to the Accused.** In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

## AMENDMENT VII RIGHT OF TRIAL BY JURY

**92. Federal Courts Must Guarantee Jury Trial in Civil Suits.** In Suits at common law,<sup>59</sup> where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

## AMENDMENT VIII EXCESSIVE BAIL, FINES AND PUNISHMENT

**93. Federal Courts Must Avoid Extremes.** Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.<sup>60</sup>

## AMENDMENT IX UNENUMERATED RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE

**94. The Federal Government Exercises no Power over the Unlisted Rights of the People.** The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

## AMENDMENT X POWERS RESERVED TO STATES OR PEOPLE

**95. All Undelegated Powers Remain with the States or the People.** The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.<sup>61</sup>

## AMENDMENT XI (1798) SUITS AGAINST STATES

**96. A State Cannot Be Sued by a Citizen of Another State.** The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>59</sup> This guarantee applies to "suits at common law." Common law is, briefly, a set of *judicial usages* that began to develop in mediæval England without the authority of parliamentary legislation. Brought to America by the colonists, courts continued to use it along with statutory law (legislative acts) and constitutional law or the highest law. Amendment VI [91] guarantees jury trial in federal *criminal* cases.

<sup>60</sup> Again, an excellent example of the fear of the tyranny of government which the people had learned in their past struggles for liberty.

<sup>61</sup> Under this very important amendment the greater part of governmental power remains with the states, where it had originally been. Education and the control of crime are two examples of undelegated power remaining with the states.

<sup>62</sup> This changes Clause 1, Section 2, Article III [69], over which a difference of opinion arose. This amendment is intended to protect the independence of the states, and was caused by a suit brought against the state of Georgia by a citizen of South Carolina.

AMENDMENT XII (1804) ELECTION OF PRESIDENT  
AND VICE PRESIDENT

**97. Changes Are Made in the Manner of Electing the President and Vice President.**<sup>63</sup>

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;<sup>64</sup>—The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, [*before the fourth day of March next following*],<sup>65</sup> then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.—The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

AMENDMENT XIII (1865) FREEDOM FOR THE SLAVES

SECTION 1. SLAVERY PROHIBITED

**98. There Shall Be no Slavery in the United States.** Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Replaces Article II, Section 1, Clause 3 [57] and was adopted as a result of the Jefferson-Burr tie for the Presidency in 1800. Three changes are made: (1) provisions for separate ballots; (2) number of candidates suitable for consideration by House and Senate in event no candidate receives a majority vote in the Electoral College; and (3) provision on qualifications of Vice President previously omitted. Under this amendment election of the President by the House occurred in 1824. In the 1876 election a dispute was finally settled by a special commission. In 1888 our election method proved undemocratic, for the candidate with the largest popular vote did not win.

<sup>64</sup> See [58], note.

<sup>65</sup> Changed by Amendment XX to "noon on the 20th day of January" [116].

<sup>66</sup> This amendment wiped out slavery in the states of Delaware and Kentucky. Federal and state action had previously freed the slaves in the other states and territories.

## SECTION 2. POWER OF ENFORCEMENT

**99. Congress Has Power of Enforcement.** Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

## AMENDMENT XIV (1868) CIVIL RIGHTS FOR THE NEGROES

## SECTION 1. CITIZENSHIP

**100. Who Are Citizens, and What Are Their Rights?** All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside.<sup>67</sup> No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law,<sup>68</sup> nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

## SECTION 2. REDUCTION OF REPRESENTATION

**101. States Denying Male Suffrage Shall Have Their Representation Reduced.**<sup>69</sup> Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed.<sup>70</sup> But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

## SECTION 3. LOSS OF POLITICAL PRIVILEGES

**102. Many Southern Leaders Are Disqualified for Federal and State Offices.** No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

## SECTION 4. PUBLIC DEBT

**103. The War Debt of the Confederacy Is not Payable.** The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of

<sup>67</sup> Note the provision for two kinds of citizenship.

<sup>68</sup> This clause extends to the states a restriction already placed on Congress [90]. Intended in part for the protection of the Negro, in time it resulted largely in increased power of the federal courts over the states, as state laws regulating corporations and their actions were declared in conflict with this clause. Many corporations, but few Negroes, have brought suit under this clause.

<sup>69</sup> This section and the next two represent congressional effort to punish the South for its participation in the War Between the States. Section 2 has not been enforced.

<sup>70</sup> This provision sets aside Article I, Section 2, Clause 3 [5].



pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

#### SECTION 5. ENFORCEMENT

**104. Congress Has Power of Enforcement.** The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

### AMENDMENT XV (1870) POLITICAL RIGHTS FOR THE NEGROES

#### SECTION 1. RIGHT TO VOTE

**105. The Negro Is Made a Voter.** The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.<sup>71</sup>

#### SECTION 2. ENFORCEMENT

**106. Congress Has Power of Enforcement.** The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

### AMENDMENT XVI (1913) INCOME TAX

**107. Congress May Lay Income Taxes without Apportionment.** The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.<sup>72</sup>

### AMENDMENT XVII (1913) POPULAR ELECTION OF SENATORS

**108. Senators Are Elected Directly by the People.** 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof,<sup>73</sup> for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

**109. Vacancies Are Acted upon by the State Governor.** 2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

**110. This Change Does not Affect the Senators in Office.** 3. [*This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.*]<sup>74</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Note that voting privileges shall not be denied for three specific reasons. A state may, and nearly all do, set up other qualifications for voting.

<sup>72</sup> Changes Article I, Section 2, Clause 3 [5].

<sup>73</sup> Replaces Article I, Section 3, Clause 1 [8].

<sup>74</sup> A temporary provision only.

## AMENDMENT XVIII (1919) NATIONAL PROHIBITION

## SECTION 1. PROHIBITION OF LIQUOR TRAFFIC

**111. The Manufacture, Sale or Transportation of Intoxicating Liquors for Beverage Purposes Is Prohibited.** [*After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.*]<sup>75</sup>

## SECTION 2. ENFORCEMENT

**112. Congress and the States Have Joint Power of Enforcement.** [*The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.*]

## SECTION 3. CONDITIONS OF RATIFICATION

**113. Amendment Must Be Ratified within Seven Years.** [*This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.*]<sup>76</sup>

## AMENDMENT XIX (1920) WOMAN SUFFRAGE

**114. Women Are Made Voters.** 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

**115. Congress Has Power of Enforcement.** 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

## AMENDMENT XX (1933) COMMENCEMENT OF CONGRESSIONAL AND PRESIDENTIAL TERMS

## SECTION 1. END OF CONGRESSIONAL AND PRESIDENTIAL TERMS

**116. Terms of President, Vice President and Congressmen Begin in January of Certain Odd Years.** The terms of the President and Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.<sup>77</sup>

## SECTION 2. REGULAR CONGRESSIONAL SESSIONS

**117. Congress Assembles January 3d of Each Year.** The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.<sup>78</sup>

## SECTION 3. CONGRESS PROVIDES FOR ACTING PRESIDENT

**118. Congress Provides by Law for Failure of President to Qualify in Time.** If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall

<sup>75</sup> Under this clause the amendment was put into operation in 1920, but repealed 13 years later by Amendment XXI [122-24].

<sup>76</sup> A temporary clause and the first amendment to have a time limitation on the period of its ratification.

<sup>77</sup> Replaces a clause in Amendment XII [97], note.

<sup>78</sup> Sets aside Article I, Section 1, Clause 2 [16].

have died, the Vice President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.<sup>79</sup>

#### SECTION 4. CONGRESS HAS POWER OVER UNUSUAL ELECTIONS

**119. When the Election Goes to Either House, Congress Provides by Law if Death Intervenes among Eligible Candidates.** The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

#### SECTION 5. DATE IN EFFECT

**120. Amendment Is Effective in October Following Ratification.** [*Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.*]<sup>80</sup>

#### SECTION 6. CONDITIONS OF RATIFICATION

**121. Amendment Must Be Ratified within Seven Years.** [*This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.*]<sup>80</sup>

### AMENDMENT XXI (1933) REPEAL OF NATIONAL PROHIBITION

#### SECTION 1. REPEAL

**122. The Eighteenth Amendment Is Repealed.** The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.<sup>81</sup>

#### SECTION 2. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PROTECTS "DRY" STATES

**123. The Transportation of Intoxicating Liquors into "Dry" States for Use Therein Is Prohibited.** The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

#### SECTION 3. CONDITIONS OF RATIFICATION

**124. Amendment Must Be Ratified by State Conventions within Seven Years.**<sup>82</sup> [*This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.*]<sup>80</sup>

<sup>79</sup> This and the next provision strengthened Amendment XII [97].

<sup>80</sup> A temporary clause.

<sup>81</sup> Like other replaced parts, Amendment XVIII [111–12] becomes merely a historical provision of the Constitution.

<sup>82</sup> This is the first amendment to be submitted to *conventions* in the states, although the original Constitution was ratified by conventions [85].

## *Appendix III*

### OUR PRESIDENTS: THEIR TERMS AND PARTIES

#### FEDERALISTS IN POWER, 1789-1801

George Washington	1789-1797 <sup>a</sup>	Federalist
John Adams	1797-1801	Federalist

#### JEFFERSON'S REPUBLICANS, 1801-1829

Thomas Jefferson	1801-1809 <sup>a</sup>	Republican
James Madison	1809-1817 <sup>a</sup>	Republican
James Monroe	1817-1825 <sup>a</sup>	Republican
John Quincy Adams	1825-1829	National Republican

#### DEMOCRATS IN AND OUT, 1829-1861

Andrew Jackson	1829-1837 <sup>a</sup>	Democrat
Martin Van Buren	1837-1841	Democrat
W. H. Harrison and John Tyler	1841-1845	Whig
James K. Polk	1845-1849	Democrat
Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore	1849-1853	Whig
Franklin Pierce	1853-1857	Democrat
James Buchanan	1857-1861	Democrat

#### REPUBLICANS IN CONTROL, 1861-1885

Abraham Lincoln	1861-1865	Republican
Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson	1865-1869	Republican
Ulysses S. Grant	1869-1877 <sup>a</sup>	Republican
Rutherford B. Hayes	1877-1881	Republican
James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur	1881-1885	Republican

#### REPUBLICAN-DEMOCRATIC CHANGE, 1885 TO DATE

Grover Cleveland	1885-1889	Democrat
Benjamin Harrison	1889-1893	Republican
Grover Cleveland	1893-1897	Democrat
William McKinley	1897-1901	Republican
William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt	1901-1905	Republican
Theodore Roosevelt	1905-1909	Republican
William H. Taft	1909-1913	Republican
Woodrow Wilson	1913-1921 <sup>a</sup>	Democrat
Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge	1921-1925	Republican
Calvin Coolidge	1925-1929	Republican
Herbert Hoover	1929-1933	Republican
Franklin D. Roosevelt	1933-1945 <sup>b</sup>	Democrat
Harry S. Truman	1945-	Democrat

<sup>a</sup> Two terms.

<sup>b</sup> Three terms and 83 days of fourth term.



## Appendix IV

### THE STATES OF THE UNION

STATE	JOINED UNION IN	ORDER OF JOINING UNION	LAND AREA IN SQUARE MILES	1940 CENSUS	
				Population	Number of Repre- sentatives
Alabama	1819	22	51,078	2,832,961	9
Arizona	1912	48	113,580	499,261	2
Arkansas	1836	25	52,725	1,949,387	7
California	1850	31	156,803	6,907,387	23
Colorado	1876	38	103,967	1,123,296	4
Connecticut	1788	5	4,899	1,709,242	6
Delaware	1787	1	1,978	266,505	1
Florida	1845	27	54,262	1,897,414	6
Georgia	1788	4	58,518	3,123,723	10
Idaho	1890	43	82,808	524,873	2
Illinois	1818	21	55,947	7,897,241	26
Indiana	1816	19	36,205	3,427,796	11
Iowa	1846	29	55,986	2,538,268	8
Kansas	1861	34	82,113	1,801,028	6
Kentucky	1792	15	40,109	2,845,627	9
Louisiana	1812	18	45,177	2,363,880	8
Maine	1820	23	31,040	847,226	3
Maryland	1788	7	9,887	1,821,244	6
Massachusetts	1788	6	7,907	4,316,721	14
Michigan	1837	26	57,022	5,256,106	17
Minnesota	1858	32	80,009	2,792,300	9
Mississippi	1817	20	47,420	2,183,796	7
Missouri	1821	24	69,270	3,784,664	13
Montana	1889	41	146,316	559,456	2
Nebraska	1867	37	76,653	1,315,834	4
Nevada	1864	36	109,802	110,247	1
New Hampshire	1788	9	9,024	491,524	2
New Jersey	1787	3	7,522	4,160,165	14
New Mexico	1912	47	121,511	531,818	2
New York	1788	11	47,929	13,479,142	45
North Carolina	1789	12	49,142	3,571,623	12
North Dakota	1889	39	70,054	641,935	2
Ohio	1803	17	41,122	6,907,612	23
Oklahoma	1907	46	69,283	2,336,434	8
Oregon	1859	33	96,350	1,089,684	4
Pennsylvania	1787	2	45,045	9,900,180	33
Rhode Island	1790	13	1,058	713,346	2
South Carolina	1788	8	30,594	1,899,804	6
South Dakota	1889	40	76,536	642,961	2
Tennessee	1796	16	41,961	2,915,841	10
Texas	1845	28	263,644	6,414,824	21
Utah	1896	45	82,346	550,310	2
Vermont	1791	14	9,278	359,231	1
Virginia	1788	10	39,899	2,677,773	9
Washington	1889	42	66,977	1,736,191	6
West Virginia	1863	35	24,090	1,901,974	6
Wisconsin	1848	30	54,715	3,137,587	10
Wyoming	1890	44	97,506	250,742	1
Totals			2,977,128	131,669,275	435

## Appendix V

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<sup>1</sup> This bookshelf of 100 titles is selected from those used in the educational activities of this book. It is representative of each unit and period of history. It meets the reading requirements of all groups in the upper grades, with emphasis upon the needs of the average reader.

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